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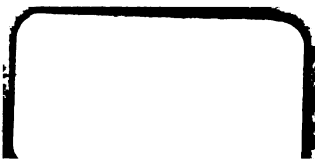
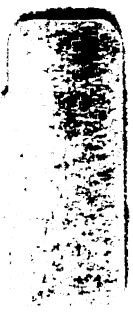
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THE
BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW,

FOR JANUARY, 1874.

ART. I.—*The Ballad : Its Nature and Literary Affinities.*

- (1.) *Scottish Ballads and Songs, Historical and Traditionary.* Edited by JAMES MAIDMENT. Two vols. 1868.
- (2.) *The Ballads of Scotland.* Edited by WILLIAM EDMONDSTOUNE AYTOUN, D.C.L. 1858.
- (3.) *The Romantic Scottish Ballads, their Epoch and Authorship.* By ROBERT CHAMBERS, F.R.S.E., &c. 1859.
- (4.) *The Romantic Scottish Ballads and the Lady Wardlaw Heresy.* By NORVAL CLYNE. 1859.
- (5.) *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry.* By THOMAS PERCY, Lord Bishop of Dromore. 1765.
- (6.) *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.* Collected by Sir WALTER SCOTT, Baronet. 1802.

THE name *Ballad* was long ago divorced from the thing which it originally designated. No one now associates with the word the idea of a *dance-song*, which radically belongs to it. In its congeners *ballet* and *ball*, the primary idea of dancing is still preserved. But, as in the case of treaties of peace, rival claims seem to have been settled here on the principle of mutual concession. The ballad has resigned the dancing to the ballet and the ball; and they, in exchange, have abandoned the singing to the ballad. The combination of singing and dancing is, of course, perfectly natural. It is as natural that exuberant feeling should be expressed by rhythmical movements of the whole body as by rhythmical movements of its most expressive organ—the voice. Perhaps it is most reason-

able of all that the two modes of motion should harmoniously combine.

In fact, this union is found pervading the primitive entertainments of most nations. The wild ‘whoop’ of the Indian in his war dance, and the ‘halloo’ of the Scottish Highlander in the mad whirl of his reel, are alike inarticulate ballads, expressing in the one case savage triumph, in the other exuberant mirth. One traveller describes to us the simple custom of the Faroëse, who ‘recreate themselves with a plain dance, holding one another by the hand, and singing the while some old champion’s ballad.’ Another tells us how his peaceful arrival on one of the South Sea Islands was celebrated by an extempore lay, which had for its rhythmical accompaniment the dancing and merry-making of the children who performed it. But it is in connection with primitive religious services that the union of singing and dancing is most strikingly illustrated, and that chiefly among Eastern nations, from the days of Miriam and David to those of the Greek dithyrambic chorus, and from the Greek chorus to the Moslem dervishes, and Egyptian alimé and Indian bayaderes of our own time.

This is in itself a deeply interesting subject, but we refer to it now merely for the purpose of pointing out how widely the term with which we are dealing has departed from its original application. For the ballad long ago reserved itself to designate a particular department of literature, using language, spoken or written, as the only medium through which its thoughts are expressed.

But, even in its literary application, great liberties have been taken with the term. It

has been applied, even in the same age, to works of the most diverse character. In England this confusion reached its climax in the sixteenth century, when the names *book* and *ballad* appear to have been used indifferently for nearly every kind of literary product, whether in prose or in verse. A long poem in 'The Mirrour for Magistrates,' entitled 'The Murninge of Edward, Duke of Buckingham' (apparently a popular epitome of Sackville's famous 'Complaint,') is called a ballad. About the same time there appeared a versified history taken from the 'Romance of Alexander;' that, also, is called a ballad. Sometimes a ballad is a work wholly written in prose; sometimes it is a play, or an interlude. Many ballads are religious works, for in 1561 there was published 'A new Ballet of Four of the Commandments,' and a few years later we have a ballad on 'The Seventeenth Chapter of Genesis.' John Hall's 'Courte of Vertue' (1564) contains 'Holy and spiritual songs, sonnets, psalms, *ballades*, and short sentences, as well of holy scripture as others.' Again, some of Skelton's poems are called 'Satirical Ballads;' and a famous poem written in defence of the Reformation doctrines is called 'The ballad of Luther, the Pope, a Cardinal, and a Husbandman' (1550). Long before this, John Gower had presented fifty MS. French sonnets to Henry IV.: they were called, and are still known as, the 'Cinquante Ballades.' Eighty years later we find Caxton applying the designation 'the Ballad Royal' to the measure in which Benedict Brough translated Cato's 'Morals.' In more recent times we have Warton characterizing as a 'celebrated ballad' the satirical medley of James V. of Scotland, entitled 'Christ's Kirk on the Green.' This laxity has descended to our own day, for we still apply the term 'ballad' indiscriminately to lays and legends, to romances and rhapsodies, to love lyrics and sentimental songs, and, with least propriety of all, to those weakest of all weak productions, the nondescript ballads of the modern concert room.

It were rash to conclude that this confusion is the result of ignorance or caprice. It is due mainly to the altered conditions under which, at different stages in the history of thought and of civilization, the same kind of literary work, or literature with the same end and aim, is produced. There is a certain method underlying the madness or licence which appears on the surface. The common bond which unites and harmonizes these widely diverse literary products is, that they all appealed, though in different ways, to the prevailing popular sentiment of their time. At one time this sentiment

might be most easily reached through the medium of prose; at another time through that of verse: at one time by means of simple narrative; at another time by means of reflection and satire. In one age the sentiment connected itself with civil and social affairs, in another with ecclesiastical and religious politics. But in every case the literary instrument employed to quicken the popular enthusiasm is called a ballad. Add now to this limitation of the term to popular literature its further restriction to poetry, and we shall approach very near to the modern application of the word. For there is a special branch of our poetical literature to which by common consent the name ballad expressly belongs—works possessing a character as distinct as the metrical romances or the rhyming chronicles, as the old dramatists or the Lake poets.

If, then, equally discarding ancient distortions and modern limitations, we examine with care that very considerable body of our poetical literature, on which under the familiar name of 'our ballads' we not unreasonably pride ourselves, we shall find that it possesses three main distinguishing characteristics. These poems are *narrative* in substance; they are *lyrical* in form, and they are *traditionary* in origin.

First the true ballad is a *narrative* poem. It tells a connected story. It has a beginning, a middle, and an end. It deals with stirring events or touching incidents. It appeals to the popular ear, and goes directly to the popular heart. It commemorates the achievements of great warriors or of national heroes. Its end was both historical and practical, and practical in being historical. For it was the express aim of the ballad not merely to interest and amuse the people to whom it was addressed, not merely to express the popular estimate of the heroes whose triumphs it celebrates, but also, and very specially, to hold up these heroes as ensamples to be followed, and to inspire the auditors with a laudable ambition to emulate their deeds of prowess, and so to stimulate popular enthusiasm and national spirit in rude times. Sir Philip Sidney well describes the effect of such recitals in kindling the heroic spirit when he says, 'I never heard the old song of Percie and Douglas that I found not my heart moved more than with a trumpet.'

The narrative ballad thus presents us with heroes and heroines, with lords and ladies, with fairies and demigods,—for these were credulous times,—or with plain men and women of the work-a-day world, in whose fate, as in that of the characters of a play, we feel the most absorbing interest.

But, in order to mark off the ballad from other narrative poems,—from poetical romances, rhyming chronicles, and epics of the greater sort,—we must add that the ballad limits its subject to a single incident. It is *simple* in its plan and action, not *complex*. It tells a connected story, but only one story, not an interwoven series of stories, whence it follows that the incident which it narrates must possess in itself enough of interest and body to enable it to stand by itself as the sole subject of a complete poem.

Secondly, the true ballad is a *lyrical* poem. It was originally composed with the special view, not of being read or studied in private, but of being recited, chanted, or sung before an audience more or less public. Of course, in determining the nature of the ballad, the lyrical feature must be taken in connection with the other features mentioned, that is to say, while every true ballad is a lyric, it does not follow that every lyric is a ballad.

The lyrical character of the ballad was no accidental or artificial charm added to it to set it off to greater advantage. It was an essential condition of its existence in the circumstances of its publication. For ballads are originally the literary products of a primitive and unlettered race. They are, in a very true sense, the nursery rhymes of a people. In the nation, as in the individual, the opening and unsophisticated mind of childhood delights in incidents and adventures; and it takes the greatest delight in these when they are narrated in the metrical form. It lisps in numbers, because numbers most naturally and fitly come. For the old ballads were not at first written down. The likelihood is that their authors could not write, and that their auditors could not have read the ballads if they had been written. They were, therefore, composed in the head, and committed to memory verse by verse as they were composed; and they were perused, in the first instance, and probably for generations afterwards, through the ear alone. A lyrical form, therefore, would be an immense convenience both to the performers and to the audience. Add to this that it was the aim of such primitive productions, not merely to afford entertainment, but also, and indeed chiefly, to stir and keep alive a sentiment of heroism; and we cannot fail to see that the lyrical form was not only a convenience, but a means of greatly enhancing the influence of the ballad minstrels.

Though these minstrels and their calling latterly fell into disrepute, they have weighty claims upon our respect and gratitude. They were long the only custodiers of our popular literature. We are indebted to

them also for many of those simple and primitive melodies which form the foundation of our national music, both sacred and profane. Before literature became a separate and recognised calling, they were the professional authors of their day and generation. When books and newspapers were yet unknown, they furnished the 'abstract and brief chronicle' of their time. Before schools were planted, or schoolmasters were abroad, they diffused, not only news, but intelligence in the higher sense, and were, even more than the clergy, the true educators of the people.

The minstrels were for long esteemed and rewarded according to their deserts. As they made their periodical circuits of the country, they were received, in castle and in hamlet, with hearty welcome. No picture of mediæval life is more interesting, or more thoroughly characteristic of the time, than that in which we see the lords and ladies of the castle, with their retainers and faithful hounds, gathered at the close of the day round some wandering bard in the great baronial hall, while he, sweeping the chords of his harp, pours forth his stream of melody,—now swelling into a tide of triumph as he celebrates deeds of derring-do, now sinking into soft and tender cadences, while he recounts some tale of thrilling pathos, or of ill-requited love.

But many a great house had its own special minstrel, as an indispensable and well-paid member of the establishment. Indeed, one of the chief entertainments of the Norman barons was to listen to the romantic and martial adventures of their ancestors, recited by their paid minstrels. It seems to have been a special privilege of those baronial minstrels, that they were allowed to travel to neighbouring monasteries and 'assist' at their profane entertainments. On such occasions their services were not only more highly esteemed than those of the clergy by the general public, who usually preferred amusement to instruction, but they were sometimes better remunerated by the clerical directors of the entertainments themselves. Of this, Warton mentions some curious instances:

'In the year 1430, at the annual feast of the fraternity of the HOLY CROSSE at Abingdon, a town in Berkshire, twelve priests each received *fourpence* for singing a dirge; and the same number of minstrels were rewarded each with *two shillings and fourpence*, beside diet and horse-meat. Some of these minstrels came only from Maidenhithe, or Maidenhead, a town at no great distance in the same county. In the year 1441, eight priests were hired from Coventry to assist in celebrating a yearly *obit* in the church of the neighbouring priory of Maxtoke;

as were six minstrels, called *Mimi*, belonging to the family of Lord Clinton, who lived in the adjoining castle of Maxtoke, to sing, harp, and play, in the hall of the monastery, during the extraordinary refection allowed to the monks on that anniversary. *Two shillings* were given to the priests, and *four* to the minstrels; and the latter are said to have supped *in camera picta*, or the painted chamber of the convent, with the sub-prior, on which occasion the chamberlain furnished eight massy tapers of wax.*

The custom of having minstrels attached to noble houses, such as that of Lord Clinton, was common amongst the Norman barons, whose retainers included several singers and harpers, just as pipers to this day have their recognised place in the household of a Highland chieftain.

But the reference to the Maidenhead minstrels who performed at Abingdon reminds us that in those times every considerable town had its complement of singers, harpers, tale-tellers, and fiddlers, supported out of its revenues. What were the ordinary or regular entertainments in which they took part, we do not precisely know; but the services which they rendered on great occasions are often minutely recorded. 'It seems,' says Tytler, 'to have been the custom in Scotland, as old at least as Alexander III., that when the sovereign made his progress through the country, minstrels and singers received him on his entrance into the towns, and accompanied him when he took his departure; and we find Edward I., in his triumphal journey through the land in 1296, paying certain sums of money as a remuneration for the same melodious reception.'

But most highly favoured of all were the minstrels attached to the court, both in England and in Scotland. In the Burgh Records of Scotland, quoted by Professor Aytoun, no entry is so common as that of payments to *singers* and *lutors*, 'at the king's commande.' These records afford unequivocal proof of the high estimation in which traditional poetry and the performances of the minstrels were held in early times. But no circumstance attested by them is more gratifying than the fact that Blind Harry, the chronicler of the deeds of Wallace, 'who must then,' as Aytoun says, 'have been in extreme old age, was a regular stipendiary of the gallant and accomplished king, who fell in the midst of his chivalry, at Flodden.' 'Whether Bruce himself,' says Tytler, 'was a proficient in music, the favourite accomplishment of

many a knight in those days, is not known, but he undoubtedly kept his minstrels.'

At the English court, the institution of minstrelsy was still more liberally maintained. Henry III. had not only his royal minstrel or *joculator*, and his harper, but he had also in his train a French poet called *Henry the Versifier*, to whom, on several occasions, the salary of one hundred shillings a-year was paid. Then we all know the story of Robert Baston, a minstrel whom Edward II. took with him to Scotland, to sing his triumph over Bruce, but who had the misfortune to be taken prisoner at Bannockburn, when, for his ransom, he was compelled, Balaam-like, to bless those whom he had come to curse. Richard I., himself a noted troubadour, had several French minstrels in his pay, of whom tradition gives the foremost place to Blondell, whose voice and harp are said to have enchanted his royal master out of prison.

Both the universities and the monasteries were, for a time at least, amongst the patrons of minstrelsy. In the fourteenth century we find William of Wykeham enjoining the scholars both of New College, Oxford, and of Winchester, to amuse themselves on festival days with songs, and recitations of chronicles,—with *cantilinæ*, *poëmata*, *regnorum chronica*, and the *mirabilia mundi*,—the last a collection of legends brought by the crusaders from the East, and afterwards worked up into the *Merveilles du monde*. It seems certain that many of the rhymes which the professional minstrels hawked about the country, were the production of monks in their leisure hours. Monastic libraries abounded in romantic rhymes. 'Guy of Warwick' was written by Walter of Exeter, a monk; why not, then, many of the lesser rhymes? A friar in 'The Vision concerning Piers the Plowman' is said to be much better acquainted with the 'Rimes of Robin Hood' and 'Randal of Chester,' than with his Paternoster.

But in course of time a change came over the spirit of the clerical dream. The clergy grew to be jealous of the popularity of the minstrels, and of the influence which they exercised over the people. And unfortunately the Church had good reason for putting their rivals under the ban; for the latter yielded only too readily to the temptations to which they were exposed. They were so often associated with scenes of riot and excess, that it was not difficult to attribute such scenes to the influence of their performances. Accordingly the minstrels became identified with revelry and dissipation. Their calling fell into disrepute. They sank lower and lower in the social

* Warton's 'History of English Poetry, from the Eleventh to the Seventeenth Century,' section xxiv.

scale. The noble *scôp* (shaper) and *máker* degenerated into the mirth-causing glee-man and buffoon. The romantic *jongleur* gave place to the handicraft juggler, pure and simple. And at last, in Queen Mary's time, when books as well as readers became more common, they were by Act of Parliament subjected to the same penalties as 'rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars.'

It is sad to leave in such company the grand old minstrels, whose career as a class is encrusted with so many fine poetical and historical associations. But this great change should not make us forget the important services which, in their palmier days, they rendered both to national literature and to national music. It were certainly an injustice to their memory were we to forget that to their labours we are chiefly indebted for the perfecting of the lyrical element which is an essential one in the definition of ballad poetry.

Thirdly, the *traditionary* element in ballad literature—the fact that these poems must have floated about for years, sometimes for generations, before they were fixed down by the strict laws of literary form—is the feature which marks off the ballad most distinctly from all other forms of poetry. To this circumstance we owe that simplicity of thought which indeed was a necessary condition of the existence of works which lived only in the memory, and which were perused only by the ear. Their forcible plainness and directness of language are due to the same cause. Thence, also, they derived their representative character; for the true ballad was less the expression of the feelings of the individual poet, than it was the natural outcome of the life and thought of the people, blossoming in song. This is the secret, too, of the educative power of the ballads. For long they were the only means of intellectual culture which the mass of the people enjoyed. The minstrels were their teachers. They stored their memories, they trained their minds, they moulded their spirits, and discharged a function which, in Scotland at least, has been performed in later times by the pulpit and the press. And this is, no doubt, what the 'very wise' friend of Fletcher of Saltoun meant when he said, in the trite words generally attributed to Saltoun himself—'if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation.'

Such being the true nature of the ballad—narrative, lyrical, and traditionary—it is not wonderful that its origin and early history should themselves be matters of tradition and inference, rather than of well-as-

certain fact. Yet it cannot be doubted that the ballad has exercised an important influence on the development, not only of national poetry, but of national literature in all its great departments—excepting, of course, that of speculation and abstract thought.

In the first place, the ballad is the true spring-head of *history*. It is an acknowledged fact that the earliest national literature of all countries has been some kind of ballad poetry. It is reasonable, in the nature of things, that it should have been so. There is, indeed, no fact which modern research and philosophic criticism have more satisfactorily established than this,—that the streams of authentic history, when traced far enough, have their source in remote uplands, where the head-waters are lost in wildering mazes of tradition and romance. This is now so well understood, and so generally acknowledged, that its statement is a mere commonplace of criticism. In connection with the early history of Rome, this view, promulgated in the last century by Perizonius, and elaborated more recently by Niebuhr, Thirlwall, Malden, Arnold, and Mommsen, has been thoroughly popularized by Macaulay in his vivid *lays*, which are simply conjectural ballads,—examples in modern dress of the kind of stories which enter so largely into the woof of Livy's narrative.

But the same thing which is true of the early history of the nations of antiquity is demonstrably true of the great nations of modern Europe,—of England and Germany, as well as of France and Spain. The metrical chronicles, often fabulous and incredible, in which their history has its springs, abound in romantic incidents, for which their writers do not hesitate to avow their indebtedness to traditionary and popular songs. From the chronicles, these legends have been transferred bodily to the pages of such accepted modern historians as Hume; so that historical critics are forced, for example, to deal with many passages in the early, ay, and even in the later history of England, much as Niebuhr dealt with the early history of Rome. There is no doubt great temptation to carry this historical scepticism too far—a temptation which critics of the iconoclastic school find it hard to resist. Yet, when every allowance has been made, many of the most romantic characters and scenes in the early history of Europe must, with however much regret, be given up as either wholly or partially mythical. But if this be so, it may be said that the traditionary element has only vitiated history, by introducing matter which has distorted its aspect and polluted its

stream. True to some extent in the lower and literal sense; very far from true in the higher spirit. For these elements, even when their fictitious character has been most clearly demonstrated, have an historical value of their own. Particular facts may be questionable, details may be exaggerated; but the broad picture is, no doubt, essentially true. Moreover, these traditions were history to the people who accepted and cherished them,—all the history they had. If they were regarded in no other light than as an embodiment of primitive feelings and beliefs, as a confession of the historical faith of rude times, they would be invaluable to the student of human nature and human thought. Even the scientific historian, therefore, may no more ignore traditional ballads than the geologist may ignore the moraines and erratic boulders which testify to the existence and operation of powerful agencies which were at work in prehistoric times.

The relations of the *Drama* to ballad poetry are quite as distinctly marked as those of history. We do not refer merely to the well-known fact of certain great plays—such as ‘King Lear’ and ‘The Merchant of Venice’—being so far indebted to earlier ballads for their plot or story; or to such confessions as those of Aeschylus (important though they be) that his dramas were but scraps from the great feast of Homer. We refer to the drama as a distinct institution, regarded both as a public performance and as a department of poetry.

Now it is plain that whenever dialogue was introduced into the ballads, and when the minstrels, in reciting them, set them off by mimicry and action, so as to give individuality to the characters of the story, the whole performance became a drama in miniature. And this is precisely what the Greek drama was in its earliest stage. Both comedy and tragedy had a distinctly lyrical origin, in the services connected with the worship of Dionysos. At first a mere interlude, probably for the relief of the chorus as much as for the amusement of the audience, the dramatic performance ultimately assumed the first place, and the chorus became subservient and tributary. For a time the story was appropriately connected with the perils and sufferings of Dionysos; but it soon took a wider range, embracing, as in the case of Aeschylus, the great cycle of Hellenic legends. But in the first instance, and indeed for long, the performance was purely a piece of minstrelsy. The earliest plays, both comedies and tragedies, were performed or recited by a single actor. Dry-

den, speaking as a dramatist, puts this well, in one of his prologues, when he says:—

‘Thespis, the first professor of our art,
At country wakes sung ballads from a cart.’

The cart is admitted to be an anachronism; for the couplet is an adaptation of the well-known line of Horace:—

‘Dicitur et plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis,’—in which the Roman poet adopts the error, common in his day, of ascribing to Thespis the wagon, or moveable scaffold of Susarion, the first comic dramatist. Thespis had, no doubt, a stable enough stage. But what we have to notice is the very accurate description which both Horace and Dryden give of what Thespis did—not what he did it on, or from. And what he did was to sing ballads. Now the claim of Thespis to be considered the father of Greek tragedy consists in the circumstance that he was the first to put a separate actor on the stage, in the shape of the exarch or choral leader, who recited his story in the intervals of the dithyrambic chorus. The performance of the earliest Greek comedies by an individual actor, already incidentally referred to, is an equally notorious fact of literary history. Now, these single actors, in whose representations both comedy and tragedy originated, were but ballad minstrels of a higher sort, who gave greater effect to their recitals by adopting histrionic devices.

In the history of the drama of modern Europe, we are able to note a distinct stage at which the religious entertainments that led to it were of a purely lyrical and didactic character. Before they attained to a regular dramatic form they consisted of processions and set scenes, which were illustrated by lyrical recitations of the most striking passages in the lives of apostles, patriarchs, and saints. Sometimes these songs or sacred ballads were introduced in the celebration of the mass: sometimes, as in France, in the more questionable spectacles of the *Feast of the Ass* (of Balaam) and the *Feast of Fools*; sometimes, both in France and in England, in the festival of the *Boy-Bishop*. The undoubted fact seems to be that, to counteract the influence of the minstrels at fairs and festivals, the clergy, jealous of the popularity of their rivals, turned actors themselves, and substituted for the profane and often ribald entertainments of the minstrels, stories from the legends of the saints, and from the Bible itself. At one time the minstrels were allowed to entertain the people on Sundays with monkish legends, which they sang to the harp. But this also the clergy by and by took into their own hands. There is in the Bri-

tish Museum a collection of legendary rhymes, which were solemnly recited to the people on Sundays and holidays. Nay, some of the oldest extant sermons in the English language are metrical homilies of a distinctly ballad character; and this shows, more than anything else, the extent to which the clergy both feared and prized the power of minstrelsy. Now the clerical performers, in all their services, both dramatic and non-dramatic, were merely ecclesiastical minstrels, who found that they could best catch the popular ear, and win popular sympathy, by throwing the sacred and saintly narratives, first into a metrical, and afterwards into a dramatic form.

These views are strikingly corroborated by the evidence of language. In the fourteenth century the terms *tragedy* and *comedy* were by no means confined to dramatic poems, but were freely applied to metrical narratives. Dante's comedies were in no sense dramas. With Chaucer (see the prologue to the 'Monk's Tale'), a tragedy is simply a tragic story; and Lydgate characterizes Chaucer's own poems as comedies and tragedies. But still further, we have it, on the authority of Professor Max Müller, that the name *mystery* (improperly written *mystery*), by which these religious plays are known, has no reference to anything mysterious or mystical in their subject. *Mystery*, *minstrelsy*, and *ministry* are, in point of fact, radically identical; and their different applications in modern times merely show how widely derivatives from the same root may diverge in meaning in the course of ages. All point to the idea of service; and in truth a *minister* is but a sacred *minstrel*; a *minstrel* is only a secular *minister*.

But it was not only in its earliest stage that this ballad character belonged to the miracle, or religious play. Even when its dramatic form was fully developed, it was still customary to represent a great part of its action by dumb show, and in *tableaux vivants*, while the story itself was recited by a single actor or by two or three of the chief characters, whose function brings us back once more to that of the old ballad minstrel.

Finally, the *Epic* is at once the most direct and the grandest product of ballad poetry. The 'Epic' is the finished temple, of which ballads are the separate pillars; the galaxy, of which ballads are the single stars of varying magnitudes. For unquestionably the greatest heroic poems in the world are essentially concretions of popular poetry, which first existed in the simple ballad form. This is true, not only of the Homeric poems, but also of the great national epics of mediæval times. Just as the 'Iliad' is a great body of

Greek traditionary poetry—the growth of ages—moulded into a majestic whole by the hand of genius, so the great Norse Eddas and Sagas were compiled from still older legendary and mythical songs. The 'Elder Edda,' that of Saemund, an Icelandic priest, was compiled in the beginning of the twelfth century, from the most ancient mythological and heroic Scandinavian songs. About a century later the materials of the younger 'Edda,' that of Snorni, himself a Skald by profession, were collected from the same sources. The Icelandic Sagas, which form a rich deposit in the literature of the Middle Ages, drew their material from the current Skaldic songs and national folk-lore. The fine old German epic, the 'Niebelung-lied,' the oldest MS. of which is assigned to the beginning of the thirteenth century, was a compilation of previously existing songs and rhapsodies. The 'Cid Romances in Spain,' first published in the sixteenth century, but composed much earlier, were taken from ancient national *cantares* and Castilian *poemas*. In like manner the Carolingian romances in Central Europe, the Arthurian cycle in England, and the Wallace of Blind Harry in Scotland, are all great political concretions, the elements of which were in every case an earlier growth of legends, rhapsodies, and songs.

The elementary ballads and legends, from which these epics were built up, floated about—we cannot tell how long—in the minds and voices of the people, until there arose minstrels of greater genius, of higher art and constructive power, than their predecessors, who conceived the idea of welding these transient and isolated fragments into a solid whole. Now the great fact for us here is that, in nearly every case, the foundation ballads, the elementary germs, have entirely disappeared. Nor is this an unnatural result when it is remembered that, before the era of the printing-press, minstrelsy formed the very condition of the existence of popular poetry. Poems which ceased to be recited or sung, necessarily ceased to be. And when the greater epics came, in course of time, to form the stock in trade of the minstrels, it was inevitable that the minor epics—the ballads—should be forgotten.

It thus seems to be a fixed law of traditionary literature that, when ballads came to be absorbed in epics and romances, they thereby sacrificed their individual and independent existence. We find their remains embedded, as it were, in a fossil state, in the great stratum of mediæval poetry; but as separate and living organisms they no longer exist. We have abundant evidence, both historical and traditional, that they did exist. Nay, the exact counterparts of legends which

have been swallowed up in the epic poetry of one country, retain their separate individuality in another. The Danish ballads, the famous '*Kæmpe Viser*,' which form the richest bequest of mediæval folk-lore, are an exception to the general law of absorption. Developed by a long course of oral transmission, and collected in the fourteenth century, they have descended to us in their virgin ballad form. But we find in these simple ballads some of the identical legends which are woven into the Lay of the Niebelungs; from which we warrantably infer that they once existed as ballads in Germany also. This is a remarkable case of the exception proving the rule. Nothing, surely, could better bring out in bold relief the fact on which we are insisting, that national epics are a proof of the previous existence of national ballads. The epics and romances in which the ballads have been absorbed cannot, in strict propriety, be called ballads; but they retain, amid their complexity and prolixity, enough of the flavour and spirit of traditionary poetry to bear witness to their ballad origin.

But it may be asked, if this law of absorption holds good, whence have we derived the important body of ballad poetry which forms one of the boasted treasures of our modern literature?

Now in this country, as in others, when the earlier romance epoch passed away, a new ballad epoch began, which was indebted for much of its material to the romances which it superseded. The romances were composed for, and addressed to, the great and noble; but when the progression of literature provided that class with more permanent works, in the shape of regular dramas and epics, and systematic histories, there still remained a large unlettered class of the community to whom the inheritance of oral poetry naturally descended. Elaborate romances did not suit their tastes. They demanded, as their simple forefathers had done, brief and pithy narratives. The minstrels, whose duty it was to cater for them, had to find material to satisfy their tastes. They found a convenient store-house, full of the richest material, in the more elaborate romances. Thus it came to pass that the long poems, which had in the first instance been built up out of ballads, were, for the benefit of the common people, broken down into ballads again. And in point of fact not a few of our oldest ballads, and of these some of the most striking, are but chips of ancient and well-worn metrical romances. The well-known ballad of '*Hynde Horn*,' for example, is but a paraphrase of part of the older romance or gest

of '*King Horn*,' which was itself, beyond question, a concoction of still older ballads and legends. But it is not necessary to account for all our ballads on this principle. It is sufficient for our purpose to show that some have originated in this way; others were, undoubtedly, handed down in the lyrical form from earlier times, others were transplanted from foreign countries. But many, perhaps the most and best of those which we now have, owe their origin to the fact that in our country in comparatively recent times the circumstances which tend to call forth a body of traditionary poetry arose with irresistible power. These circumstances were the craving for literary excitement in the common people, combined with the absence of culture and the power of literary appreciation, and the natural desire to glorify national and local heroes in popular verse. The same conditions which made ballad poetry a necessity in the ninth and tenth centuries, called it forth again in England and Scotland in the fifteenth and sixteenth. Some of the Robin Hood ballads were amongst the earliest productions of the English printing-press. '*Chevy Chase*' was an 'old ballad' in Sir Philip Sidney's time; other ballads are echoed by snatches in Shakespeare and our old dramatists. But the great mass of our existing ballad literature cannot be traced further back than the fifteenth or the sixteenth century, which constitutes for us the special ballad epoch in our modern literature. When the old chronicles and romances gave place to the historical drama and the regular epic in one direction—that of literary culture, they were superseded by ballad minstrelsy in another direction—that of popular poetry. And the great fact to which our argument leads up is, that the mass of our extant ballad literature, which the labours of Bishop Percy and of Sir Walter Scott rescued from oblivion in the end of the last and the beginning of the present century, forms a later deposit, a tertiary stratum, which illustrates the life of comparatively recent and strictly historic times. Though purely oral compositions, living only in the hearts and memories of the people, they belong to a period contemporaneous with the methodical productions of literary art in every department of human thought. Not only while Gower and Chaucer were committing their thoughts that breathed to perishable parchment, not only while the works of Spenser and Shakespeare, of Milton and Bacon, were being multiplied by the printing press; but after Dryden and Pope had given the keenest polish to English diction and versification, there was still floating

about freely in the intellectual atmosphere of this country a great body of traditionary poetry, not destined to be caught up or fixed down by the hard and fast conditions of literary art for many years afterwards.

For it is an important fact that our modern collections of ballads date only from the last century. A few versions of fugitive ballads had been included, along with modern material, in poetical miscellanies much earlier—in ‘*Wit Restored*,’ 11 1658, and in Dryden’s ‘*Miscellany Poems*’ in 1684. But the earliest systematic editions of popular poetry are ‘*A Collection of Old Ballads*,’ published in London between 1723 and 1738, and the ‘*Evergreen*’ of Allan Ramsay, published in Edinburgh in 1724. The two men, however, to whom we are chiefly indebted for recovering and preserving the rarest gems of our ballad poetry are Bishop Percy, whose ‘*Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*’ was first published in 1765, and Sir Walter Scott, whose two volumes of the ‘*Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*’ appeared in 1802 and 1803 respectively. We may obtain some idea of the value of Scott’s services in this department of literature from the fact that the ‘*Minstrelsy*’ contains as many as forty ballads which had never before been taken down in writing, or published to the world. The rich field, in which Percy and Scott may be said first to have broken ground, has been extensively and profitably worked by enthusiastic labourers since their time. It would be unfair, in speaking of Scott’s own labours in the ballad field, to ignore the valuable assistance which was willingly rendered to him by John Leyden, the gifted author of ‘*Scenes of Infancy*.’ Since the appearance of the ‘*Minstrelsy*,’ the collecting and editing of ballads, especially of Scottish ballads, has been the pet work of literary antiquaries. We can do no more here than refer in passing, but with grateful acknowledgments, to the labours of such men as Jamieson, Bird and Buchan, David Laing and Robert Chambers, Finlay and Kinloch, Sharpe and Maidment, Johnson and Motherwell, and last, though not least, William Edmondstoune Aytoun, to whose fine literary instinct and critical acumen we owe the purest and most perfect collection we possess of the ballads of Scotland.

The labours of Percy and Scott, it should not be forgotten, had a much wider bearing than that to which we have now referred. They exercised a most important influence in reviving that taste for genuine natural poetry, which forms the chief intellectual characteristic of the present century, and which extended itself to every department

of literature and art. From the appearance of Percy’s ‘*Reliques*’ we are bound to date the recoil in the last generation from the cold formality which had characterized the poetry and thought of the preceding age. The impetus which Percy’s labours gave to the poetical genius and taste of Scott is well known. The testimony of Wordsworth, the great apostle of the new poetic faith, is express and unequivocal. ‘*I do not think*,’ he says, ‘*that there is one able writer in verse at the present day who would not be proud to acknowledge his obligations to the “Reliques.”*’ I know it is so with my friends [among whom Coleridge and Southey were conspicuous], and for myself,’ he adds, ‘*I am happy to make a public avowal of my own.*’ In this admission we may discover one of the reasons which led Wordsworth and Coleridge to call the poems which they produced jointly at an early stage in their career ‘*lyrical ballads*,’ though the title involves something of a cross division: for all true ballads, as we have endeavoured to show, must be lyrical. But it is interesting, as it is valuable, to have received from the most philosophical of modern poets, this testimony to the ballad origin of some at least of the features which characterize the modern school of poetry. As culture and intellectual refinement advance, the poet, wedded to his art, is ever prone to set himself above Nature, and to prefer his own wisdom to her mother-wit. But poetry, like history, of which it is the flower and the fruit, has a happy knack of repeating itself. And if it be true, as it undoubtedly is, that the poetry of our time owes both its strength and its sweetness to a rekindled allegiance to the nursing bosom of Nature, which, in spite of the vagaries of her prodigal sons, is ever one and the same, we owe this result, more perhaps than is generally recognised, to the influence of ballad poetry.

The historical ballad attained its highest perfection in those countries in which the chivalrous spirit was most fully developed—in England, Scotland, and Germany amongst northern nations, and in Spain amongst those of the south. In France, and Italy, on the other hand, where chivalry was transformed into artificial knight-errantry and the fanciful champaignship of beauty, the national minstrelsy either assumed the form of passionate love songs, or degenerated into tedious prose romances. It is only where martial ardour is ennobled by national enthusiasm that scope is found for pure and healthy ballad poetry.

But it must be admitted that the historical ballads which have come down to us are not

poetically the best specimens of their kind, at least, when judged by the canons of modern criticism. They are often tiresome from painful minuteness of detail. They are generally long, and sometimes dull. Purely poetical ideas in them are as a rule 'few and far between.' Their charm lies in their rough and ready vigour in the active scenes, relieved by dashes of quaint humour, and touches of melting pathos.

One old English ballad, quoted in Evans's collection, from the 'Garland of Delight,' dwells with a zest which there is no effort made to conceal, on the achievement of Lord Mayor Walworth, in stabbing Wat Tyler to the heart. In like manner battle scenes are favourite subjects with the Scottish historical muse, from 'The Battle of Otterbourne,' in the fourteenth, to 'The Battle of Bothwell Bridge,' in the seventeenth century; and nothing seems to inspire the *mâker* so thoroughly as the intoxication of blood. Indeed these old Scottish heroic ballads glory in slaughter in a way that shocks the sensibility of modern times. It was evidently a good joke to describe how a Percy was spitted so perfectly that the spear protruded from his back, 'a large cloth yard, and more.' In the same ballad we read how

'The Percy and Montgomery met,
That either of other was fain;
They swakkit swords, and sore they swat,
And the blood ran down between.'

Such passages, given with proper effect, could not fail to 'bring down the house,' in times when bloodshed was still regarded by most men as the great business of life. Yet there mingle strangely with these exhibitions of grim, ferocious humour, touches of the finest pathos, and hearty recognitions of knightly courtesy. Such, for example, is the scene in which the victorious Percy mourns over his fallen foe, on Cheviot side:—

'The Percy leaned on his brand,
And saw the Douglas dee:
He took the dead man by the hand,
And said: "Wae's me for thee:"

"To save thy life, I'd have parted with
My lands for years three;
For a better man, of head nor hand,
Was not in all the North countrie."

The fate of the heroic Witherington, too, touches the minstrel's heart:—

'Of Witherington my heart was wae,
That ever he slain should be;
For, when both his legs had been hewn in twa,
He kneeled and fought on his knee.'

And very fine and solemn is the minstrel's

account of the morning after the combat:—

'So on the morrow they made them biers,
Of birch and hazel so gray;
Many widows with weeping tears
Came to fetch their makes away.'

Here, surely, if anywhere, we have the 'touch of nature which makes the whole world kin'!

The Scottish version of 'The Battle of Otterbourne,' is remarkable, as containing an element of superstition similar to that which we find in many of our legendary ballads. Douglas is mortally wounded; but with his last breath he orders the fight to be continued till the old prophecy should be fulfilled, that 'a dead Douglas should win a field.' This touched upon a favourite superstition of the times, which the minstrels of all countries did not fail to turn to account. It was obviously intended, not merely to divest the last enemy of some of his terrors, but also to invest the circumstance of death on the battle-field with a special glory. Thus in the last victory gained by the Cid Campeador, on the plains of Valencia, his corpse, clad in panoply, was bound to his charger, and led to the front, between two valiant knights; and the Moors, we are told, were so appalled by the apparition, that they turned and fled. But in the case of the 'dead Douglas,' at Otterbourne, the narrative is more picturesque and circumstantial. Before the battle began he is represented as saying to his faithful page:

'But I have dreamed a dreary dream,
Beyond the Isle of Skye:
I saw a dead man win a fight,
And I think that man was I.'

When struck down, he says to Montgomerie, his nephew:—

'My wound is deep; I fain would sleep:
Take thou the vanguard of the three;
And bury me by the bracken bush,
That grows on yonder lily lea.'

So, when Percy, in turn, is struck down, and asks to whom he must yield, Montgomerie replies:—

'Thou shalt not yield to lord or loun,
Nor yet shalt thou yield to me;
But yield thee to the bracken bush
That grows on yonder lily lea.'

Into the early English historical ballads, or ballads with a historical basis, there were frequently imported satirical elements, which made them less ballads, in the strict sense, than political songs. Warton* quotes

* 'History of English Poetry,' section ii.

an excellent specimen of this class of poems, in which a partisan of Simon de Montfort casts unmeasured ridicule on Richard, King of the Romans ('Richard of Alemaigne'), brother of Henry III., who was taken prisoner along with the latter at the battle of Lewes (1264). So effective was the humour of this ballad or song, that it is believed to have occasioned a statute against libels in the year 1275, under the title, 'Against Slandorous Reports, or Tales to cause Discord betwixt King and People.' 'About the present era,' says Warton, 'we meet with a ballad complaining of the exorbitant fees extorted, and the numerous taxes levied, by the king's officers.' A little later (1306) there is a similar effusion complaining bitterly of the conduct of the justices appointed by Edward I. to carry on the government during his absence in the French and Scottish wars. In the reign of Henry VI., in the next century, a satirical ballad, commenting severely on the proceedings of the king and his counsellors, then sitting in Parliament, was stuck on the gates of the royal palace. Of the same nature were the scurrilous songs which held up 'Old Noll' to ridicule in the time of the civil war. The Revolution had its triumphant, but now meaningless 'Lillibulero.' The Scottish Rebellion in the eighteenth century called forth a host of vigorous Jacobite songs. But these productions, though they owe their existence in some measure to the same circumstances which, in less sophisticated times, gave rise to genuine ballads, do not, any more than the Corn-laws rhymes of Ebenezer Elliot in the present century, belong in any proper sense to ballad literature. They are chiefly interesting as showing how, when intellectual culture spreads, popular feeling seeks out new and more reflective channels through which to express itself.

A considerable section of our national ballads, both English and Scottish, relates to outlawry and freebooting life. This can hardly be surprising when we remember how unsettled society was in both divisions of the island during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries especially, and on the border-land between the two countries at a still later period. The mode of life of the freebooters, combining in a marked degree the elements of lawless and defiant danger on the one hand, and free-handed liberality on the other, presented features of romance which invited poetical treatment. To this class, indeed, belong the best of the old English ballads—those, namely, which treat of the career and exploits of Robin Hood and Little John, and Will Scarlet and Friar Tuck, and the other merry men who dwelt,

as their wits could best devise, under the greenwood in Sherwood Forest. The Robin Hood of the ballads, at least, can no longer be regarded as a historical personage; but it is remarkable that his name has been far more popular with the English peasantry than the names of many real heroes. The reason of this is, that his career was typical of a popular cause—to wit, that resistance to the severe and unjust forest-laws, which, long after the distinction of Norman and Englishman was forgotten, kept up the old jealousy between the nobility and the common people. By the common people Robin Hood was unquestionably regarded as a real personage—as their hero and champion. And he was as great a favourite on the north of the Tweed as on the south. There is a genuine old Scottish ballad, detailing the story of his noble birth; and 'The Play of Robin Hood' was a favourite pastime at the annual sports of many Scottish burghs until the end of the sixteenth century, when it fell under the ban of the General Assembly of the Kirk. Every reader of Scott remembers how effectively it is introduced in the Stirling sports described in the Fifth canto of '*The Lady of the Lake*.' He was a great favourite, too, with the minstrels, who have adorned his character with all heroic and gentle attributes. But the great number of the ballads in which he figures—between thirty and forty, and these of very unequal interest and merit—seems to countenance the theory that every law-defying adventure in the forest, real or imaginable, was fathered upon Robin; and that 'Robin Hood' became a kind of generic name for daring freebooters and outlaws.

The Border land, both English and Scottish, was the favourite haunt of marauding bands down till comparatively recent times. No doubt international jealousy tended to perpetuate this state of matters, and to obtain for it a kind of semi-official sanction; for the 'raids' were regarded as quite legitimate so long as they were made by either party on the other side of the Border, and were conducted in conformity with 'the truce of Bordertide.'

On either side there was a Lord of the Marches, to whose judgment doubtful cases were appealed, and who not only sanctioned, but often led, the predatory inroads. The Scotts of Buccleuch, on the north of the Border, had their counterparts in the Lord Scroops and false Salkelds on the south. If England had its Clym o' the Clough and William of Cloudeley, Scotland had its Johnnie Armstrong and Kinmount Willie, its Jock o' the Side and Jamie Telfer, and a host of others. For the Scottish reavers

were both more numerous and more daring than their English rivals, to which the fact is, no doubt, in great measure owing that Scottish Border ballads of this class are superior, not in number merely, but also in merit, to those of England.

The great mass of the Border ballads are connected, directly or indirectly, with the lives and deeds of adventurous freebooters, who lived by levying black-mail upon their weaker neighbours. Plunder was the avowed profession of these men. Of John Armstrong, the laird of Gilnockie, it is the minstrel's boast that, though

'He has no lands, nor rents coming in,
He keeps eight-score men in his hall.

He has horse and harness for them all—
Goodly steeds that be milk-white;
And goodly belts about their necks,
With hats and feathers all alike.'

Their whole life was a well-planned system of petty warfare—a prolonged struggle for existence—in which

'The good old rule
Sufficed them—the simple plan,
That they should take who had the power,
And they should keep who can.'

This was their creed; yet there was method in the mad lawlessness of these marauders. There was honour among these Border thieves. One of them could boast, with his last breath, on the gallows—

'I've lo'ed naething in a' my life,
I will daur say't, but honestie!'

Their conception of honesty, however, consisted in a loyal and profitable adherence to the *lex talionis*. They held that they might do as they were done by, with impunity. Lord Scroop says to Dick o' the Cow, a noted Cumberland reaver:—

'I give thee leave, my honest fool—
Thou speak'st against my honour and me;
Unless thou gie me thy troth and thy hand,
Thou'll steal from none but who stole from thee.'

And Dick replies:—

'There's my growth and my right hand—
My head shall hang on Haribee,
I'll ne'er cross Carlisle Sands again
If I steal frae a man but wha stole frae me.'

In the same spirit Johnnie Armstrong boasted to the King:—

'England should have found me meat and mault
Gif I had lived this hundred year:
She should have found me meat and mault,
And beef and mutton in all plentie;
But ne'er a Scot's wife could have said,
That e'er I skaithed her a poor flea.'

Such strokes of humour are frequent in the ballads of plundering warfare. 'Kinmont Willie' for example is full of them. But no less common are touches of the finest pathos. What, for instance, could be finer than these stanzas from 'Edom o' Gordon,' in which the fate of the little daughter of the castle, to which Edom has set fire, is described:—

'They rolled her in a pair of sheets,
And dropped her o'er the wall;
But on the point of Gordon's spear
She got a deadly fall.

O bonny, bonny was her mouth,
And cherry were her cheeks,
And clear, clear was her yellow hair,
Whereon the red blood dreeps.

Then with his spear he turned her o'er;
O, but her face was wan!
He said, "You are the first that e'er
I wished alive again."

He turned her o'er, and o'er again;
O, but her skin was white!
"I might have spared that bonny face,
To have been some man's delight.

"Busk and boune, my merry men all,
For ill dooms I do guess;
I canna look on that bonny face
As it lies on the grass."

Students of Scottish ballad poetry are aware that 'Edom o' Gordon' is one of the romantic series condemned as spurious imitations by the late Dr. Robert Chambers. Himself an able and appreciative editor of ballads in his earlier years (1829), he published, when advanced in life, an elaborate argument* to prove that many of our best romantic ballads, including 'Sir Patrick Spens,' 'Gil Morrice,' 'Young Waters,' 'The Douglas Tragedy,' and some twenty others, were written by Lady Wardlaw, of Pitreavie, who died in 1727. The foundation of his argument is the fact that 'Hardy Knut,' which was published professedly as an old ballad in 1719, and in which the style and diction of the traditionary ballads are very skilfully imitated, was subsequently acknowledged to be the composition of Lady Wardlaw. He finds that the versions of many of these ballads given by Percy, through whom they were first published, rest upon no ancient manuscript authority, but were printed 'from a manuscript copy sent out from Scotland,' or, 'from a written copy that appears to have received some modern corrections,' or 'as it was preserved in the memory of a lady that is now dead.' Suspicion being thus aroused,

* We give the title of Dr. Chambers's brochure at the head of this article.

he proceeds to compare these ballads with one another, and with the avowedly spurious 'Hardy Knut;' and he finds so many points of resemblance, both in plan of treatment and in turn of expression, that he is forced to assign the whole of this remarkable body of romantic literature to Lady Wardlaw's single pen.

The whole of the evidence on which Dr. Chambers bases his case reduces itself to two points,—the absence of ancient manuscript authority, and the alleged coincidences of thought and expression observed in the ballads.

To the former ground very little weight can be attached. It is of the nature and essence of a national ballad to be traditionary. As soon as it is committed to manuscript, or to type, its traditionary career is cut short, and it becomes a part of regular literature. In the history of every traditionary ballad there must have been a time when it was first committed to manuscript, and if that time was recent, it is impossible that any 'ancient manuscript' can be appealed to. The fact has already been mentioned that in Scott's 'Minstrelsy' there are upwards of thirty ballads which had never before been published, but which he and Leyden and other friends ferreted out and wrote down in the course of their 'border raids.' Now, when Scott wrote a ballad,—and he wrote many,—he always took the credit of it. He never attempted to conceal his authorship of 'Glenfinlas,' or 'The Massacre of Glencoe,' or 'The Eve of St. John,' or 'The Gray Brother.' Leyden, in like manner, acknowledged himself the author of 'The Mermaid' and 'Lord Soulis,' and other ballads. But there was never a whispered doubt of the genuineness of 'Jamie Telfer' or 'Kinmont Willie,' of the 'Cruel Sister' or the 'Demon Lover,' of the 'Dowie Dens o' Yarrow' or 'the Wife of Usher's Well,' or of a host of others which Scott first gave to the world. Yet there were no 'ancient manuscripts' of these poems. If there had been, the probability is that their first publication would not have been reserved for Scott.

The mere absence of 'ancient manuscript' authority therefore is in itself no sufficient ground for questioning the genuine antiquity of ballads taken down and published at a still later date than that of those which Dr. Chambers impeaches.

A better proof of antiquity than that of manuscript authority is the existence in different districts of different versions of the same ballad. Now this is the case with what Dr. Chambers calls the romantic, but what is more correctly called the historical ballad of 'Sir Patrick Spence.' When Percy first

printed this ballad, in 1765, 'from two MSS. copies transmitted from Scotland,' it contained only eleven stanzas. When Scott reproduced it in 1802, he was able to add at least ten new stanzas, obtained from independent dictation. In 1806 Robert Jamieson published another version of the same ballad in eighteen stanzas, and in 1828 yet another version was produced by Peter Buchan comprising twenty-nine stanzas. The remarkable fact to be noticed in connection with these different versions of 'Sir Patrick Spence' is, that no one stanza in the versions of Jamieson and Buchan is exactly the same as, or exactly corresponds with, the combined version of Percy and Scott. Now this is precisely what would occur,—what occurs over and over again,—in the case of traditionary ballads. And this is a crucial test. For as Mr. Norval Clyne well remarks—

"'Sir Patrick' is the corner stone of the structure raised by Mr. Chambers. If he has failed to prove, or show reasonable grounds for believing, that the author of "Hardy Knut" and "Sir Patrick Spence" was one and the same person, or that the latter poem is a production of the eighteenth century, the whole of his precarious edifice comes to the ground, a baseless fabric. He dwells strongly on points of resemblance between the several ballads in dispute, and argues somewhat in this fashion: Number *one* has expressions similar to those in "Hardy Knut;" number *two* contains lines or words wonderfully like some in number *one*; number *three* has, in a similar way, a resemblance to numbers *one* and *two*; and so forth through the whole twenty-five pieces. Take away number *one*, therefore, to wit, "Sir Patrick Spence," and Mr. Chambers's logic, unsound enough before, becomes too defective to be mentioned with gravity.*"

This leaves the point in dispute, therefore, to be determined solely by internal evidence; that is, by a comparison of the ballads whose genuineness is doubted with one another, and with 'Hardy Knut,' whose modern authorship is unquestionable. Now, here it should be noted that, considering the nature of traditionary poetry, considering especially the manner in which necessarily it is propagated and conserved, mere coincidences of expression and treatment afford in themselves no reliable proof of identity of origin. We find not merely phrases, not merely lines, but whole stanzas freely interchanged, with but slight variations, in ballads the antiquity of

* Mr. Clyne's brochure is a systematic and exceedingly able and convincing reply to Dr. Chambers's paper. Apart from the general argument, it disposes most successfully of the verbal coincidences on which Dr. Chambers laid so much weight.

which is beyond the reach of question. Dr. Chambers's argument proves too much. For there are numerous expressions in ballads the genuineness of which he did not dispute, which bear the closest affinity to, nay which are identical with, expressions in the ballads which he condemned as spurious.

Further, it happens unfortunately for Dr. Chambers's argument, that 'Hardy Knut' is admitted on all hands to be immeasurably inferior as a poem to the ballads with which he expressly compares it. He himself refers several times to the 'stiff and somewhat puerile' manner of that poem. There are many lines, even in the parts of 'Hardy Knut' which he has quoted, which have a distinctly modern flavour. Such lines as—

'With noble chiefs in brave array ;'
'Full twenty thousand glittering spears
The King of Norse commands ;'
'Kind chieftain, your intent pursue ;'
'But soon beneath some drapping tree
Cauld death shall end my care.'
'Ne'er to return to native land,
Nae mair, with blithesome sounds,
To boast the glories of the day,
And shaw their shining wounds.'

Such lines as these, we say, in spite of 'drapping' for 'dropping,' 'cauld' for 'cold,' 'shaw' for 'show' and 'lang' for 'long,' betray at once their modern cast of thought. There is nothing specially ballad-like about them, and nothing specially poetical. They might have appeared in any commonplace eighteenth century poem. Now we find no such commonplace modern lines, no such feeble expressions, as those quoted above, in the other ballads whose genuineness is impeached.

Peculiarities of grammatical construction form a better test of authorship than similarities of expression, or even of treatment. 'Hardy Knut' is free from such singularities, from first to last. But in the first six stanzas of 'Sir Patrick Spence' there occurs three times an idiom so peculiar that, to have been used so frequently, it must have been an idiosyncrasy of the author; and, supposing 'Hardy Knut' to have been the production of the same hand, it is hardly possible that that hand could have written so long a poem without introducing it once at least. The peculiarity to which we refer is the omission of the relative in the nominative case. We find this in the second stanza:—

'Up and spak an eldern Knight
(*Who*) sat at the king's right knee.'

We find a curious repetition of it in the third stanza:—

'And sent it to Sir Patrick Spence
(*Who*) was walking on the sand.'

And we find it again in the sixth stanza:—

'O wha is this (*that*) has done this deed,
This ill deed done to me.'

Now this is no ordinary ellipsis. The omission of the relative in the objective case is common enough; but the omission of the subject relative is very rare. In fact, as an idiom, it is peculiar to Shakespeare and the writers of the sixteenth century, who, like him, adopted an excessively condensed style of diction. At the same time it is not a peculiarity which is likely to have been adopted by any one of set purpose. No one but a professed anatomist of language could be expected to take note of such a singularity. It is an unconscious idiom, and its frequent use indicates a mind fond of compression and ellipsis. So peculiar, or as the Scots say so "kenspeckle," a mark is it that, if it had been found but once in 'Hardy Knut,' we should have acknowledged that as itself a weighty argument in support of Dr. Chambers's view. But as it does not occur once there, we regard its absence as an equally weighty argument on the other side.

The same may be said, with nearly as much force, of another peculiar construction which we have in 'Sir Patrick Spence,' but for which we shall look in vain in 'Hardy Knut.' This time it is not ellipsis but redundancy, and a redundancy which is common in the older ballads. It consists in the unnecessary use of a pronoun to mark an object or person already specified. This occurs several times in 'Sir Patrick Spence' in such familiar forms as—

'The King's daughter of Norway,
'Tis thou maun bring *her* hame.'

Now since these inward and more subtle peculiarities of the style of 'Sir Patrick Spence' are totally absent from 'Hardy Knut,' the question occurs: May not the outward and merely verbal coincidences, on which so much stress is laid, be accounted for in another way? There is one line the same in both ballads—

'Drinking the blude-red wine ;'

and a line very like this may be found in many other ballads. But is this a sufficient reason for assigning both ballads to the same author? Is it not far more probable that the author of 'Hardy Knut' unconsciously appropriated the line from the other and older ballad? It must be acknowledged that Lady Wardlaw could not have written 'Hardy Knut,' even with all its imperfections, unless she had previously filled her mind with ballad lore. The very task she set herself in that case—to write a mock-antique ballad—

required her to school herself in the peculiarities of ballad diction. It is far more probable, therefore, that 'Hardy Knut' was modelled on the superior ballads with which it is compared, than that the superior ballads were also the work of the hand to which only one ballad has been clearly brought home. No amount of garnish, in the shape of antique spelling and Scottish forms, can conceal the modern flavour in the single well-authenticated case. How happens it that this flavour is so hard to detect in the others? With all respect, therefore, for Robert Chambers's literary taste and honest scepticism, we must hold fast to the conviction that the great mass of our romantic ballads have had an undoubted traditional origin, and are as old at least as Shakespeare and the regular drama.

Perhaps it is natural, when we consider the strife and lawlessness and bloodshed which formed to so great an extent the education of the people, that tragic features should so generally abound in these romantic ballads. Many of them have rendered the peaceful valleys and pastoral slopes of the lowlands of Scotland classic ground, which bards of later times have trodden with reverent and loving steps. Such a region, for example, is the 'Braes of Yarrow,' in Selkirkshire, where

'The swan on lone St. Mary's Lake
Floats double, swan and shadow.'

Yarrow has its own special galaxy of song, and is rich in poetic memories. It inspired Hamilton of Bangour to write his exquisite verses on 'The Braes of Yarrow.' To Scott it was hallowed soil, making his eyes now gleam with fire, now glisten with moisture, as he recited the triumphs and the trials of his clansmen. Here the Ettrick shepherd heard the skylark sing—

'Bird of the wilderness,
Blithesome and cumberless,
Sweet be thy matin o'er moorland and lea.'

Wordsworth, too, delighted in a district which drew from his poetical enthusiasm some of the choicest of his natural lyrics, witness 'Yarrow Unvisited,' 'Yarrow Visited,' 'Yarrow Revisited. But finest of all, we venture to think, is the original ballad that first consecrated the soil from which so much and so rich romantic fruit has sprung—'The Dowie Dens o' Yarrow,'—a ballad which for dramatic power and heart-rending pathos has few equals in the whole range of traditional poetry.

It is interesting to observe the light which these old ballads throw, not only on the manners and customs of the people in by-

gone times, but also on their peculiar beliefs and feelings. Prominent among the superstitions which grow with wild luxuriance in this romantic soil, is the belief in the monitory power of dreams. On the eve of his fatal victory at Otterbourne, the Douglas saw in a dream a dead man win a field. It was a dream that sent Robin Hood in search of Sir Guy of Gisborne. It was a dream that told 'love Gregory' that 'Annie of Lochroyan' had been turned from his door at midnight by his heartless mother, and that drew him to seek her by the wild seashore, where—

'He caught her by the yellow hair,
And drew her to the strand;
But cold and stiff was every limb,
Before they reached the land.'

And it was a dream that led the 'Rose of Yarrow' in the Dowie Dens to wander forth in search of her murdered lord.

The nature of her dream points to another widely prevalent superstition. She dreamt that she 'pu'd the birk' with her true love in Yarrow. The birch was believed to grow at the gate of Paradise; and to dream of it, therefore, was accepted as a forewarning of death. The birk was also the badge of the dead who re-visited the earth; for the return of the dead was a universally accepted article in the Border faith. Without a twig of the birk it was believed that their souls could not be at rest, nor their bodies lie peacefully in their graves. Thus when the troubled spirit of 'Clerk Saunders' returns to 'May Margaret' he tells her to

'Plait a wand of the bonnie birk,
And lay it on my breast;
And go you home, May Margaret,
And wish my soul good rest.'

One fine and most touching ballad—'The Wife of Usher's Well'—is full of these superstitions. When the Wife's two stalwart sons, whom she sent 'owre the sea' returned to her, 'their hats were o' the birk':—

'It neither grew in syke nor ditch,
Nor yet in ony sheugh;
But at the gates o' Paradise,
That birk grew fair enough.'

Then we have the cock-crowing as the signal for the ghosts to depart. The older says to the younger brother,—

'The cock doth crow, the day doth daw,
The channerin' worm doth chide;
Gin we be missed out o' our place,
A sair pain we maun bide.'

The remonstrance of the younger brother is too fine to be omitted:—

'Lie still, lie still but a little wee while,
Lie still but if we may;
Gin our mither miss us when she wakes,
She'll go mad ere it be day.'

Another curious feature in the romantic ballads is the use they frequently make of communication by birds. This was peculiarly an Eastern tradition. Interpretation of the language of birds was a department of science on which the Arabians especially piqued themselves; and it has been suggested that our poets and chroniclers may have obtained the idea from the crusading troubadours. But it is not necessary to have recourse to any such learned explanation, as this kind of personification has entered into the natural mythology of all countries.

'The parrot of May Collean,' says Aytoun, 'was a fowl of shrewdness and discretion; but the "bonny bird," who, in the ballad of "Young Hunter," reveals the murder, was conscientious in the extreme, and moreover proof against temptation. Another warns the mother of Johnny of Braidislee that her son is lying wounded in the forest; whilst "the gay goss-hawk" shows itself superior to any page in the delivery of a message.'

The page also holds a prominent place among the *dramatis personæ* of the romantic ballads. The plot, such as it is, often turns on the manner in which he discharges his duty. Indeed he is sometimes a hero in disguise. The intrepid Willie of 'Gil Morrice,' may be taken as a type of the class; and not unfrequently, as in his case, the 'bonnie boy' exhibits a sense of propriety and decency which puts the moral laxity of his master to shame.

The intermixture of the spiritual and material worlds in the 'Romantic Ballads' has given rise in modern times to a distinct school of ballad poetry, which has found its best exponents among German poets. The first of the school was Gottfried Bürger, who died in 1794, and he was followed by Schiller, Goethe, and Uhland. The most striking feature in their ballads, apart from their free use of supernatural agency, is the introduction of dramatic dialogue, which is a modern demonstration of that close affinity between ballad and dramatic poetry on which we have already insisted. Yet this is merely a later development of our own native ballad literature, with which one and all of these German poets were intimately acquainted. Of Bürger it is expressly recorded that his study of Percy's 'Reliques' had the greatest influence in determining the line of poetry which he ultimately adopted. But the debt was richly repaid; for Sir Walter Scott

is reported to have said of the translation of Bürger's 'Lenore' by William Taylor of Norwich—'This was what made me a poet. I had several times attempted the more regular kinds of poetry without success, but here was something I thought I could do.' Accordingly, Scott's translation of that fine ballad was one of his earliest poetical efforts; and in most of his larger poems he has availed himself freely of supernatural agency,—witness the tale of 'The Elfin Warrior,' and the apparitions at the city cross in 'Marmion,' and the 'Oracle of the Hide' in 'The Lady of the Lake: while 'The Lay of the Last Minstrel' is expressly founded on a ghostly legend. Coleridge is a still more enthusiastic and thorough-going disciple of the same school. Indeed, no better example of this species of ballad, in which the natural and the supernatural elements are deftly interwoven, exists in any language, than his 'Rime of the Ancient Mariner.'

Akin to this supernatural ingredient in the ballads is a fairy element, which enters into a considerable number of them, and which is evidently taken from the mythology of the northern nations. The Elf-land of the ballads is an underground region, peopled with daring spirits who make night-raids on the realms of humanity. There is an Elf-King (the 'Elb-rich' of the Germans, transformed into 'Oberon' by the French romancists); but he is entirely subordinate to the Elf-Queen ('Titania,') who adds the charms of beauty to her sovereign rights. The king is allowed to lead an idle and luxurious life, so long as he does not interfere with his wife's prerogative. She and her elves were regarded with considerable favour in some districts; but there was a spice of malignity in some of their proceedings, which engendered a feeling of distrust and fear. This, however, was held to be more their misfortune than their fault. If they occasionally kidnapped a human being, they did it in self-defence. For they were bound, once in seven years, to yield up a soul as tribute, or 'kane,' to the master-fiend; and they naturally preferred to obtain a human being for this purpose, to sacrificing one of themselves.

The great hero of the 'Fairy Legends' was Thomas the Rhymer, or True Thomas (more fully, Thomas Learmont, of Ercildoune, a village near Lauder, where the ruins of his tower are still pointed out), who flourished in the end of the thirteenth century. In his adventures, as recorded by himself, Christian and heathen elements are strangely intermingled. When the Elf-queen visits him, he salutes her as queen of heaven; and as a penalty of stealing a kiss

* 'The Ballads of Scotland,' Introduction, p. xlix.

from her, she carries him off as her milk-white steed, and makes him her slave for seven years. She takes him to a wide desert, and there shows him three 'ferlies' or wonders. The first is a 'broad way':—

'That is the path of wickedness,
Though some call it the road to heaven.'

The second is the 'narrow way,'—

'So thick beset with thorns and briars;
That is the path of righteousness,
Though after it but few enquires.'

The third is also a 'narrow road'—

'That winds about the ferny brae;
That is the way to fair Elf-land
Where you and I this night must gae.'

As she carries him along the road, where there was neither sun nor moon to light their path, and all sounds were drowned by the weird 'roaring of a sea,' the queen tells him that he must not speak, else he shall never return to earth. The terrors through which he passed were enough to seal his lips and make his blood run cold:—

'It was mirk, mirk nicht; there was nae stern-
light,
And they waded through red blude to the
knee;

For a' the blude that's shed on earth
Rins thro' the springs o' that countrie.'

After undergoing an education of seven years at the hands of the Elf-queen, True Thomas returns to upper air, endued with powers which gained for him the reputation of a wizard and prophet. To a late day, his sayings and predictions were household words amongst the credulous and superstitious in Scotland. But there is reason to suspect that, as in the case of Robin Hood and other popular heroes, he is credited with many exploits in which he had no concern.

A word, in conclusion, on modern ballads. At the outset we described a ballad as primarily and essentially a traditionary poem. But if we adhere to our definition in its integrity, the strictly ballad epoch must have been extinguished by the invention of printing; and thereafter the production of a genuine ballad became almost, if not altogether, an impossibility. Certainly the age of traditionary ballads is past and gone. But the history of the word *ballad* has shown us that the application of such terms must vary with the conditions under which literature is produced. And we should do unpardonable injustice at once to the power of poetry and to the spirit of nationality and of humanity, if we denied that poems inspired by the ballad emotion could be produced in a literary age, or disseminated by the printing press. All that

is necessary is that we should clearly recognise the essential difference between the natural ballad and the ballad of literary culture. The former bears the stamp of its age; the latter of the individual poet. They differ much as the wild and dew-fed violet of the meadows differs from the cultivated pansy of our gardens; as the *volks-epos* of the German critics—the popular epic—differs from the *kunst-epos*—the epic of literary culture; as Homer's 'Iliad,' for example, differs from Tennyson's 'Idylls of the King.'

Now, not only have we many modern poems answering to this description, but such poems form, in point of fact, one of the richest and most attractive departments of our modern literature. Some of these modern ballads indeed are simply old friends with new faces. Scott's 'Young Lochinvar' tells the same story as the old ballad of 'Katharine of Janfarie,' 'The Lass of Lochryan,' suggested Burns's song of 'Lord Gregory,' Tennyson's 'Lord of Burleigh' is simply a modern version of the fine old ballad of 'Donald of the Isles; or Lizzie Lindsay.' The 'Auld Robin Gray' of Lady Anne Lindsay is nearly a perfect example of a pathetic and homely ballad—a poem which will be remembered and loved long after more ambitious works are forgotten. For there is in the brevity and compactness of a ballad an element which gives it a far better chance of longevity than more elaborate productions. This is, no doubt, the great reason why the most widely popular poems—we do not say the greatest poems, but the poems which take the firmest grip of the sympathies and the memories of the great mass of the people; the poems with which, in the popular mind, the fame even of the greatest poets is most closely linked—are ballad poems. Is not 'Tam o' Shanter' Burns's masterpiece? And 'Tam o' Shanter' is an incomparable ballad, a powerful dramatic lyric. Or take a second famous ride; is not Cowper known and admired as the author of 'John Gilpin' by thousands who never read 'Expostulation,' and have only dipped into 'The Task'? And 'John Gilpin' is essentially a ballad. Or take a third famous ride; how many, even in these days of 'light and sweetness,' read, or reading understand 'Sordello'? Yet who does not enjoy and enter heartily into the spirit of 'Good News from Ghent'? Take, finally, the case of the Laureate. 'In Memoriam' is undoubtedly a great poem, a poem which, of its kind, stands almost alone, and which, in the opinion of the best judges, is still, and is likely to remain, Tennyson's masterpiece. Yet for every one who reads and

cherishes that poem—and they are not few—there are hundreds who know and appreciate Tennyson only as the author of such simple and heart-touching ballads as 'The Lord of Burleigh' and 'Lady Clare.'

ART. II.—*Modern Scientific Inquiry and Religious Thought.*

- (1.) *The Story of the Earth and Man.* By J. W. DAWSON, LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., Principal and Vice-Chancellor of McGill University, Montreal. Author of 'Archæia,' 'Acadian Geology,' &c. Hodder and Stoughton. 1873.
- (2.) *The Higher Ministry of Nature viewed in the Light of Modern Science and as an Aid to advanced Christian Philosophy.* By JOHN R. LEIFCHILD, A.M., Author of 'Our Coal Fields,' 'Cornwall, its Mines and Miners,' &c. Hodder and Stoughton. 1872.

THE attitude sustained towards each other by religion and science is sometimes described as that of an armed truce—a truce which is indeed broken occasionally by a passage of arms between some of the more eager of the contending hosts. That there is very much to favour such a description in—to say the least—the reticence of the man of science towards religious thought, and the suspicion with which he in turn is regarded by the theologian, cannot be denied; but it is equally true that there are not a few men of high and wide culture on both sides—and the number of them is increasing—who, above the mutual suspicion and distrust, and above the din of the strife, are able to discern a meeting-place for the scattered rays of light which fall on either side, and of which the lesser and more dogmatic minds are prone to think that the little portion they possess, is the whole of the ascertainable and the known.

It is probable that many scientific men have aroused the suspicion and provoked the hostility of the opposite side, both by this reticence on religious subjects, and also by the narrow exclusiveness with which they have often sought to guard the realms of science from the intrusion of the theologian. Mr. Tyndall in his review of Mr. Mosely on the 'Miracles,' affords an illustration of this. The assumption of superiority with which the theologian is there warned off, as if the region of science were a sort of Tom Tiddler's ground, would be amusing were it not sad in the interests of truth to discern

the undercurrent of intolerant dogmatism which underlies all such assumption.

On the other hand, there is no disguising the fact that theologians have done very much to provoke not only the hostility, but what is worse, the contempt of scientific men by the extravagant and grotesque theories of creation, nature, and life, which many of them have put forth. A motley group of such theories may be seen in the chapter on 'The Geology of the Anti-Geologists,' contained in Hugh Miller's 'Testimony of the Rocks.' We can readily understand the scorn that was evoked at a recent meeting of the British Association when an Archdeacon of the English Church gravely argued that the various races of animals had descended from the cherubim who were placed to guard the gates of Paradise! There was some excuse for Mr. Huxley's retort, 'that it was enough to make one think that the first theologian was Cain, and Abel the first man of science.' It is to be feared, also, that scientific men are occasionally goaded into opposition as their speculations and researches are met by anathema instead of argument, and by the charge of atheism, which, with all its consequences, is heaped upon them and their theories.

Is it not possible, also, that the estimate of the opposition of men of science towards religion may have been greatly exaggerated? We think if inquiry were made, it would be found that there are as many of them in proportion to the entire number who could fairly claim to rank as Christian men as there are of lawyers, historians, littérateurs, or, indeed, of the mass of ordinary people. Even in cases where indifference or hostility to the claims of religion is manifested, such indifference or hostility is not necessarily to be charged to the study of natural science. In many cases such men would have been '*nicht Christen*,' as Goethe has it, if they had never given a thought to science at all. Indeed, they may be such as the result more of their early training, and of the moral condition of their lives, than of the nature of their studies. Shall we be forgiven if, borrowing a simile from scientific language, we add that possibly they only possess in a rudimentary form that capacity for religion which, however it may have come to the race collectively, is now an integral part of the instinct of the fully-developed individual.

It would be difficult to over-estimate the care, labour, and desire for accuracy, by means of which the stock of scientific knowledge now possessed has been obtained by earnest students of nature. There is no

disguising the fact that the bulk of the conclusions of modern science rest upon an almost incredible accumulation of facts and observed phenomena; and upon an amount of persistent inquiry which entitles many of the inquirers to rank as scientific martyrs. Take, as an example from one department of science, the publication of the Palæontographical Society of this country. This society has for its object, as its name implies, the preparation and publishing of writings descriptive of the nature and variety of ancient life upon the earth. It has now published twenty-four quarto volumes, which are full of minute descriptions of nearly five thousand species of British fossils, all of which are represented in upwards of one thousand plates, which contain over twenty thousand figures. Of the way in which each monograph descriptive of the remains of some particular order or class of life is compiled, we can give an illustration. We single out the account of a family of shell-fish. The writer starts with its living representatives, and follows the history back throughout the vast periods of geologic time. To do this has taken twenty-five years of the author's life; which time he has passed chiefly in his study, examining—microscopically for the most part—the hinge-lines, striæ, and shapes of the shells he describes, together with the muscular impressions of the fish which once lived in them, and collating the British examples with specimens brought from all parts of the world. He has drawn with his own hands some three hundred quarto plates, each containing fifty figures, and for each of these figures he has examined at least ten specimens. Of the many explorers and collectors necessary for the accumulation of such a mass of materials, who have wandered solitarily amidst the tombs of ancient life, we will not now speak. Their labour must have been very great. The illustration we have given is but one of many which might be drawn from every department of science; and it will be admitted that the results of such patient and self-sacrificing inquiry are entitled to all the respect and consideration we can give. This we readily yield, and we would have it well understood that it is in no hostile spirit we now proceed to point out what, to us, seem to be some defects in the mode and spirit in which scientific inquiry is sometimes pursued.

It needs but a slight acquaintance with scientific literature, especially its periodical literature, to discover that, admirably adapted as many scientists are for the discovery and examination of details, a large proportion of them, from deficiency in natural power, as

well as by reason of the lack of a liberal early culture, are incompetent for the higher work of the generalization of facts. To borrow an illustration from business life, there are many good clerks and even heads of departments, but there are few master minds able to comprehend the whole machinery, the interdependence, and the mutual relationship of the numerous and widely-diversified ramifications of the business. If a man wishes to become well acquainted with the general features of a country, it will not do for him to be ever threading its valleys and ravines. Now and then he must take a long breath, and ascend high table-lands and mountain peaks. Waiting patiently until the clouds have dispersed and the mists have cleared away, he must note well the grand outline of the hills, the winding of the valleys, the far-stretching plains, the distant sea, and the far off dim meeting-place of earth and sky. In scientific inquiry all this has been too often forgotten. The tendency to theorize has been out of proportion to the knowledge of facts; and as in other lines of thought so in this, men are dogmatic in proportion to their lack of culture and power of generalization.

Then it has often seemed to us that there is among scientific men a good deal of what Carlyle, in reference to another subject, has called in German fashion *schwärmerei*, a sort of enthusiastic follow-my-leader. A new idea is started, a theory launched, for example, by a favourite author. Attracted by its novelty or daring, it finds a few zealous partisans, who write it up, who iterate and reiterate it, who soon assume it to be quite true, and forthwith proceed to make it the base of further inquiries; and as, whether derived from them or not, we are largely possessed of that imitative faculty which is characteristic of the apes, they find many imitators and followers. Increasing in numbers and importance, they begin to look down with some degree of contempt on those who hesitate to accept their conclusions, and who demand further evidence. The acceptance of the theory really becomes quite as much a test of scientific respectability, as that of the latest style of dress is of the necessary qualification to be admitted into fashionable society.

Much, too, as scientific men affect to despise the influence of authority or tradition in other matters, we nevertheless find them in their own domain too frequently guilty of bowing down to these. For example, how frequently do we meet in scientific books with such expressions as these, 'My

learned and distinguished friend, Sir A. B., informs me,' or, 'It is stated by C. D., Esq., F.R.S., an eminent authority on this subject,' or, 'If it be as Herr von E. or M. de F., the eminent German or French naturalist, says, then such and such consequences follow.' Now it appears to us that sufficient care is not always taken by scientific inquirers to verify these statements of their friends, or to inquire whether the accuracy of the recorded facts has ever been impugned. If space permitted, we could adduce numerous examples of the assertion and re-assertion, as accepted facts, of observations whose error and worthlessness as scientific data had been demonstrated over and over again. These are some of the defects of scientific reasoning; there are others which we shall notice before we have done.

Turning now to the books whose titles appear at the head of this paper we find that Mr. Dawson, the author of 'The Story of the Earth and Man,' possesses to the full the qualities essential to the able generalizer of facts. Those who move within scientific circles need not be told that he has been an indefatigable worker in several portions of the geologic field. Of this his numerous contributions to the Proceedings of the Geological Society of London give ample proof. We mention, as examples of the importance of these, his description—the first given—of the *Eozoon Canadensis*, the gigantic form of early life found not many years ago in the Laurentian rocks of America; and his paper on the 'Devonian Flora of Nova Scotia as illustrating the conditions of the Deposition of Coal.' Outside this circle he is known by his books 'Archæia' and 'Acadian Geology.' Mr. Dawson is also known as an original observer and discoverer in geological science. As he remarks, somewhat apologetically,—

'He has named and described the oldest known animal. He has also described the eldest true exogen, and the oldest pine tree. He was concerned in the discovery of the oldest land snails, and found the oldest millipedes. He has just described the oldest bituminous bed composed of spore cases, and he claims that his genus *Hylonomus* includes the oldest animals which have a fair claim to be considered reptiles.'—Pp. 149, 150.

The discrimination and philosophical acumen of the author are seen, among many other examples, in the lucid way in which he describes the part which land-ice, icebergs, and river action have played in the deposition of the loose stony covering of the earth known as drift. The manner in which he does this, and indicates the signs by means of which the work performed by

these several agents may be determined, contrasts favourably with that of many geologists, who, with the dogmatism which is the sure indication of limitation of vision, assign the whole phenomenon to one cause alone.

'The Story of the Earth and Man' is therefore written by a master-hand. The telling of it combines exactness of science with intelligibility of description. We miss indeed the imaginative flights and numerous literary references of the popular books of Hugh Miller; but with less of rhetoric we get more science, more especial knowledge of each of the geologic eras; and these conveyed with a precision, yet with sufficient amplitude of language, to make the book interesting to a reader of ordinary culture. There are, of course, the long names of fossils, comparable in size to the Saurians of the middle and the Mammals of the later ages, but this in the nature of the case is unavoidable. It is in no sense a science-made-easy book of the kind scientific men are apt to despise, but an honest and able attempt to convey in pure English, to Englishmen of average intelligence, the history of the earth and the opening chapters of the history of man.

The story opens with the incandescent mass, which, flung off from another planet or coalescing from smaller fragments, took its shape as it went whirling through space. Then comes the cooling of its surface; the ascending vapour condensing into rain; the precipitation of salts; then we are introduced to the first appearance of life, and we follow both the increase and the divergence of the stream of life through the three great geological divisions of time. The subdivisions of these epochs, as marked by groups of strata, come next, which, as separate formations, the author describes as fully as the limits of the work will allow, together with the varying chemical, climatic, and atmospheric conditions of each; the rise, growth, and decadence of certain forms of life, with the perpetuation of others, through succeeding eras; the introduction of the higher forms of life as the earth became fitted to receive them; all this and much more is told, as we have said, in a manner that combines exactness of science with succinctness and intelligibility of description to readers of ordinary culture.

In the concluding chapters Mr. Dawson sums up the teaching of the whole story in its bearing on two at least of the questions which of late have been prominently before men's minds; namely, the mode of the origin of species, and the antiquity of the human race. On the first of these questions

Mr. Dawson joins issue from the beginning with the theory of the variation of species, and of the wider divergencies of life by means of natural selection as propounded by Mr. Darwin. From the position the former holds in the scientific world, it will at once be felt that his arguments are worthy of attention. It is too much the fashion of supporters of the theory in question to assume its general acceptance by all scientific men worthy of the name. It will not do any longer, however, to ignore the criticisms, limitations, exceptions, and the direct contradictions of the theory urged by such men as Barrande, Agassiz, Owen, Thomson, Phillips, Pritchard, the Duke of Argyll, and Dawson, together with the late Sir John Herschell and Professor Sedgwick, and men of like wide culture and scientific eminence. The time has come, and it ought to have come before, when such criticisms should be met by fair argument, and not by contemptuous silence, misconception, and declamation.

We need hardly say that Mr. Dawson argues the question with fairness and candour, and with that respect for Mr. Darwin which that gentleman's position and acquirements deserve.

Mr. Dawson even goes so far as to enumerate many of the examples, afforded by ancient orders of life, of a combination of form in the same individual, and an apparent subsequent divergence to separate classes of organism. We are reminded for example of the corals of Silurian and Devonian times, which bore within themselves resemblances to two very different classes which inhabit modern seas; of the *Orthoceratites* which reached their largest development in the Carboniferous period, and were at once nautili and cuttle fish; of the *Sigillariæ* of the coal flora, which were pines and club mosses in one; and of the *Archegosaurus* of the Carboniferous age, which, while having affinity with the old ganoid fishes, were still possessed of true lungs and feet; and from which ascended and diverged two lines of progress, one leading to gigantic crocodile animals, and the other leading to small and delicate lizard-like species.

Once only, when apparently annoyed at the air of superiority displayed by the more ardent supporters of Mr. Darwin's scheme, and appalled by the blank atheism which to his mind seems to be the only legitimate outcome of the theory, does the author indulge in any ebullition of feeling. The fear of this atheistic tendency is present also in the mind of Mr. Leifchild, with regard to both this and other theories which

he passes under review. It may be, however, that both of them are mistaken. Certainly, it is a dangerous proceeding to charge any theory with atheism as its only legitimate result. It may be that blank atheism is not the only possible result of the theory of evolution; but only one among others equally possible, according to the light, the mood, and the bias of those who look at it. Indeed, the impression does not seem to be permanent on the mind of either Mr. Dawson or Mr. Leifchild, for the former elsewhere argues that the theory itself demands an intelligent author, and the latter that evolution implies an evolver. Besides, the necessity of a secondary creative law is admitted by both authors, and by most of the writers we have named as taking exception to the theory. Professor Owen says:—

'The generalizations based upon a rigorous and extensive observation of facts, which have impressed me with a conviction of a continuously operative secondary creational power originating the succession of species, are the following: that of irrelative or vegetative repetition; that of unity of plan as demonstrated in the articulate and vertebrate types of organization; the facts of congenital varieties; the phenomena of parthenogenesis; the analogies of transitory embryonal stages in a higher animal to the mature forms of lower animals; the great palæontological fact of the successive coming in of new species from the period of the oldest deposit in which organic remains have been found, such species being limited in time and never reappearing after dying out; the many instances of retention of structures in palæozoic species, which are embryonal and transitory in later species of the same order or class; the progressive departure from a general to a special type as exemplified in the series of species from their first introduction to the present time.'

Mr. Owen truly adds:—

'The inductive demonstration of the nature and mode of operation of such secondary continuously operative species producing force, will henceforth be the great aim of the naturalist.'—*'Palæontology,'* p. 144.

To the same effect the Duke of Argyll, after showing the insufficiency of Mr. Darwin's theory to account for the origin of species, writes:—

'On the other hand, if I am asked whether I believe that every separate species has been a separate creation, not born, but separately made, I must answer that I do not believe it. I think the facts do suggest to the mind the working of some creative law almost as certainly as they convince us that we know nothing of its nature, or of the conditions under which it does its glorious work.'—*'Reign of Law,'* p. 249.

So also Mr. Dawson :—

‘What, then, is the actual statement of the theory of creation, as it may be held by a modern man of science? Simply this, that all things have been produced by the supreme creative will acting directly, or through the agency of forces and materials of His own production. This theory does not necessarily affirm that creation is miraculous in the sense of being contrary to, or subversive of law; law and order are as applicable to creation as any other progress . . . It does not imply that all kinds of creation are alike. There may be higher and lower kinds . . . Created things, unless absolutely unchangeable must be more or less modified by influences from within and without, and derivation or evolution may account for certain subordinate changes already made.’—pp. 340-1.

Mr. Leifchild also admits that the theory of evolution may include creation—we would rather say that creation includes evolution. We might multiply quotations to the same effect, but these will suffice to show—first, that Mr. Darwin both misunderstands and misrepresents his opponents when he charges upon them the belief in the miraculous interference which the separate creation of each species would necessitate, and asks: ‘Do they really believe that at innumerable periods of the earth’s history certain elemental atoms have been commanded to flash into living tissues?’

Mr. Darwin, Mr. Wallace, and others, refuse to admit the irreligious tendency of their views. The former asserts that there is a grandeur in this view of life with its several powers having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms, or into one; and that while this planet has gone cycling on, according to the fixed laws of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and wonderful have been and are being evolved.’ With the latter it is simply a question of how the Creator has worked. The quotations adduced, therefore, serve to show us, secondly, that between those who hold various and even opposite views of creation, but who acknowledge in common the necessity of a Creator, the controversy resolves itself into an inquiry as to the exact amount of influence which the power of evolution has exerted upon the diversification of the forms of life upon earth; whether it has been the only, the chief cause, or, as we think, only one, and that a subsidiary one, of many causes which have been at work, and one which has had more regard towards the preservation of species than to the method of their origin. These questions are to be determined by the facts of the case as far as we know them.

There is nothing in the theory of secondary creation by means of law, under the guidance of the supreme Will, which should be offensive to an intelligent Christian mind. The principle is an accepted one in spiritual things. That God works by means is a common expression. That He answers prayer, recreates, guides and sanctifies human souls; that believers may be co-workers with God; that even by the help of the weak things of the world God will confound the things that are mighty; that it is to be through the active co-operation of His Church that His kingdom over men is to become universal—all this is most surely believed by us. Why, then, should there be any unwillingness to acknowledge the operation of similar means of nature? If God works best in the higher realms of mind in this way, it is not probable that in the lower realms of body and matter the same methods of renewing and fitting His creatures for different and higher modes of life will be found in operation?

Before we state, briefly, our objections to the theory of the Origin of Species by means of natural selection, we should like to attempt to show that, supposing the theory were borne out by a careful induction of facts, we do not see why, on religious grounds, it may not be accepted by even orthodox Christians. To us it appears that, accepting it, there is equal, perhaps more, need for a premeditated plan of action; for the same far-reaching foresight which sees the end from the beginning; for the same constant superintendence, and for as nice an adjustment of parts to each other, and of all to the varying external conditions of nature, as there would be if from inorganic or dead matter the Creator made entirely new forms. In Mr. Darwin’s idea we see the Author of nature advancing life-forms already in existence another step. In the commonly accepted one we behold Him creating from dead matter new forms in advance of, and in addition to the old. Or the difference is simply between taking dead matter and giving to it a particular shape and form of life, with powers in advance of some similarly previously existing form, and taking matter already endowed with life and certain capabilities, and giving to that a more highly finished structure, with powers in advance of the old. The last plan is something more than improving the old, or allowing the old to improve itself. There is, first, the calling into existence the new conditions of nature, with the adaptation of these to nourish the new phases of life, and, next, there is the next wise re-arrangement at just the right time of existing

parts of a living thing, or the addition of new. Thus the body of Adam as the head of the present human race would be as much created by its Maker from the dust of the earth—as indeed the human body is created day by day—if it were adapted to higher life from dust already put into an organic form, say, if we will, a lower kind of man, or even an ape, as if the Almighty had taken dust which, if such a thing be conceivable, had never entered into the composition of a sentient being, and moulded that for the first time into human shape. On the precise mode of creation the Scriptures are silent, but in either case the fact remains the same.

Further, we think it would not be difficult to discover in the former theory, resemblances to, and confirmations of certain beliefs which in some shape or other have hitherto been held by Christian men. For example, take the admitted tendency of plants and animals to revert to their original stock, if the training and cultivation which have improved them be withdrawn. Is there not some analogy between this and that tendency in man when left to himself to become of the earth earthy, and to submit his higher nature to the dominion of those fleshly appetites and passions which on this theory he inherits from the creatures below him, and which on any theory he has in common with them? We may call this tendency by what name we please, but it looks under any name very like what theologians call original sin. Or if we regard sin as coming with the accession of knowledge, we may see how this idea may not be inconsistent with that of man's progression upwards from the brute; for supposing the brute or savage state (we use this word in a limited sense) to have been man's original condition, we see how in that case man has sinned against the laws of his animal being; has been false to the instincts of his animal nature. As an ape he loved his young, and would have imperilled his life for their safety, but with the accession of knowledge he kills his children, buries them alive, burns them, and throws them into the sea. As an ape he was the husband of one wife, but when he develops into a man, the number of his wives is often only limited by the extent of his wealth and the strength of his desires. We might proceed with this contrast, but we forbear. Enough has, however, been said to show that from two opposite points of view man is on the natural selection theory in a state of sin, on the one side liable to have his higher nature swamped by animal instincts and passions, and on the other with a de-

ranged will perverting the finer instincts of his animal nature, or pampering the remainder to such an inordinate degree as to induce personally physical decay, and gradually degradation and ruin. There is also in the theory that which, after all, as it has been well put, is selection by an intelligent will, by means of which creatures best adapted for it are called up into a higher life, and to play a more important part in the economy of nature, something analogous to that process of selection by which some from among human souls are called to be saints and co-workers with God for the advancement of the human race—one aspect of the doctrine of personal election. May we not also, from the theory, derive confirmation of that doctrine of a special Providence to which men's hearts cling in their deepest needs? For if we believe in a Care or Bias, call it what we will, that tones and shades the coloring of an insect's wings to the surrounding foliage for the creature's safety, and that thickens the shell of the mollusk when it becomes exposed to a rougher sea; surely we must walk by the same rule and mind the same thing when we ascend to the higher regions of life, where it is but reasonable to suppose that adaptive power will be most manifest, and infer that the same Care, Bias, or Power, so far from presenting an aspect of indifference towards its intelligent creatures, will regard them with an amount of interest at least equal to that with which it regards the soulless creation below them. If the 'heart and flesh cry out for the living God,' surely the living God will not be deaf to the cry.

All this is true, supposing the theory to be true and really borne out by the observed facts and phenomena of nature. But our deliberate opinion is that it is *not proven*; that, however interesting and beautifully put the illustrations given in the books of its originators and supporters may be, they may, treated by equally skilful hands, be made to lead to very different results. The evidence is accumulative, but not acuminative. The streams are parallel, not convergent towards proof. When applied to the greater divergencies found among the higher types of life the theory altogether fails. Even in the lesser differences where variation by means of natural selection might be expected to prevail, there are multitudes of cases that could be adduced which the theory totally fails to explain. Take as examples the differences between humming birds, so well put by the Duke of Argyll, and the still more ancient example of the Trilobites of the Cambrian and Silurian seas, which, ac-

according to the investigations of M. Barrande, altogether mistook their vocation, according to this theory, and missed what was best for themselves, until it was too late for them to perpetuate their existence by improving their tails. Then the theory of evolution fails to bridge over the gaps which yawn between living and dead matter; between vegetable and animal life; between instinct and reason; between brute impulses and moral feelings; and, as far as positive evidence goes, between one genus and another. The fact, too, remains that the theory receives little countenance from geologic evidence. We know it is argued that that evidence is fragmentary and incomplete—granted; but surely, just as a handful of corn, taken at haphazard out of a bag which had been previously well shaken, is a fair sample of the bulk, so ought the evidence preserved after all the shakings this earth has undergone, to be a fair sample of the remainder. Besides, the evidence is not so fragmentary. Mr. Ramsay some years since pointed out the great breaks there were in the continuity of strata; but several of these, as, for example, the breaks between the Coal measures and the Permian, between the Permian and the Trias, and between the Trias and the Lias, have since then been more or less bridged over; yet still the evidence is as unfavourable as before. Then there are strata which certainly took long enough in forming to contain among their entombed organizations, examples of the gradual alteration of species throughout a lengthened period of time. We write surrounded by a large series of fossils, which during many years have been collected from one of these formations, which is at least eight thousand feet in thickness; but we fail to discover, though we have carefully sought for them, any such transitional forms. As applied to the evolution of man from an ape the theory fails most of all, because the outward conditions of nature, and the specific advance, if advance it can be called, of man, do not accord. His bodily strength and animal instincts failed, before his superiority of mind was able to supply the deficiency. The very agency too by which he is supposed to have been evolved—the extreme cold; the precariousness of existence to the very verge of starvation; the hand to hand struggle with death and all its attendant circumstances—are, as we know, subversive of all the higher properties of his nature. This phase of the argument is well put by Mr. Dawson, and Mr. Leifchild also argues the question temperately and well. Even Mr. Wallace, the co-expounder with Mr. Darwin of the theory of evolution, admits

the inapplicability of it in the case of man. Nor does the latter bridge over the difficulty by calling to his aid the newer theory of 'sexual selection,' because we think it can be well shown that, both in the end to be achieved, and in the means of its achievement, the two theories would be antagonistic rather than mutually helpful.

On one important point Mr. Darwin, Mr. Wallace, and others, while admitting the necessity of an intelligent Creator, are clearly at fault; it is this: we think it is as unphilosophical, as it is untrue to all analogies of mind and nature generally, to limit the operation of the energy, the wisdom, the benevolence, and other attributes of a Creator to the act of first starting the earth on its way; and to suppose that with that one grand effort, even allowing it sufficient in plan and force for all time, creative force, and creative regard for the work produced, exhausted themselves, and that the Creator remained ever after indifferent to the unfolding of His own plans, and the working out of His own problems. Men at least do not act in this way. The more perfect the mechanism, the more wonderful the machinery, and the more beautiful the production of a man's mind, the more constant is the communication between it and the mind of the conceiver or producer. We do not think that it would be desirable for it to be otherwise, and we do not see why on any ground it should be otherwise in the great plan of nature. Without arguing for the incessant interference of which Mr. Wallace speaks, we hold that the psalmist was right in saying that God still visits the earth, and we believe that we are reasonable in maintaining that the circumference of Infinite Mind still encircles, and is in ordinary contact with the sphere of its earthly operations, and is not separated from it by an intervening belt of vacuous indifference.

The controversy becomes more serious when it lies between those who agree in the recognition of a necessary Creator, and those who either deem that matter is potent enough in and of itself for the accomplishment of the results we see around us, and of which we form a part, or who stand content on the verge of the seen and the known, and say it is enough, what matters it to us what lies beyond? Or if it does it is all 'unknowable and unknown,' as, in our author's opinion, Mr. Herbert Spencer maintains. But surely it is not for any man to stop the way, and say to his fellow-man, 'Go no further because I am satisfied, or because the landmarks we have followed hitherto now fail us, and the region beyond is dim and shadowy.' If we ascend a mountainous region by fol-

lowing a stream in a valley to its source, we shall find that at first the road is good and well-defined, bounded on either side by hedges, and higher up by dry stone walls. But little by little the walls disappear until we find ourselves on the open mountain. Here, too, for a while the path is well marked, but gradually it narrows, subdivides, and dwindles away into little more than a sheep-track. Even the stream at our side ceases to be a guide, for it is split up into innumerable tiny rills which trickle unseen amidst the heather and moss. The difficulty of finding one's way is also often increased by the mist which lies spread over the mountain moorlands. Now suppose that, at such a time, a doubting brother had said to us, Spencer-like, 'Here we must stop; the way-marks have ceased, the signs by which we have been guided so far are left behind, and withal the region is dim and lonely; what should we have done? Why, like him who remembered that he had a key in his bosom which would unlock the gate of Doubting Castle, we should have taken out our pocket compass, and said that the time had come for the use of a different kind of guide from that which we had used before. We should also have compared our position with the ascents and explorations made by others from different points towards the same unexplored region. This, it will be admitted, would have been the only sensible course to pursue. Let us apply the illustration to the inquiry before us. In all our investigations of natural phenomena, whether through time or space, and along whatever road we travel, we reach at last a region where the method of induction from observed facts seems to fail. In astronomy we reach at last undefined nebulae; in chemistry we cannot go further than the simple elements of matter; in geology we stop at the incandescent mass—itsself derived—of which the earth was made; in organic structure at the few primordial forms of life, or we are ultimately checked by the Foraminifera and Protoplasm of Lawrentian seas. It is not a region for dogmatism. It is not for the unbelieving to say to the believing man of science, 'Who created your Creator?' because the latter could at once retort 'Whence the matter you endow with such potentiality, and whence the laws to which you give the intelligence of a law-giver?' But having all alike reached this borderland, the question may be very properly asked, which is now the wisest course to pursue?' To say, 'It is enough; we neither want nor care to know any more?' To gaze with blank stare into the gulph of the unknown? To refuse to proceed further because we have to take up

a new, and it may be, more subtle and difficult line of argument? Or to ask ourselves whether there is nothing among the things we see and know and feel that bears resemblance to, and that gives utterance or indication, however faint, of the empyrean which everywhere and always bounds this visible Cosmos? Surely there can be no doubt that the latter is the proper course to pursue. At least this is the course which has been pursued by science again and again, for it would be difficult to decide whether she owes the greater part of her discoveries to induction or to analogy; to experiment or to happy inspiration. To inquire what answer can be given to such questionings has ever been the part of the ablest thinkers among men, and to such an inquiry we believe every man will turn according as his nature is well proportioned, and according to the completeness of the training that he has received. It cannot be argued that it is one without interest to humanity. Mr. Huxley would hardly, we think, class it with the inquiries which he likens to that concerning 'the politics of the inhabitants of the moon.' (We heard the uselessness of some *scientific* questionings illustrated by the same simile before it was used by that gentleman.) It certainly becomes of importance to us, if it at all helps us to conquer self, or to feel that we are not working alone, that there is hope somewhere for the humanity we seek to help; and if it gives us the felt companionship of Him who is the personification of all that is orderly, benevolent, and good; for in following this inquiry we are helped by what we must persist in calling the best instincts of our nature, and by all the high, holy, generous enthusiasm that has ever inspired mankind. This is an element of the case which the merely scientific man is in danger of forgetting, but one which he cannot forget without imperilling the full discovery of the truth that he professes to seek. If he would rightly discern the relation his own studies bear to the religious belief and instincts of the race, he

'Must not sever
Man's very elements from man.'

To the earnest inquirer many answers will be suggested to the question we have just propounded; and the reverent seeker will not have far to look for lines of thought which help to connect the known with the unknown. A few only can be indicated here. We may begin by asking the further question, Whether is most in accord with all else that we know, the assumption that the force we call mind, intelligence, or any other name, which is able to comprehend

time and space, and which can regulate, check, modify, and rearrange the other forces of nature, is simply the outgrowth of other forces, or the assumption that these forces are the well-arranged products and servants of mind? The answer to this question is that the only force known to us which is able to understand, to mould, to arrest, and to shape the elements and forces of nature is an intelligent will. That power we see in constant operation. We feel, then, that we are not departing from the safe path of analogy, or even of deduction, when we infer, from the observed power of thought and will to accomplish the result we see, the existence of an answering, all-comprehending, Infinite Will, which shapes and completes the vast plan of nature originally conceived by itself. It is long since the question was asked, 'Canst thou by searching find out God, canst thou find out the Almighty to perfection?' and in various moods the nineteenth century repeats the question. The answer remains, 'to perfection we cannot,' but the line of thought we are pursuing may suggest to us some attainable knowledge concerning Him. We know that what we call mind or thought, though widely spread and possessing everywhere much in common, may yet become personal and have locally its distinctive features. May not the infinite mind be the personal God? Must it not belong to the attributes of the Infinite Mind to become, as it has been somewhere expressed, 'manifest in time and visible in space'? We further know that mind, though widely and variously distributed, has many points of contact and means of intercommunication, and therefore we think it right to infer that between the mind that plans and the mind that partly comprehends and helps to shape the plan, between the mind that controls all and the mind that controls a part, between the mind that ordains laws and the minds which are able to perceive the righteousness and beauty of the laws ordained, there must be innumerable points of contact and means of communication. It is also reasonable to suppose that the communication is most constant where the affinity is greatest. The divine Ordainer of law must be in closest contact with those whose lives are lived most in accordance with the laws which He has ordained. 'If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God.' 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.' We do not know of any conclusions which are more in accord with true scientific induction than these; and we might extend the inquiry and show the bearing of the inferences upon the idea of a personal God; the communication of His

will to mankind; the place there is for prayer in the economy of nature; the belief in immortality, and other kindred subjects; but we prefer that our readers should walk with Mr. Leifchild among these 'higher ministries of nature.' Mr. Leifchild has been an original observer in natural science; but his walk seems for many years past to have lain more among the literature and generalizations of science, and its practical applications to the purposes of human life. He has fairly earned a title to be heard on scientific questions, especially where these march by the side of human beliefs. As may be inferred from the title, his book covers a wider range of subjects, and is therefore less special in its character than that of Mr. Dawson. The various philosophies which have been elaborated by Spinoza, Leibnitz, Comte, and others are passed under review, and then we are introduced to the theories of Mr. Darwin and Mr. Wallace with the inference from them, and the extensions of them made by Mr. Herbert Spencer. In the concluding chapters the bearing of all these upon observed facts, and upon the religious beliefs and hopes of the race, is very clearly and earnestly told. Altogether the book is very eloquently written. The chapter on 'The Personal God' is one of especial beauty and power.

On the subject of the antiquity of the human race Mr. Leifchild is almost silent, but this is the other question on which Mr. Dawson joins issue with some of the speculations of the present day. He very properly notices the uncertain character of much of the geological evidence upon which a high antiquity is based; depending as this does upon the order and position of the superficial deposits of the earth's crust. Most geologists will agree with us in saying that of all strata these are the most difficult to correlate so as to arrive at exact conclusions concerning their age. We read of undisturbed deposits; but we have seen so many instances of re-deposited boulder-clay, which in itself it was impossible to distinguish from the original deposit, and of modern deposits becoming mixed with others vastly more ancient, that we receive all such statements with caution. The presence of the remains of extinct animals with those of man no more of itself proves the contemporaneity of the existence of the two, than the occasional finding of a cannon ball among the tusks and bones of the *Elephas primigenius*, which are dredged up in the German Sea, proves the manufacture of cannon balls in the days when this elephant with his companions roamed at will over the continuous plain of Belgium and Norfolk.

Often, too, as we have read Sir Charles Lyell's ingenious and elaborate calculations as to the rate of the growth of peat and lake deposits, we have felt that the basis of his computations was only one among others equally probable, and that in building up his favourite hypothesis he omits important elements from his reckoning by leaving out various local causes which act at times with intensified force within limited areas. We have said thus much in order to show the need there is for the absence of positiveness from at least the geological side of the reasoning. At the same time it must be allowed that, after making all necessary deductions, there are several distinct lines of investigation relating to the diversity of race, such as differences in colour and in the language of mankind, which seem as if they could only converge in a much earlier origin of the human race than that usually assigned to it. Thoughtful and reverent Biblical scholars, as well as men of science, have felt this. To some of them the conviction has come that the black race inhabited the interior of Africa long before the advent of Adam as the head of the higher races, and through them of all mankind. Among the American Indians there is a tradition that the Great Spirit had three sons; the first born was a black man; the second a red man; and the youngest, who was destined to conquer or absorb the children of the other two, a white man. Without attaching much importance to this tradition, it may be fairly urged that some ground is given in the early history of the race, as recorded in Genesis, to infer the existence of an earlier race of men and women with whom the newly-made race married and held communication. Dr. J. Pye Smith, whose name will be received in these pages with the respect it deserves, foresaw long ago the probability that a higher antiquity for mankind would be necessitated, and, in anticipating some such theory as that of the prior existence of an inferior race, argued on that basis for the unity of mankind and its need of a Redeemer. His thoughts on the subject will be found in his book, 'The Relation between the Holy Scriptures and some parts of Geological Science.' The question is also very reverently and ably argued in 'The Genesis of the Earth and Man,' a book edited by Mr. R. S. Poole. The subject is one on which we can afford to wait; weighing and sifting carefully, meanwhile, the accumulating evidence.

If, further, we reflect that history fades away into myth at a distance of between three and four thousand years from the present time, if we think of all that has been

accomplished by the human race since then, and remember that, according to the chronology of the Septuagint, a period as long as this stretches back from the dawning of history to the recorded advent of man; when we remember also that the first man introduced to us in the Book of Genesis is a MAN who has a conception of God, who knows and feels the difference between right and wrong, whose sons built cities, and whose grandsons worked in brass and iron; then, whether we think of him as an entirely new creation or as a higher development from a previously existing race, we need not for his advent antedate the Biblical story; nor need we, as far as the Bible is concerned, trouble ourselves about his predecessors.

In addition to the defects in scientific reasoning already alluded to, there is, as it has appeared to us, a tendency on the part of men of science, when arguing for the constantly uniform operation of natural law, to forget two things. The first is the way in which the laws of nature are acted upon, and modified by each other, in innumerable and inconceivably diverse modes of operation. Take, for example, the ways in which the law of gravitation is influenced by that of atmospheric pressure, and both in their turn by the application of muscular force. The second is that intensification of force which, without our accepting the old idea of universal cataclysms, is seen repeatedly in the violent phenomena of nature, and in those recurring periods of mental activity which are known in the history of mankind, when humanity, as if moved by a mighty impulse, makes at a single bound the progress which ordinarily it would have taken centuries to accomplish. Both of these occur at uncertain periods, but yet doubtless happen in harmony with the whole of the Divine plan of nature.

Is it more unreasonable to suppose that the higher types of life may have had their origin during similar periods of concentrated force, than to suppose that such types could only be the outgrowth of a lengthened process? Why draw so largely on time for what force can accomplish, and for what we know it has accomplished?

Then in this power of modification and in these concentrations of force we have, we think, plenty of scope—supposing there is need for them—for those occurrences which—happening but rarely in the course of human experience—we call miraculous; but which, if our vision could embrace a sufficient length of time, we should see falling into their place in the plan of nature as truly as variations in species or the calling into existence of new forms of life. All we ask

for is that the Infinite Will should not be fettered more than a finite will; that, while the latter may so mould the forces of nature as to produce widely varying results, it may be possible, when one comes among men as Jesus Christ did, claiming to be to them the manifestation of the Divine Father, that He should assert His claim to be received as such, not only by the exhibition of Divine rectitude and wisdom, but also by the display of Divine power, and by all these working together in furthering the purposes of the Divine benevolence.

Indeed these principles of modification and intensification running through the fixity of separate laws, seem necessary for the solidarity of the whole fabric, and their importance becomes more apparent as we reach the region of human sins and human strivings. If this be true, as we believe and feel it is, we can readily see how for men seeking forgiveness, struggling to do the right but often failing in the attempt, there needs a woof of love to run through the fixed warp of law. That modifying principle, we think, finds its highest manifestation to men in the life and death of Jesus Christ.

We have great need for a thoughtful reading of the Bible, and for power to discriminate between what it does teach, and what men, with less light to read it by, thought that it taught. If we would only interpret the narrative in Genesis, as we interpret psalms and prophecies, liberally and often figuratively; if theologians were only willing to take as much liberty with it as they do with other parts of Scripture; we need never fear the conflict of the claims of science and revelation. The record in Genesis would be to us the simply sublime psalm of creation, as sung by a prophet who possessed the true seer's power of beholding and recording events of the past, as well as of anticipating events of the future. It would be to us as it ought to be, placed where it is, marvellously true in its grand outline to the latest discoveries of science, and standing as far ahead of merely human cosmogonies as man himself stands in advance of the highest creature below him.

It should be alike the duty and pleasure of religious teachers to discover points of accord between the story of creation written there and the story written on the strata under their feet. It will be found an exercise, alike profitable and pleasant for such men, to search out and classify the many allusions to nature which the Old Testament contains. We speak of the progressive character of revelation, and rightly; but it is nevertheless true that just as in childhood there are flashes of intelligence, which for

vividness are never excelled in after life, and as in the early morning we sometimes have a purity of light which the day never surpasses in clearness, so in the very early history of mankind there were conceptions of truth, and anticipations of the questionings and discoveries of science in these later days, which we can account for only on the theory that the human mind must have been in close contact with the Divine Mind; in other words, that 'holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.'

In conclusion, we ask the theologian to cultivate a close and loving acquaintance with nature, and the man of science to stand with fitting reverence on the threshold of human hopes and beliefs, nor on his part to forget whence so many of the noblest and saintliest of the race have drawn the inspiration of their faith and found the source of their strength.

ART. III.—*Inductive Theology.*

WE are so made that we must theorize, must theologize even. As men with discourse of reason, we cannot be content with isolated and unconnected facts, however numerous or momentous they may be; we must attempt to group and classify them, to bring them under some ruling principle, some general law. Above all, we must arrange our facts in sequences; we must be able to say, 'This springs from that,' or, 'If this be so, then that will follow.' In short, we instinctively argue upward from effects to their cause, or downward from a cause to its effects. It is in this 'discourse of reason' that science has had its origin. Take astronomy as an example. In the heaven above us there are certain facts, or phenomena, which men could not fail to observe; as, for instance, the rising and setting of the sun, the waxing and waning of the moon, the regular recurrence of the stars, at certain periods, along a fixed path or orbit. Merely to observe and record these facts was not enough for reasonable man. He was compelled by his very nature to reason, *i.e.*, to theorize upon them, to seek for some law under which they might be ranged, for some cause to which they might be traced. He could not but ask, 'From what does the regular order and recurrence of these phenomena spring?' And after other answers to the question had been given and accepted for a time, he lit on that which satisfies him to this day, in the law of

gravitation. This law is simply an inference, an hypothesis, a theory; but it accounts for the astronomical facts as no other theory does: and in this, therefore, at least for the present, and till some wider generalization be reached, the inquisitive reason of man rests and is satisfied. Thus, from a multitude of effects, scattered through the universe, man has argued up to a cause, or law, to which they may all be referred.

But now, having reached a cause, he forthwith begins to argue downward from that cause to its necessary effects. He observes, for instance, certain 'perturbations,' certain deviations from their orbit, on the part of those planets which are at the furthest remove from the sun. For these 'perturbations' he must account. Accordingly he reasons thus:—'Gravitation is the law. It must be the attraction of gravitation which draws these planets from their path. To draw bodies of such a magnitude so far from their orbits, there must be another planet in the solar system not seen as yet; and this planet must be of such and such a weight, and move in such and such an orbit, if it is to produce the observed effects.' And, having thus, with at least as much *faith* as wisdom, predetermined the existence, place, and magnitude of an undiscovered world, he bends the telescope on the predicted point, and the planet Neptune swims into sight.

Thus science is simply our reading, our theory, of natural facts; and we reach this theory by arguing up from effects to their cause, or by arguing down from a cause to its effects.

We pursue precisely the same method, the method of science in dealing with the facts of human character and life. When, for example, a great man has closed his career, and we recall the facts of his life, we instantly begin to theorize upon them. We cannot leave them a mere disorderly and contradictory jumble of separate actions. We want to reduce them to order, to bring them under law, to find a centre round which we may group them. And so especially if we have to write his memoir or his epitaph, we try to discover what his ruling principle or affection was,—whether he was actuated by ambition, for instance, or patriotism, or pride, by the love of wealth or the love of learning, the love of self or the love of man. Accurately or inaccurately we frame our conception of his character, his dominant impulse, his animating principle; and under this we arrange the multitude of his actions, desires, aims. Thus we get a law for our facts, a cause for the effects we have observed.

The dramatist pursues precisely the opposite course. Instead of arguing upward from

facts to their causes or law, he assumes a cause, and argues downward to its effects. He knows that a certain ruling principle,—as ambition or vanity, benevolence or justice,—will work out in certain ways, produce certain results. And, having conceived his imaginary character, he invents situations in which that character is tested, developed, disclosed. Through scene after scene we see the ruling vice displayed or corrected, the ruling virtue unfolded or blighted.

Reasonable man *must* reason, *i.e.*, he must theorize; he must trace effects to their cause, and argue from the cause to the effects it will infallibly produce. Why, then, may he not theologize? or why, as we are so loudly told at the present day, should there be a necessary and fatal hostility between the scientific and the theological methods of thought, an hostility which forbids a man of science to be a sincere and devout believer? Theology is, or should be, as scientific in its method as science itself; it is, or should be, a careful induction from observed and recorded facts: it is, or should be, a sincere endeavour to trace effects to their cause, or from a cause to deduce its necessary effects. In the physical universe, in the history of man, and in our own hearts, we find a multitude of facts which proclaim the existence of God, which indicate his character and our relations to Him. Are these the only facts on which we must not reason, of which we are to shape no large and consistent theory? Must we pause here, and decline to pursue the path we follow in every other province of thought? Nay, our only hope of reconciling science and theology is to make our theology truly scientific, to base it on honest inductions, to show that, if the truths of revelation could not have been discovered by human reason, they nevertheless accord with the reason which they transcend.

Is that impossible? It is by no means impossible. We need to remember, indeed, that science is only a *provisional* reading of the facts of nature; that the scientific interpretation of the universe differs in every age, changing with the changing time, taking new and larger forms as the years pass: that even since the beginning of the present century it has had at least three shibboleths—Convulsion, Continuity, and Evolution—and has stoutly declared it necessary to our scientific salvation that we should pronounce each of them in turn. And, in like manner, we need to remember that theology is but a provisional reading of the facts of religion; that it is but a human, imperfect, and ever-varying interpretation of the contents of Scripture, and changes its forms and terms at

least as rapidly as science itself. The commonest phrases of our divinity schools—such as ‘documentary hypothesis,’ ‘Elohistic and Jehovistic scriptures’—were unknown to our fathers. The great facts of religion and revelation remain the same, indeed, through all ages and changes, as do the great facts of nature. But our interpretations of these facts vary, our theories about them change; they grow larger and more complete as men grow wiser. God does not change, nor do his relations to men; but our conceptions of Him and of our relations to Him are very different from those of the early fathers of the Church; just as our conceptions of the universe are a great advance upon those which were held before Galileo arose and Kepler and Newton.

And, hence, when men talk glibly of reconciling Scripture with science, if they mean anything more than a sincere attempt to bring the scientific theory of the moment into accord with the current interpretation of Scripture, they are guilty of a manifest absurdity; for we know neither the Scriptures nor science: there is more and even much more, in both, than we have yet discovered. If, indeed, we had either the truth of science or the truth of Scripture in its absolute form as our command, the task would not be so hopeless as it is; for, in that case, we should have at least one constant and unvarying standard. But the theology of to-day is not the theology of yesterday, nor is the science of to-day the science of yesterday. The Church’s interpretation of the Bible, like the scientific interpretation of the universe, is ever changing, and, let us hope, ever advancing: as how should it not, if God is really conducting the education of the human race, if now ‘we know but in part,’ and yet are ‘to know even as also we are known’?

Now this fact, that both our science and our theology are but human and provisional interpretations of eternal facts, should be well borne in mind both by the theologian and by the man of science, since it conduces to modesty, patience, forbearance. It forbids dogmatism, and that tendency to judge and condemn those who differ from us, which is as pronounced in scientific as in religious men, and which does equal discredit to both. It encourages the hope that as ‘knowledge grows from more to more,’ the theories of science and the interpretations of theology ‘may make one music as before, but vaster.’ But it does not forbid, it encourages, any thoughtful and sincere attempt to adjust the present results of scientific investigation to the conclusions which have been drawn from a devout study of the

Bible, imperfect as no doubt both are: for it is only as the provisional generalizations of science and theology are fairly stated and compared that we can learn where as yet our knowledge is defective, which of our conclusions are dubious and need revision, and so be urged on to a more patient and generous quest of truth. Above all, since we live in an age dominated by the scientific method of thought, we should endeavour to adopt this method in our theological discussions and inquiries. It is not by setting ourselves against the spirit of the age, but by yielding to it so far as we honestly may, that we are likely both to win the age to God, and to win for ourselves a wider knowledge of the truth. We are followers of Him who spake the truth ‘as men were able to bear it.’ He who spake nothing without a proverb or parable to men who daily heard proverb and parable in their synagogues and schools, were He with us now, would surely speak to us in the scientific spirit and method which are shaping the age in which we live.

In the spirit of humility, then, fully conscious that we know but in part, we should endeavour to frame for ourselves, in the method of science, a theology, which shall also be a gospel—veritable good news of redemption and life to us and to all men. We *must* frame such a theology, if we are to retain our place and function in the world, if we are to save the world from the unrest and misery of a life without God. It is to be feared that the Church is largely answerable for the scepticism of the world. It is very much because we have presented the truth in a hard dogmatic way, because we have not even endeavoured to show how reasonable it is, that we have failed to convince and persuade ‘them that are without.’ And now, at last, we have reached a point at which many who are within the pale are giving up theology even if they do not ~~also~~ give up religion—a point at which many who do believe are likely to lose their faith, unless we rise to the occasion, and commend the truth to their reason as well as to their heart.

And why should we not set ourselves to this task, why not seek to present the truth on its reasonable and persuasive side, rather than to announce it with authority, and to denounce as sinners all who do not accept our conceptions of it? There are facts enough at our command both in the universe and in the Bible; and we shall not alter the facts by changing the point from which we view them; we shall not be unfaithful to the truth by endeavouring so to conceive it as to make it tell on our generation. All we shall do will be to re-arrange

and re-classify the facts, to bring them under general laws, to reason from them upward and downward, to weave them into a large and consistent theory.

It will be our aim, then, in the pages which follow, to apply the scientific method to a few of the most familiar and fundamental truths of religion; and thus to indicate the line which, as we believe, it will be our wisdom to take in presenting the whole circle of Christian doctrine to the men of our day and generation.

I. But where shall we begin? Instinctively, we begin with *God*. And as the origin of all religion is the search for God, as, moreover, our whole theology takes its complexion from our conception of the character of God, the prompting of spiritual instinct is confirmed by reason. We begin with God, then, and we ask, we endeavour to infer, not *that* He is—we do not now touch that question—but *what* He is, to deduce his character from the facts before us, to learn how He stands related to us and to the universe in which we dwell. And here our task is comparatively easy and simple. Without effort, we *may* frame a conception of God by the inductive method, such a conception as science itself may welcome and approve. We are on familiar ground, and may go lightly over it.

(1.) First of all we turn to the physical world for our facts; and here, in Nature, we find everywhere the reign of law. All things—plants, animals, men; sun, moon, and stars; even storms, comets, meteors, with whatever seems most erratic—fulfil the law of their being. This law they did not impose on themselves, for they cannot repeal it though they often rebel against it; it is imposed on them by a superior power, a power which rewards obedience and avenges disobedience. Man, for instance, is obviously under a law of health, against which he often sins, but which he cannot annul, however painful may be the results of his disobedience to that law. And so, throughout the natural world, we find a law independent of the will of the creatures, superior to them, supreme over them, capable, as we say, of asserting and avenging itself. Whence does this law come? and who administers it? For, of course, no law can really administer or assert itself. There must be some one behind and above the law. 'Law' is only our name for a sequence, for a method of action, for a right or an invariable method. It implies the existence of a power, or person, whose method it is, whose will it expresses. The laws of nature can no more administer themselves than the laws of the land. Just as the laws

of the land imply the existence of an authority, a magistrate, who will act on them and assert them, so the laws of nature bear witness to an unseen force, or power, or person, who imposes and enforces them, rewarding those who obey, punishing those who violate them. This power we call God. We ascribe to a personal and Divine source what Matthew Arnold is content to name that 'stream of tendency by which all things fulfil the law of their being;' for we know of no stream which does not flow from some source, and we know of no adequate source of universal law save the Maker of heaven and earth. So that our first and simplest conception of God, the conception we derive from the facts of the physical universe, is that He is the source of physical law.

He, moreover, who imposes and administers the laws of nature must be both omnipotent and all-wise, *i.e.*, there are no bounds that we can conceive whether to his wisdom or power. Water, fire, air, plants, animals, the physical nature of man, in short, all the great natural forces, through all their products, however many and various, compose *one* world. Nay, more; science emphatically declares that all worlds, all the innumerable host of heaven, compose *one* universe. All are dependent the one on the other, all interact on each other, and come under one and the same series of physical sequences. We cannot, therefore, as the pre-scientific ages did, parcel out the universe among a multitude of separate deities. Science knows of no pantheon. There must be one dominant and supreme power which rules over all. And this power, which sits behind the laws of nature, must be inconceivably great and wise. If it were not wise and strong beyond our reach of thought, the universe, instead of being a harmony of invariable and beneficent sequences, would break into ruinous and irremediable confusion; disaster would tread on the heels of disaster, and the end would be destruction and death. What, then, shall we call this power? how name it? We call it God. Others, hiding their ignorance in unmeaning and self-contradictory phrases, may call it 'the stream of tendency,' ignoring the fountain from which the stream flows. We say that law implies a lawgiver, that power implies a person from whom it proceeds; and we worship God as the *sole* source of the forces and laws of nature.*

* It is no part of our present task, or aim, to demonstrate the existence of a personal God. But as many who grasp the conception of a force or power as shaping and controlling the natural universe, seem to have an insuperable difficulty in rising to the conception of a Divine Person,

(2.) Again, when we pass from the physical universe to consider the nature and history of Man, we meet with facts which conduct us to a new and loftier conception of God. For in man and his story we find a moral as well as a physical law. From the very first there has been in all races, however they have differed in character, capacity, culture, a sense of right and wrong. This sense may vary, and does vary, but it grows clearer and fuller as the stream of time rolls on. Despite all its variations, moreover, the dictates of this moral sense are more uniform in essentials than we sometimes think. All races, for example, in

the Creator and moral Governor of the universe, we commend to their consideration Professor Frohshammer's masterly solution of the problem. In his review of Strauss's book on 'The Old and the New Faiths,' he writes:—'The assertion that the notion of personality implies limitation, and is applicable only to what is finite and relative, but not to the absolute, is taken from Fichte, and is by no means correct. This will be clearly shown by a deeper consideration of the essential elements of personality. These are—existence, consciousness of this existence, and control over it. Distinction from, and therefore limitation by others, is not an essential element of personality, but an accidental sign of relative personality. An absolute personality cannot therefore be said to be impossible; for it may find *in itself*, in the constituent elements of its existence, without the necessity of any other being, the distinctions necessary for personal consciousness. (The careful reader will see how fine a glimpse this sentence gives us into the doctrine of the Trinity.) And as distinction from others and limitation by them, is not one of the essential elements of personality, neither is personality essentially subject to limitation in regard to action. Personality, self-consciousness, and freedom of the will, is rather the power of breaking through the narrow limits of relative monadic existence, of expanding into the infinite by consciousness and will, of rising above itself, and on the other hand, of receiving the infinite into its own consciousness. The more a man cultivates his idiosyncratic nature, the more independent he becomes in knowledge and the exercise of the will, the more he suffices for himself, and the less need he has of others. According to Strauss's theory, the more perfect the personality the greater the limitation.'

'Moreover, the Divine absolute personality cannot be altogether compared with human personality. *The Divine Being cannot be without the perfection which manifests itself in the human personality, as the highest of which we have any knowledge.* If we define God by other predicates of earthly perfection, we must not deny Him the highest phase of it, must not regard Him as less than personal. That would be imperfection. The personality of the absolute must be of a higher and more intensified kind than human personality. It may be said, therefore, that God is super-personal. His personality includes the essential elements of man's personality. But it is also absolute in a way that transcends man's comprehension.'—*Contemporary Review*.

all ages, have felt that it was wrong to rob or kill a neighbour, that they were bound to help and defend him. The difficulty has been to determine the question, 'Who is my neighbour?' At first, men held that only the members of their own family were neighbours in a sense that made them sacred from wrong; then, only the men of their own sept, or clan; then, only the members of their own nation, empire, confederacy: it is only of late that we have begun to learn that every man is our neighbour, even though he should also be our enemy. Still, the recognised neighbour has always been sacred, if not in fact, yet according to the law written on the heart. Science admits the existence and the growth of this moral sense; it admits, it proclaims that, throughout the complex and troubled story of our race, a moral law has revealed itself, a sense of right and wrong which has grown at once more pure and more authoritative as the centuries have elapsed.

Whence did this moral sense come, this inward law? and whence did it derive the imperious authority with which it speaks? Obviously, men have not imposed it on themselves. They have been in constant and notorious rebellion against it; and, much as they have suffered from it, they have never been able to throw it off. It does not change as they change, nor does it die when they die. Clearly, then, it comes from an 'austere and an enduring authority' which sits high above men, and all the ages and changes of time. This authority we name God; we claim for *Him* that moral sense which expresses itself in the laws of human morality, that conscience which is for ever excusing men, or else accusing them, in all they do. It is simply absurd to call the inward voice 'the voice of nature;' for, as we have just seen, 'Nature is but the name of an effect whose cause is God.' It is equally absurd to call the dictates of the moral sense 'the moral law,' as though that accounted for its power; for, as we have also seen, no law can impose and administer itself. There must be *being* behind law, or there could be no law. So that our second conception of God is, that He is the light of every man that cometh into the world, that He is 'the power that makes for righteousness' throughout the troubled story of humanity.

(3.) Can we get no further than this in our endeavour to think God according to the method of science? Surely we may. If we act on the Platonic saying, 'To find God, look within,' if we study our own hearts, we may rise to another and still loftier conception of Him. We have seen that He made

us, not we ourselves : and that He rules us, not we ourselves. We may be sure, therefore, that we derive from him whatever is good in ourselves, and still more, whatever is best. The stream cannot rise above its source, nor the creature above the Creator.

'He who reflects upon himself,' says Plotinus, 'reflects upon his own original, and finds the clearest impression of some eternal nature and perfect being stamped upon his own soul.' 'God,' says a modern Platonist and divine,* 'has so copied forth himself into the whole life and energy of man's soul as that the lovely characters of divinity may be most easily seen and read of all men within themselves ; as they say Phidias, the famous statuary, after he had made the statue of Minerva, with the greatest exquisiteness of art, to be set up in the Acropolis at Athens, afterwards impressed his own image so deeply in her buckler that no one could delete or efface it without destroying the whole statue. And if we would know what the *impress* of souls is, it is nothing but God Himself, who could not write his own name, so as that it might be read, but only in rational natures.'

And in these hearts of ours, weak and wayward as they are, we find a wonderful and blessed capacity of love, which is the spring of all that we hold to be best and noblest in human character and history,—of pity, compassion, friendship, heroic labour and self-sacrifice. Selfishness is the root of all sin ; love is 'the conquering opposite' of selfishness. This love, then, is the prime gift of God to man. He who gives love, and gives it so largely, and gives it to so many, must not He himself have love and be love ? Love is the very life and crown of manhood ; and therefore we may be sure that 'God is love.' May we ? How, then, do we account for the innumerable miseries that are in the world ? How can God, if God be love, endure to impose so many cruel pains and losses upon us ? But are they really cruel ? Moses often seemed hard to the children of Israel. They thought it hard that he should lead them out into the desert, that he should harass them with enactments the value of which they could not perceive. But was he therefore hard ? The desert was the way to the goodly land. Only as they obeyed the enactments he imposed could they rise above themselves, and become free and holy and good. The fact is that every wise man *must* seem hard to those who are less wise. If they are much less wise and good than he, he will seem to be for ever pursuing an impossible ideal, for ever seeking to raise them, by austere and painful methods, to a virtue and wisdom they cannot value as yet. Every ruler, in propor-

tion as he is wise, and his empire is large, and he has many and great interests to consult, must seem, at times, to be indifferent to the interests of this province or that, must call on this man and that to sacrifice himself, or much that he loves, for the general good. And God is very wise ; his empire is very large. To me, to you, He will often seem indifferent or austere, when He is but seeking the greater good of all. To us all, He will seem hard, even cruel at times, as He leads us through the desert to the better land, through the painful corrections of law to a free and stable virtue. The very perfection of his love, which impels Him to make us partakers of His Divine Nature, will often cloud his love from us ; and we shall not always see that 'every cloud that veileth love, itself is love.' But if we have convinced ourselves that He is in very deed the source of law in the physical universe ; if we have further convinced ourselves that He is the Power that makes for righteousness throughout the history of humanity ; if, above all, we have convinced ourselves that He is that Divine Fountain of love from which our love springs, let us at least admit that there must be much in Him which as yet we cannot comprehend. Do we, much as we know of it, comprehend the natural world ? Do we comprehend the whole human story, though of this, too, we know much ? Can we so much as fathom our own hearts ? How, then, should we comprehend Him who administers the laws of nature, who shapes the story of man, who is the source of all that is deepest in us and best ?

Here, then, by the scientific method of inference and induction, we reach a threefold conception of God, a conception which we may fairly hope that even those who are most deeply imbued with the spirit of the age will feel to be a reasonable conception. We find Him in nature, in history, in man ; and we conclude Him to be the vital source of physical law, the Power that makes for righteousness, and the Fountain of all love and goodness.

II. Did space permit, it would be easy to vindicate this conception against all comers and all the objections they could urge. But there is little need to vindicate it, since those who believe in a God at all, and with these alone are we for the present concerned, can hardly think of Him as less than the Lord of the universe, the providence of man, and the origin of all that is good and divine. With cheerful and unforced accord they repeat the first article of the Christian Creed, 'I believe in God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth.' It is only when we come to the second article of the Creed, 'And in Jesus

* John Smith, of Cambridge.

Christ his only Son, our Lord,' that many of them part company with us, or are tempted to part company with us. That God *is*, and that He is *good*, they cordially admit; but that 'God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself,' they doubt, or, at the best, they doubt whether *this* conception can be reached in the scientific method. If it be revealed to faith, they cannot see how it accords with reason. At the very outset they ask, 'Is it reasonable to conceive of God as manifold, instead of simple; as having at least a dual instead of a single personality; as being Father and Son, instead of being one Lord over all?' A little further on they ask, 'But is it reasonable to conceive of God as becoming man, in order to reveal himself to men?' And still further they ask, 'Is not the revelation of God attributed to the Man Christ Jesus opposed to that conception of Him which reason frames?' Now that God *was* in Christ, we hold to be not only true, but reasonable, *i.e.*, demonstrably true, although this truth involves such profound mysteries as the supernatural and miraculous revelation of God to man, and the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation.

Tradition relates that St. Augustine was one day wandering by the sea, plunged in thought, and meditating the plan of a work on the Trinity, when he saw a boy playing on the beach, and making a ditch in the sand. When the great theologian of the Western Church asked him what he was doing, the boy replied, 'I want to empty the sea into my ditch.' 'And am not I trying to do the same as this child,' said Augustine to himself, 'in seeking to exhaust with my reason the infinity of God, and to collect it within the limits of my own mind?' We are not so childish as to think that we can *empty the sea into our ditch*. And, therefore, we do not undertake to explain and prove all the great mysteries involved in the Incarnation and Redemption of Christ. But, in some fashion, we must all speak of these mysteries, and we ought to speak of them, so far as possible, in a reasonable way. And, therefore, we shall endeavour to show how they may be stated, so as to commend themselves to the reason of reasonable men, and to obviate the objections to which we have referred.

(1.) And, first, we affirm that it is reasonable to conceive of the Divine Nature as including the Son no less than the Father: even the doctrine of the proper deity of Christ, nay, even the doctrine of the Trinity, has a logical aspect and basis. We have seen that God is the source of all that is good, that we can nowhere find any kind of goodness which is not in Him. But is there not

a goodness in trust as well as in being trustworthy? Is there not a goodness in receiving as well as in giving? Is there not a goodness in obeying freely as well as in ruling rightly? Is it not good to be patient, humble, and meek, to suffer and sacrifice oneself for others? Is not this passive and dependent goodness even more pathetic and winning than an active and bountiful goodness? Must not, then, this more pathetic goodness be in God, the source of all good? Must not *He* trust as well as deserve trust, obey as well as rule, suffer and make sacrifices, as well as lavishly bestow the gifts of his Divine bounty? Is it not therefore reasonable to conceive that, in the Divine Nature and Being, there is and ever has been a Son as well as a Father, an Eternal Son as well as the Father Everlasting; a Son to trust as well as a Father to invite trust; a Son to obey as well as a Father to command; a Son to receive as well as a Father to give; a Son to make sacrifice as well as a Father to accept and bless the sacrifice? Such a conception *is* reasonable; it is most reasonable; for reason itself demands that goodness of every kind should be found in God; and how should the passive and dependent forms of goodness be in the sovereign Ruler of the universe, if his being were not manifold, if it did not include more 'persons' than one?

Nor, in framing and holding this conception, do we call in question, we rather confirm the unity of God, as that holy and gifted divine, Thomas Erskine, has conclusively shown. For *union* there must be more than one. Unity implies many lines running up into one centre, many threads woven into one pattern, many notes sounding in a single concord, many figures harmonized into a single composition, many members united in one body, many elements at accord in a single nature, many persons drawn into one society and informed by one spirit. So that our most reasonable idea of God is this: that He is as a centre in which all forms of goodness meet and blend, the passive as well as the active, trust as well as bounty, obedience as well as authority. Nay, we most reasonably conceive the *very unity* of God when we maintain his *trinity*, when we think of the Divine Nature as including the Father and Son, united by one and the selfsame Spirit, and as therefore dwelling together in an eternal concord of love.

Thus the first objection to the truth that 'God was in Christ' may be logically met. Reason itself cannot account for the origin of many forms of moral goodness save as it admits the existence of an Eternal Son, dwelling in the bosom of the Father, and sharing one Spirit with Him.

(2.) Again, *Revelation and the Incarnation*, in which the revelation of God to men culminates, are no less reasonable than the doctrine of the Trinity. That God *has* spoken to men, that God *was* in Christ when He dwelt among us, accords with our best conceptions both of God and man. Remember, we have admitted that God is of a perfect goodness, that He is the Fountain of Charity; that, in his manifold yet single Being, as Father, Son, and Spirit, He has the means of showing forth all forms of love and goodness, passive as well as active, the goodness that trusts and suffers and obeys, no less than that which bestows gifts, and wins trust, and utters commands. Being of a perfect and complete goodness, holding his creatures in a boundless affection, is it not reasonable to believe that, if they need to see Him, He will show Himself to them; that, if they need to hear his voice, He will speak to them? It is reasonable. Revelation is an easy inference from the Divine goodness. If it be requisite for our welfare and for our highest welfare that we should see and hear God, we may be sure that He will reveal Himself to us.

But is it requisite?

We contend that it *was* requisite, that the welfare of the human race imperatively demanded the revelation of God. For man, by searching, cannot find out God to perfection. Though the Father of an infinite majesty has displayed his glory in the laws and phenomena of the physical universe, and impressed his image on the soul of man; though, by the *instructed* mind, his eternal power and Godhead may be clearly seen in the things that are made; and though man was created in the likeness of God in a sense so high as to enable God to take the likeness of man, yet men were unable to discover Him, to be sure of Him, to draw near to Him, in trust and love. By the mouth of its ablest and most cultivated sons, the ancient world confessed that it had not found God, though it had long groped after Him, if haply it might find Him. In all literature there is nothing more pathetic than the wail of despair which sounds through the utterances of the most gifted philosophers and poets of Greece and Rome. With one voice they confess that their quest after God had miserably failed. '*We must wait,*' they said with Plato, '*for some one, be he god or inspired man, to take away the darkness from our eyes.*' They felt, therefore, that, though the well-being of man imperatively required the knowledge of God, men could not discover Him for themselves; that this knowledge could only be attained as, in his own person, or through in-

spired men, God deigned to speak and to reveal Himself to mankind.

Consider, again, how men are touched and moved. Mere words have but comparatively little influence over us. Inferences, deductions, the whole train of logic may pass through our minds without once reaching the heart. We may be convinced that there is a God, and that He is wise and good, by arguments drawn from the facts of nature and from the human story; and yet no one of these arguments shall kindle any flame of love in us, or elicit any response of reverence and affection. It is by actions, and actions which we can see and comprehend, that we are really kindled and moved. The cry of a child or the sigh of a woman touches us far more profoundly than the most cogent demonstration or the most eloquent harangue. The *sight* of an heroic deed fires and engrosses us as no mere description of even far greater heroism would do. So that, if we are to be moved by God, if we are to be kindled into a love for Him by which our evil lusts may be expelled, God must *show Himself* to us. If the world is to be kindled into love for Him, and this love is to become its ruling affection, He must come and dwell in the world. He must be seen, and heard, and handled. He must do, under our very eyes, deeds of heroic love and self-sacrifice which we can never forget, never cease to honour and admire. He *has* come, He *has* dwelt among us, lived with us, died for us. God *was* in Christ, to meet our need, to reveal his kindness and love toward us and toward all men. The infirmity of our nature required his advent; the goodness of *his* nature prompted his advent. We needed Him, and He came. Men saw Him, and were conquered.

Was it not reasonable that He should come? Must not He who is all-wise and all-good satisfy the profoundest need of the creatures whom He made in his own image, after his own likeness; and satisfy it in the way most likely to move and impress and redeem them? If we may reason upward from the facts of nature and human life to God as their cause, may we not also, having found in God the Fountain of all love and goodness, reason downward from Him to Revelation, and even to the Incarnation, as the necessary effects of his love to such creatures as we are in such a world as this?

(3.) Two of the main objections to the central doctrine of the Christian creed, 'that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself,' have now been met. We have shown, or attempted to show, that it is reasonable to conceive of God as including in his single Being, Father, Son and Spirit;

and that it is reasonable to believe that He has come down to men in order to reveal Himself to them. Some arguments against the fact of a miraculous and supernatural revelation have, indeed, still to be met; but these, for the moment, we pass by, in order to complete our present theme, by showing that *the revelation of God attributed to the Man Christ Jesus, is in entire accord with that conception of God which reason frames.* What that conception is we have seen in the first section of this essay. From the facts of the physical universe we have inferred that God is the Source of natural law, that it is He who, unseen, sits behind the veil of physical forces, causing all things to fulfil the laws which He has written on their being. From the facts of the human story we have inferred that He is the Power that makes for righteousness throughout the troubled history of our race. And from the facts of our own psychical nature, we have inferred that He is the Divine Original of all love and goodness. These are the three leading conceptions of God which reason inducts from the facts it has laboriously gathered together, and classified, and reduced to logical order.

Are not these very conceptions brought home to us in the person and the work of Christ Jesus our Lord? By what is He distinguished, to the eye of reason, above His fellows if not by his miracles, by his unsullied righteousness, and, above all, by his perfect self-sacrificing love?

Well, it is by his miracles that He is connected with the physical universe; it is by them that He proves himself to be the unseen Force or Power which sits behind Nature, administering its laws. But here it will at once be objected that miracles are an infraction of all law. *Are they?* They may be, if we look at them by themselves. But admit for a moment the whole Christian hypothesis, look, not at the miracles alone, but also at Him who works them, and is there anything unreasonable in them then? If the invisible God, who created and rules the universe, is to become visible, and to become visible for the express purpose of showing men what He is, will He not, must He not, show Himself to be the Lord of the universe, by doing openly what He has hitherto done in secret, by *visible* creative acts instead of invisible, by making the law luminous and emphatic in the miracle? If God was in Christ, and in Christ that we might know Him as he is, then reason itself teaches us to expect creative, that is, miraculous acts from Him; reason itself teaches us to expect that He will show Himself to be the Lord of the universe and of its laws. In fine, if God

was in Christ, we should look to *see* in Christ the very supernatural power we know to be in God.

But, again, God is not only the Creator of the heavens and the earth; He is also the Power that makes for righteousness throughout the history of man. And was not this character of divinity revealed in 'Jesus Christ, the Righteous?' Nothing is more certain than that Jesus was in very deed a man. It is a complete and perfect human life which moves before us in the gospels. He was touched by the whole round of emotions by which we are moved—by sorrow and joy, by love and anger, by compassion and indignation; He was no celestial apparition hovering above or about the earth, but a very man—who was pained by the misconceptions of his friends and by the enmity of his foes, a man who was strengthened and refreshed by the fidelity of those whom He loved, and as He poured out his burdened heart in prayer to his Father and our Father, his God and our God.

And yet, though like us in all else, He was without sin. He was the perfect ideal man. No shadow of selfishness ever obscured the pure mirror of his soul. Even the keen eyes of Satanic malice could find nothing in Him. Solicited and threatened on all sides, his mind never for a moment grew incorrect to Heaven, never wavered in its free adoption of the will of God. Selfishness, egotism, is the very essence of sin. In the last analysis sin means making the *Ego*, the self, the centre to which all things are to tend, instead of God. But the Man Christ Jesus never thought of Himself in that base sense—never thought of his own case, his own interests, his own reputation. Throughout He held himself at the service of God and man, and willingly sacrificed Himself that He might save the world. The judge who condemned Him pronounced him faultless. The centurion who executed Him confessed, 'Truly this was a righteous man.' We have only to look at the tender yet august Figure reflected in the glass of the Word to be sure that, once, at least, the world has seen that greatest of miracles, a man holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners! For the Evangelists are not content with simply affirming his unstained purity. They have portrayed his life in every aspect and relation, down to its minutest details; and we can find in it neither spot nor blemish. Nay He Himself, confessedly the wisest and best of men, and though as men grow in wisdom they also grow more keenly sensible of the evil that is in them, never once uttered that pathetic confession of personal unworthiness and

guilt which we hear from all pure lips but His. So far from confessing, He defied his very enemies to convict Him of a single sin. He taught us to pray for forgiveness, indeed, but he never prayed for it Himself. In the darkest moment, when his unparalleled sorrows pressed most heavily upon Him, He never acknowledged that He had deserved them. Even in the hour and article of death, when the most innocent and the most holy lift up their hands to God and breathe out a prayer for pardon, He, too, prayed for forgiveness, but it was for his enemies, not for Himself. Righteous Himself, He was ever on the side of righteousness. None was so quick as He to discover the faintest germ of good in the 'sinners' who came to Him confessing their sins, none so severe as He in rebuking those who 'trusted in themselves that they were righteous and despised others.' While He dwelt among us, did not his influence make for righteousness and against iniquity? And since He has gone up on high, what is the Power that, beyond all others, has told for righteousness throughout the world? Is it not the 'grace of Jesus Christ our Lord'?

Once more, God is, as we have also seen, the Fountain of all love and goodness. And this love, this God of love, was not *He* revealed in Christ? The Cross of Christ is the symbol of a love stronger than death, a love that knew no bounds, even for the evil and the unthankful. Those who conceive of God as *exacting* instead of *making* an atonement for the sins of the world, those who conceive of the New Testament as revealing a God who was *not* in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself, but as capable of the double injustice of condemning an innocent *man* in order to acquit the guilty, instead of giving Himself as the sacrifice, may well shrink from the God and the Atonement they suppose it to reveal. They may well fear to bring their theology to the bar of reason. But what have *we* to fear, we who believe that God, God Himself, no one less than God, was in Christ; that, in Him, God revealed once for all, in one crowning and supreme act, his eternal and unchangeable love for the sons of men? Is *that* unreasonable? Can any man who has learned from argument and induction that the Creator must be infinitely better than his creatures, that He is the divine fountain from which all the love and self-sacrifice which are the glory of manhood flows: can any such believer in God shrink from the thought as irrational that in Christ God showed a love which transcends all the force and tenderness of human love? We, at least, do not see how he can. And,

therefore, we call on as many as can say, 'I believe in God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth,' to add, 'and in Jesus Christ, his only Son our Lord.' We confidently affirm that, inasmuch as we find in Christ whatever reason teaches us there must be in God; inasmuch as Christ showed Himself to be the Lord of the universe, the Power that makes for righteousness, and the Love that is boundless and divine, reason itself bids us conclude that God was in Christ; in Him, to reveal Himself to men, that He might satisfy the profound and incessant craving of their heart for Him.

III. But, reasonable as this conclusion seems to us, the fact of a miraculous and supernatural revelation, such a revelation as the Bible contains, is utterly incredible to many thoughtful men, and that on various grounds.

(1.) They allege, for instance, that in his wisdom God has ordained for Himself certain laws, or invariable methods of action, which, though at times they bear hardly on this man or that, on this race or that, obviously subserve the welfare of the world at large, and that it is therefore unreasonable to suppose that He will interrupt or deviate from those laws. He reveals Himself, they say, and his eternal goodwill to men *by* those laws, and He cannot, or will not, break through them, however much we may need or desire to hear Him speaking more immediately to us.

To this objection we reply, that those who urge it surely assume a breadth and certainty of knowledge denied to 'mortal man beneath the sky.' For the question really in debate is—On what laws or principles does God conduct the moral government of the worlds He has made? But with how many of these worlds is even the wisest of men acquainted? Clearly he knows nothing of the moral government of any world but one, and that the world in which he lives. And of the moral government of *this* world he knows little except what he learns from the history of past ages. The ground covered by any man's personal experience is so small that he would prove himself an idiot rather than a sage, were he to base universal conclusions upon it. If he would draw so much as a probable inference as to the laws *by* which even this world is governed, he must found it on the history, and on the whole history, of the world, so far as it has been preserved. But among the histories of the past there is one, and that the very one which confessedly handles all religious questions with an unrivalled force and nobility—a history extending over forty centuries, which persistently affirms Revelation to be a fact.

No history has been so severely tested as this. None has so triumphantly borne every test to which it has been exposed. At this very moment the languages of ancient Egypt, Assyria, Phœnicia, and Moab are being recovered from the monuments that even Time, which devours all things, has failed to destroy; and as fast as the inscriptions with which they are crowded are deciphered they yield the most striking confirmation of the facts recorded in the Hebrew Scriptures.

These Scriptures, moreover, not only affirm the fact of Revelation, they also record the revelations which they affirm that God, at sundry times and in divers manners, vouchsafed to men. And these revelations, so far as we are competent to assay and judge them, present every mark of a divine origin, and commend themselves to the conscience of men as the authentic words of God by the unparalleled nobility and purity of the truths they unfold.

Mark, then, how far our argument has led us. We had to determine in general on what laws or principles God conducts the moral government of worlds, and more especially whether or not revelation, or direct disclosure of Himself, be one of those principles. We know nothing of the moral government of any world but our own, and of this we know only what we can learn from its recorded history. In the historical literature of the world one history confessedly stands pre-eminent for its power and beauty. This history affirms revelation to be a principle or habit of God; and, in the truths it professes to reveal, we possess, as all men acknowledge, the very noblest and highest religious conceptions which have found a home in the heart of man. So that when we bring the question to the scientific test of experience and observation, we have at the lowest a grave presumption in favour of the conclusion that the revelation of Himself to his intelligent creatures is one of the laws or principles on which God conducts the moral government of the worlds He has made.

Is it reasonable, then, is it scientific, to reject this conclusion, the conclusion, be it remembered, of observation and experience, on the high *a priori* ground that as God governs by fixed laws, it is impossible that He should come forth from his place to instruct his creatures in the counsels of his will? Men of science, not without cause, profoundly distrust *a priori* arguments. They constantly appeal from them to facts, and insist that the facts shall be left to tell their own tale, and not be forced to support a foregone conclusion. They appeal to facts: to facts,

then, let them go. The facts say that for at least forty out of the sixty historic centuries God did reveal Himself to men; they affirm that to secure the spiritual welfare of man He has shone through the veil of intermediate causes and effects, in order that in his light we might see light.

The reasonableness of this conclusion is admitted by the highest scientific authority, that of Professor Tyndall himself, who acknowledges that '*it is no departure from scientific method to place behind natural phenomena a universal Father* who, in answer to the prayers of his children, alters the currents of these phenomena.' True, the learned Professor adds that this theory is only a theory till it be tested and verified in the region of sensible observation and experience; but he admits that the conception is in entire harmony with the scientific method of thought: and, as we have shown, the conception *has been* tested and verified, unless, indeed, we are to reject as a fable, not only the spiritual experience of the whole Christian Church, but also the one literature which has been exposed to the hottest fire of the critical ordeal, and has come forth from it substantially uninjured, although the smell of the fire may yet linger on some of its garments.

(2.) But if Revelation be a scientific inference from history, and an easy deduction from the goodness of God and the need of man, it may be asked 'Why, then, does not God reveal Himself to every man that cometh into the world? Why is Revelation limited to sundry times, all of which are past, and to a single race, which race, moreover, no longer hears a voice we cannot hear, nor sees visions that we cannot see? It surely is but reasonable to expect that, if God should speak to men, and speak to them on themes in which their highest welfare is involved, the revelation will be universal and constant, that it will not be withheld from any one of us.'

In meeting this objection it would not be fair to urge that, in some sense, God does reveal Himself to every man that cometh into the world, that He is not far from any one of us; nor to insist on the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, promised and vouchsafed to as many as believe: for these inward and spiritual revelations differ widely from the revelation sent by the prophets and apostles, who spoke as they were moved by the Spirit of God. We meet it rather with the simple answer that it is utterly and demonstrably unscientific. What text is there on which men of science love more to dwell, or on which they grow more eloquent, than on the admirable blending of economy with bounty which they everywhere discover in the natural world; the pa-

tience, and long patience, with which the Maker of all works out his beneficent designs? A God never hasting and never resting, suffering no lack yet permitting no waste, this is the God in whom, if they believe in God at all, they delight themselves. If, then, in his work of revealing Himself to men, God is to display the economy and patience which characterize all the other operations of his hands, we should not expect that He would be for ever breaking through the veil of cause and effect, which commonly at once hides Him from and reveals Him to men, as though He were impatient to shine forth in his full glory, and to compel the admiration of his creatures. We should rather expect that He would select one man, and then one race, to be the recipients and exponents of the truth; that He would wait patiently while the one man grew and multiplied into a race, all more or less leavened with the truth He had revealed, and again wait patiently till by gradual and advancing disclosures of his will He had prepared the select race to receive the truth in its fulness, and to become his ambassadors to the other races of the world. The law of economy, which rules in all his other works, prescribed this thrift and patience in the work of Revelation. While, on the other hand, the limitations of the human intellect, man's slowness of heart to believe and to rise into higher beliefs, necessitated it.

(3.) But here we may be met by an objection of a different kind. Granting, it may be said, that reason would teach us to look for the election of one race to the post and function of religious teacher to the world, is there any need to assume a divine revelation, an immediate and supernatural disclosure of Himself by God, to this elect people? May not a race have been created with, or trained into, a special aptitude for the discovery and promulgation of religious truth? May not the Hebrew Scriptures be the natural and unaided product of the Semitic mind? We know that the superior races of the Oriental world are characterized by a singular religious susceptibility and power, and that the great religious books of the world have been written by them. Why, then, should we not accept the Hebrew Scriptures as the natural production of this strange religious susceptibility and power, and as none the less the gift of God because they are the work of man?

In certain quarters this argument of the Oriental, and more particularly of the *Semitic mind*, finds great favour, and is constantly urged in a tone of conviction, if not triumph. Nevertheless, if, still pursuing the scientific method, we appeal to facts, the facts treat

this argument very much as Aaron's rod-serpent treated the rods of the magicians of Egypt. It is very true that, on the great mountains and plains and deserts of the East, where the forces of nature display themselves with a terrible sublimity which compels men to take refuge in God, there grew up a race of men peculiarly open to religious impressions, and with a strange capacity both for uttering truth in noble and simple forms, and for passionately devoting themselves to the service and propagation of religion; and, as the Ruler and Teacher of men ever adapts his means to his end, we might reasonably assume that He would select the nation by which He intended to give his truth to the world from this specially gifted race, choosing minds naturally religious to be the ambassadors and champions of religious truth.

So far, therefore, we can cheerfully adopt the argument of the Semitic mind. But when it is pushed beyond this point, when we are asked to see in the Hebrew mind, not only the organ, but the origin, of religious truth, not only the channel through which it flowed, and which gave it form and colour, but also the spring from which it rose, we take leave to demur, at least till we have consulted the facts. There are other products of the Semitic mind with which, before we arrive at our conclusion, it is but reasonable that we should compare the Hebrew scriptures; the book of Tobit, for example, the history of Susanna and the Elders, Bel and the Dragon, the Talmud, and the Koran. Nay, there are still other products of the Oriental mind in general, at which we shall do well to glance; as, for instance, the Hindu Vedas, and the Persian Zendavesta. Now any man acquainted, however slightly, with the more ancient songs of the Vedas, or with the Gáthás of the Zendavesta, or with many of the sentences and parables of the Talmud, with the finer *suras* of the Koran, who should deny that they are characterized by an amazing beauty and religious elevation of tone, would simply put himself out of court as an utterly incompetent critic and judge. We are very far from denying, we are glad to believe that they all contain 'broken rays' from the Light that lighteth every man. But, on the other hand, any man who can compare the Vedas, or the Zendavesta, or the Talmud, or the Koran, or even the Hebrew apocryphal literature, *as a whole*, with the canonical Scriptures *as a whole*, and not feel that the Scriptures are a whole heaven above the other religious products of the Semitic or the Oriental mind, must be a man so insensible to the power of truth and to the most obvious distinctions of literary form

and value, as to render his verdicts wholly worthless. The more we study the other great religious books of the world, however much we find in them to admire, the more firmly we shall be persuaded that nothing short of the inspiration of God can account for the unapproachable sublimity and power of those Scriptures in which we think and know that we have eternal life.

(4.) But again, if a revelation be granted, it may still be urged: 'Surely the perfect God would only reveal Himself in perfect forms. Do you claim perfection for the Scriptures, then, and for all of them? Do you assert that there are no defects in them, whether in form or substance?—that from the earliest to the latest they present religious truth in its absolute forms?'

We assert nothing of the kind. We admit, with St. Paul, that we have the heavenly treasure in earthen vessels. We confess, with Christ, that in the earlier Scriptures there are concessions to human weakness, laws given 'for the hardness of their hearts,' who received them, because they were the best practicable, not because they were the absolute best. We acknowledge the more excellent glory of the truth and grace which came by Jesus Christ. And we contend that this gradual and progressive method of revelation, this advance from less to more, is precisely the method which commends itself to reason as appropriate and divine. Does not science discover this law of development in all the works of God, in the creation and history of the earth itself, in its *flora* and *fauna*, in the history of separate races of men, and in that of the collective race? Does not science, in these later days, tend irresistibly to the theory of evolution or development as the sole key to all the changes through which the world has passed, and all that it contains, even to man himself, reducing all vital forces, whether of plant or animal, to a common primary tissue variously organized, and resolving even this organic tissue into the acids, phosphates, and salts of the inorganic world?

Well, we claim this law of development for the revelation which God has made to men. We say it was to be expected, it accords with reason, that God should give his truth to men as they were able to receive it; that He should advance from the rudimentary to the more advanced stages, from the first elements to the last perfect disclosure of his will. And, as in the earlier stages of development all things are comparatively imperfect, though at the same time they may be exquisitely adapted to the elements and conditions in which they move, we must not look for perfect history in the unhistoric

ages of the world, nor for a perfect morality in the *unmoral* or the *immoral* ages. We can and do claim for the early histories of the Bible a clearness and an accuracy which far transcend those of any contemporary race,—a claim which will not be questioned by the scholars who are familiar with the ancient theories of the genesis of the earth and of man, or who are even now painfully deciphering and patching together the inscriptions graven on the monuments of Assyria and the papyri of Egypt. We can and do claim for the legislation of Moses a morality far in advance of the other codes of the antique world, and exquisitely adapted to the moral condition and needs of those to whom it was sent. But we do not affirm the literal accuracy of every 'book,' or genealogical table, contained in the Pentateuch; nor do we assert that the morality of Moses was as high and broad and pure as that of Christ; we neither recommend any modern historian to quote his authorities as the Old Testament is quoted in the New, nor advise that the imprecations of some of the Hebrew psalmists should be taken on Christian lips. In short, we admit the moral and historical imperfections of the ancient Scriptures, in so far as they are or may be proved; and we attribute them to that method of development which reason confesses to be characteristic of all Divine processes. If the revelation of God had *not* been progressive, when should we have heard the last of it? If it had not advanced through lower to higher stages, men of science would have been the first to mark this deviation from the ways of God, and would have found, in its instant and unaccountable perfection, a still more cogent reason for rejecting it than they now find in its imperfections, confessed or alleged.

(5.) But even when Revelation has been granted as reasonable, it may still further be objected:—

Surely, when God speaks to men, He will so speak as that they may understand. The revelation may be progressive, it may be given only at sundry times, and not to divers peoples; but, so far as it goes, it will at least be clear, level to the understanding of those to whom it is vouchsafed. There will be no mystery about it, no esoteric or hidden truths. And yet, how much is there in the Old Testament of which the Jews did not lay hold, and of which it was not to be expected that they should lay hold; and how much is there in the New Testament which the primitive disciples did not comprehend, and of which the most different views are held even to the present day. We indeed can find the doctrine of a suffering Messiah

in the Old Testament Scriptures; but how should the Jews have found it when He was constantly held up before them with a crown of victory on his head? We can see that the prophets and psalmist emphatically affirmed obedience to be better than sacrifice; but how should the Jews have seen it, when so much and constant stress was laid on the duty of sacrifice? We can see that the primitive disciples were mistaken, in hoping to behold a second advent of the Lord before they saw death; but who that marks how Christ and his apostles spake of that advent, can wonder that they fell into the mistake? We can see that the elect race was elected, not for its own sake, but for the benefit of the world; but can we marvel that the Jews held themselves to be the favourites of Heaven? And that doctrine of future retribution, taught in both Testaments—who even yet can say, exactly and authoritatively, what it means? Many still adhere to the conception of an everlasting torture as the due reward of sins committed in the fleeting moments of time, which, on the mere face of it, at least seems a monstrous injustice; while others stoutly maintain that no such dogma is taught in the Scriptures, whether of the Old Testament or the New. If, then, the Bible be, or contain, the Word of God, how comes it to pass that its apparent meaning is not always its true meaning; that on questions so momentous as these, it utters so uncertain a sound?

Our reply to this objection, which has, it must be confessed, a somewhat formidable face, is simply another appeal to the facts and teachings of science. *Do the phenomena of the natural world always carry their true meaning on their very front? Are they all perfectly simple, and capable of an instant and accurate interpretation? Does not the immense value of a scientific training consist in this,—that it teaches us to distinguish between the things which are, and the things which do appear? that it compels us to ask, again and again, what, and what manner of thing the phenomena around us do signify? The sun seems to travel round the earth; but does it? The stars seem minute specks of light; but are they? The crows found on the summit of the Alps seem to have been created there, or, as the Crusaders thought, to have been deposited there by the Deluge; but were they? The simple fact is that the first and obvious interpretations of men of science have hardly ever been anywhere near the mark. The first astronomical readings of the heavens, and the first geological readings of the earth, long since corrected by fuller knowledge, are but familiar instances of the way in which science has advanced*

through erroneous to more accurate conceptions of the works of God. Nowhere is the absolute truth found on the surface. Nothing is what it seems,—not even light, or heat, or motion, or sound.

If, then, in all the works of God we find an inviting mystery which beckons us on to an ever deeper research, and which rewards our research with knowledge ever more accurate and complete, should we not expect to find a similar mystery in the words through which God reveals Himself to men? Is it not most reasonable that here too we should meet with phenomena which may mislead us if we hastily theorize upon them, and which will yield their secret only to humble, patient, and wise inquiry? It surely is reasonable, most reasonable. The very mysteries of the Divine Word are but another proof that the Word is from Him who made and rules the universe. That the Jews should have found their conception of a victorious Messiah in the very Scriptures from which we derive our conception of a suffering Messiah is no whit more strange than that the Ptolemaic and Copernican systems should have been inferred from the same astronomical facts. That there should be in the Bible mysteries which are variously interpreted, and problems which we cannot even yet conclusively solve, is no more a proof that the Bible did not come from God than the mysteries and unsolved problems of Nature are a proof that the worlds were not made by God. Rather, the existence of similar mysteries and unsolved, if not insoluble, problems in both affords a strong presumption that both are the work of one and the self-same Hand.

Thus, though far too hastily and imperfectly, we have endeavoured to show how the very central and fundamental truths of the Christian Creed may be so presented as to commend themselves even to the inquisitive and sceptical faculty of reason. And, in prosecuting this endeavour, we trust we have made it plain that we neither relinquish for ourselves, nor desire others to relinquish, any particle of 'the faith once delivered to the saints.' All our fathers regarded the circle of Christian doctrine from the point of view at which their several ages stood; and we shall but follow their example if, while looking steadfastly at the same sacred circle of doctrine, we shift our point of view with the shifting time, and adopt the method of thought in vogue with the men of our day and generation. Indeed, it is only by these changes of method and points of view that the Church enlarges her conceptions of the truths common to all ages, and makes them at once more accurate and more complete.

And what do, what can we lose by presenting 'the truth as it is in Jesus,' to a reasoning and sceptical age, in its more reasonable and convincing aspects? The truth remains the same, whatever our point of view and however our theological formulas may change; just as the astronomical facts remain the same, and men may rejoice in the light and heat of the sun, whatever their theories of the solar system. We still have a God of righteousness and love as the Maker of heaven and earth, and as the gracious Ruler of men; a God who, in his single Being, includes Father, Son and Holy Ghost; a God who, that He might reveal Himself to men, inspired the holy prophets to declare his will, and, in the person of his Son, came down and dwelt among us; a God who, in the exceeding greatness of his love to usward, has Himself made a sacrifice for the sin of the world, that He might reconcile the world unto Himself. We lose no jot or tittle of these truths by speaking of them in a reasonable way and in accordance with the scientific method of thought. And if we lose nothing, how much may we gain by so speaking of them as to show that they accord with reason, though they also transcend it? With what added power do we appeal to men when we have first convinced ourselves and them of the utter reasonableness of that of which we speak and whereof we affirm, when we are fully persuaded that in beseeching them, as they believe in God, to believe also in Christ, Reason combines with Religion to enforce our prayer?

ART. IV.—*Masson's Milton and his Times.*

The Life of John Milton: Narrated in connection with the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of his Time.

By DAVID MASSON, M.A., LL.D. Vols. I. II. and III. Macmillan and Co.

NOTWITHSTANDING all that has been written on the subject to which Mr. Masson has devoted his matured experience and powers, the theme is one which cannot be exhausted; nor does it diminish in interest with the lapse of generations. It is invested with an eternal freshness. The grand central figure lends lustre to the age of which it was one of the brightest ornaments, whilst the age itself must ever remain one of the most powerfully attractive in English history. Of Milton Macaulay has well said that he does 'not envy the man who can study either the life or the writings of the great poet and

patriot, without aspiring to emulate, not indeed the sublime works with which his genius has enriched our literature, but the zeal with which he laboured for the public good, the fortitude with which he endured every private calamity, the lofty disdain with which he looked down on temptations and dangers, the deadly hate which he bore to bigots and tyrants, and the faith which he so sternly kept with his country and his fame.' Noble as are these words, we have pride in feeling that to the uttermost the warm and generous tribute is deserved. And if so much can be said of the individual, what may not be said of the age of which he was so conspicuous a constituent? Of all the periods in our national existence there is not one which exhibits such stern rectitude and such massive virtues. Dispossessed of that bias which so often warps the judgment when dealing with men who have been compelled into some amount of political prominence, surely there is no one who would not admit that, after making allowance for religious and personal angularities, the heroes of the Commonwealth were men of a full and dignified stature—men, perhaps, more worthy of their age than we of the nineteenth century are of ours. Hampden, Pym, Cromwell, Milton, and others of their contemporaries form an illustrious galaxy almost unparalleled for intellect and integrity; and the history which deals with the struggles in which they took part cannot fail to have an imperishable importance. The foundations of those liberties which we now enjoy were laid by them; they were the men who first dared to assert the inviolability of the human conscience, and the rights of the individual as against his tyrant. To appreciate the full value of the work which they successfully accomplished we must take into consideration the strength of the powers which were arrayed against them, powers which might have been described as well-nigh impregnable, but which succumbed to the superior majesty of right, whose triumph, though occasionally sometimes delayed, is finally inevitable.

Feeling that so many great and vital questions were bound up, as it were, with Milton's life, Mr. Masson resolved, at the outset of his work, to give to it the widest scope, as a history. Accordingly, while his chief object has been to present to the world the fullest account of Milton himself which it has yet received, and one of considerably enhanced value on account of additional and minute research, he has wisely decided to let the story partake of the character of history as well as of biography. In

fact, on this head he remarks, 'it is intended to exhibit Milton's life in its connections with all the more notable phenomena of the period of British history in which it was cast—its State politics, its ecclesiastical variations, its literature, and speculative thought.' The labour already expended upon the task, as manifested in the three volumes before us, is prodigious, and quite enough to have deterred any writer who was not imbued with an enthusiasm for his subject which no amount of difficulties to be encountered could possibly extinguish: We have had innumerable lives of Milton—some of them embittered by personal hostility—from that of Dr. Johnson downwards to those of James Montgomery and others; but of lives from the point of view taken by Mr. Masson, none. Also of histories of the period stretching from 1608 to the death of Charles II. we have no lack; but of history obtained through the medium of side lights such as we get here, and which is frequently a most valuable means of acquiring accurate knowledge, we have had little. We cannot agree with those who find fault with Mr. Masson's method, and blame him for his *minutiae*; he is but following out his original plan of treating his subject as exhaustively as possible, in which he considers himself justified by the value and richness of his material. The task is one worthy of being done well, if at all; we hope—and the hope is one which there is every prospect will be fulfilled—that he will successfully complete his purpose. If there is a figure in English history worthy of being set in the 'fullest and clearest light it is that of Milton. Besides his pre-eminence as the greatest religious poet of the world there is much of what is sublimest in human nature attaching to his character. Cast into the seething sea of politics and controversy he yet attained that grandeur of repose which is the mark of the loftiest and noblest spirits. The portion of the biography dealt with in the first volume occupies thirty years of the poet's life. Beginning with his ancestry and kindred we have the most painstaking and conscientious record of all facts which are in any way germane to the subject, and one is struck with the care taken, and the labour which must have been expended, in getting into order this minute personal record. Most readers, we presume, are acquainted with some salient points in connection with Milton's career, but in going through this extended account they will be amply repaid for all their trouble. Occasionally Mr. Masson shatters some of our old beliefs and stories, and one cruel example of this is found early in the volume, when we come upon this passage:—

'Every one has heard or read the romantic story of the young foreign lady, who, passing in a carriage, with her elder companion, the spot near Cambridge where Milton lay asleep under a tree, was so struck with his beauty, that, after alighting to look at him, she wrote in pencil some Italian lines, and placed them, unperceived as she thought (but there were laughing students near), in the sleeper's hand; and how Milton, when he awoke, read the lines, and being told how they came there conceived such a passion for the fair unknown that he went afterwards to Italy in quest of her, and thought of her to the end of his days as his Lost Paradise. The story is a myth, belonging to the lives of other poets besides Milton. But, in compensation for the loss of it, the reader may have, on Milton's own testimony in the above-mentioned Elegy,* an incident not dissimilar, and, if less romantic, at least authentic as to place and date.'

The real incident appears to have been that in his twentieth year Milton first fell in love, and with some beauty whom he saw in public in London. With regard to the false story, it is not a little singular that the same myth is prevalent about Milton at Rome, the adventure being reported to have occurred in the suburbs of that city. The English version probably received additional credence from the fact that Milton afterwards paid a visit to Italy. The poet's genealogy appears to be doubtful, and, in spite of the assiduous endeavours of the biographer, little information of an authentic character has been obtained beyond the fact that the Miltons were an Oxfordshire family. One account states that Milton's grandfather was a Roman Catholic, who brought up his son (Milton's father) at Christ Church, Oxford, and afterwards disinherited him because he forsook the Catholic religion. But ancestry matters little, as we gradually approach that period when a man's best claims upon men are his noble deeds. What is clearly ascertained is that Milton's father was a 'scrivener,' of Breadstreet, London, and that the poet was born there on the 9th of December, 1608, thus being a Cockney of the Cockneys. The father is described as 'an ingeniose man,' and a man of some repute as a writer of music. It is also interesting to note that he was a man of liberal mind, for Milton, speaking of his own early education, says, 'I had, from my first years, by the ceaseless diligence and care of my father (whom God recompense) been exercised to the tongues and some sciences, as my age would suffer, by sundry masters and teachers, both at home and at the schools.' From the age of twelve to sixteen Milton was at St. Paul's

* Milton's 'Seventh Latin Elegy.' Google

School, and at the latter age he had succeeded in acquiring a considerable knowledge of the course of English literature. It is worthy of note that when fifteen years old he produced the well-known metrical version of the 136th Psalm, beginning 'Let us with a gladsome mind.' A whole chapter—and we are bound to admit it is not too much—is given to Milton's stay at Cambridge, where he was admitted a pensioner of Christ's College on the 12th of February, 1625. Here after three years he took his B.A. degree, at the same time that the celebrated Rubens was admitted to the M.A. At the age of twenty-one, and while at College, Milton wrote the splendid 'Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity,' respecting which Hallam is so enthusiastic, and which in truth is at that age a wonderful piece of work for finish. The noble lines are too widely familiar to most readers of Milton to need quotation here. The 'Sonnet on Shakspeare' followed in the next year. Returning to the University in 1631, after the plague which visited Cambridge, Milton took his M.A. degree, and in doing so had to subscribe to the articles, which involved an acknowledgment of the royal supremacy, the Church Liturgy, and the authorized doctrines of the Church of England—a clear proof that at the age of twenty-three he had not yet broken away from his allegiance to the Church. By all accounts his reputation for study and ability while at college was of the highest, and a flat contradiction is given to Johnson's statement that 'there is reason to believe that he was regarded in his college with no great fondness.' As the biographer points out, it is not at all unlikely that the report that he had parted on bad terms with his University was started because he afterwards found it necessary to utter things which vexed the soul of his Alma Mater. The calumny began when Milton himself commenced to attack the institution of Church and State, a very suspicious circumstance. The poet probably helped to perpetuate the report by remarking that, though he was in harmony with the best men of the University, it by no means followed that he supported the system pursued there. Passages are culled from his compositions during his academical career to show that he was very unfavourable, to say the least, to the methods of the place. A very admirable sketch is given of Milton's habits of thought and disposition at the time he left college. Mr. Masson shows in what respects as a poet and man he differed from Shakspeare, and hits off happily, we imagine, their idiosyncrasies. He refers to Milton's noble egotism, and thus closes his remarks

on this head:—'As a Christian, humiliation before God was a duty the meaning of which he knew full well; but, as a man moving among other men, he possessed in that moral seriousness and stoic scorn of temptation which characterized him, a spring of ever-present pride, dignifying his whole bearing among his fellows, and at times arousing him to a kingly intolerance. In short, instead of that dissatisfaction with self which we trace as a not unfrequent feeling with Shakspeare, we find in Milton, even in early youth, a recollection, firm and habitual, that he was one of those servants to whom God had intrusted the stewardship of ten talents.' We think that the whole passage of which this forms a part exhibits keen insight in the treatment of Milton's character; and, viewing them in the light given to us by Mr. Masson, we understand with ease many things touching the poet which would otherwise prove matters of difficulty and stumbling. In the formation and development of his character a lofty ideality must have held a conspicuous part, which, while it lifted the poet himself above the rest of the world into a sublime self-consciousness, rendered him impatient of those to whom such a high demeanour was not natural.

The rest of the personal portion of this volume is occupied partly with Milton's stay of five years at his father's country residence at Horton, in Buckinghamshire, and partly with the record of his Continental travel. He left England just at the time when the Scotch Covenanters began to be talked about in London, and when the decision had been given against Hampden in his famous ship-money case. From Paris, where he was introduced to Hugo Grotius, and where his stay was but short, the poet went on to Italy, and was gratified at length in his long cherished desire to stand on the shores of the Mediterranean. Following Milton's footsteps with the most elaborate care and diligence, Mr. Masson entertains us with short sketches of all those things in which the former doubtless took a profound interest, and also presents us with an epitome of the condition of the Continental empires at the period. Amongst other things it is pointed out that precisely at the time of Milton's arrival in Italy, the blindness of the illustrious Galileo had become total. Strange that history was to repeat itself once more in the calamity which afterwards befell our own beloved countryman. The English poet visited Galileo, whom, he says, 'I found grown old, a prisoner to the Inquisition, for thinking in astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licensers thought.' Much

there was in common between these intellectual giants.

But we cannot linger over this story of travel, nor, indeed, over the historical portion of the volume. There is, however, little necessity to do the latter, inasmuch as the period was as yet not rife in stirring events, though it was rapidly preparing for them. We must nevertheless note that in consequence of what he saw going on in the Church, Milton, much to the disappointment of his father, resolved to enter upon a literary career. The ascendancy of Papistical notions is traced in this division, and a remarkably able sketch—in which we can perceive no tinge of bitterness—is given of Laud, who was afterwards to play so conspicuous a part in the history of his country. Mr. Masson follows the intricate action of this really able man with great fidelity, and shows how those strifes arose which afterwards burst with terrible fury over the land. He likewise follows the course of the religious persecutions from their first inception to the time when they had become absolutely unbearable; and in doing this, of course, it is partly with a view of showing the operation public events must have had upon such a nature as Milton's.

—Notice should not be omitted, with regard to this first volume, of the admirable chapter which is devoted to a survey of British literature from the time of Ben Jonson to the period immediately after Milton left Cambridge. It is written with all its author's well-known critical acumen, and is distinguished by his ripe judgment. It is at the same time rich in information. Of itself, this alone is a work of no mean magnitude, and most clearly demonstrates Mr. Masson's intention to leave nothing undone which, in a literary sense, could add to the value of his history. Those who are acquainted with his 'Essays on British Novelists' will find here a work equal to that in style and in power of critical analysis. One wonders, almost, that he should be able to throw in this pearl carelessly, as it were, into the midst of the other work he has given us. The survey has certainly added great intrinsic value to the division in which it is set.

In a preface to the second volume Mr. Masson explains why the dimensions of his work have grown so greatly on his hands. He found, in the course of his inquiries, that it was not possible to confine his historical researches within the limits of a direct bearing upon the biography, and the history therefore gradually assumed an extended character. As might naturally be expected he continually found himself driven, for the elucidation of many points in the bio-

graphy, into the domain of history. And he adds that he challenges independent consideration for the historical portion of his work quite as much as he does for the biographical. It is evident, we think, that in both departments his efforts have been equally conscientious. By judicious classification he saves the reader an infinity of trouble, and no one can complain that he is cast into an unknown sea, there to pick up floating spars of fact as he may be able. The work can be taken up or laid down at any period. Its separate parts carry us on by regular stages, and there is no possibility of confusion or misapprehension. Turning to the biography we find that Milton returned to England in 1639, after a fifteen months' absence, and shortly afterwards he commemorated in the *Epitaphium Damonis* the loss of his dearest and closest friend, Charles Diodati, who had joined 'the majority' during his absence. Mr. Masson considers this poem one of the noblest things Milton has left us, and most interesting in its personal revelations. A perusal of the Pastoral affords a good basis for such an opinion, for the poem is full of a direct and intense pathos. At this period it was evident that the poet had fully resolved to commit himself to a life of intellectual labour, and accordingly in 1639-40 we find him leaving Horton and settling down in London for that purpose. Floating ideas, now of an heroic poem, and then of a tragedy, troubled his mind, and readings and digests with this view are given to the extent of ninety-eight subjects in all. The subject of 'Paradise Lost' occupies the most prominent position in the list. Other matters of national import, however, speedily put an end, for a considerable period, to any designs he might have formed. We find him about the time he had taken up his abode in Aldersgate-street writing as follows regarding the new concessions upon liberty of speech and other matters—

'Roused by the cognizance of these things, inasmuch as I perceived that the true way to liberty followed on from these beginnings—these first steps—that the advance was most rightly made to a liberation of the entire life of men from servitude, if a discipline taking its rise within religion should go forth thence to the manners and institutions of the Commonwealth, and inasmuch also as I had so prepared myself from my youth that above all things I could not be ignorant what is of Divine and what of human right, and had asked myself whether ever I should be of any use afterwards if then I should be wanting to my country, yea, to the Church, and to so many brethren exposing themselves to danger for the cause of the Gospel—I resolved, though I was then meditat-

ing certain other matters, to transfer into this struggle all my genius and all the strength of my industry.'

We are not surprised after this declaration to find the writer issuing three anti-Episcopal pamphlets, which caused much comment as they respectively appeared. The language in these pamphlets is instinct with fire, and the extracts given by Mr. Masson abundantly justify the assertion that there is no prose-poetry in the language comparable with it. The eloquence is now sad and tender, and again wild and tempestuous as the hurricane of heaven. After bursting forth with charge after charge he draws a vivid picture of the miserable condition into which Episcopacy had plunged the whole of the British Isles. In the course of his 'Animadversions' Milton now and again gives us clear statements of his views upon theological questions which are of interest at the present day. From his reply to Bishop Hall we extract the following as showing his estimate of Ordination:—

'As for Ordination, what is it but the laying on of hands, an outward sign or symbol of admission? It creates nothing, it confers nothing. It is the inward calling of God that makes a minister, and his own painful study and diligence that improves and matures his ministerial gifts. In the primitive times, many before even they had received ordination from the Apostles had done the Church noble service—as Apollos and others. It is but an orderly form of receiving a man already fitted, and committing to him a particular charge.'

It is easy to understand that views like these, set forth with a marvellous polemical skill, would fall like a bomb-shell in the midst of the ecclesiastical world, which was at that time fighting for the supremacy of its high dogmas. In the matter of pamphleteering Milton appears to have been much more than a match for his adversaries. The three pamphlets to which we have referred were followed by two others, in which he professed to argue against Prelacy on grounds of philosophic reason, or from a study of the principles of Christianity and human nature. These latter pamphlets, dealing with the question of Church government, demonstrate that, at the time he wrote them, Milton's desire as to the Church in England was to see it established somewhat in the form of the Presbyterian Kirk in Scotland, as restored in 1638. It is notorious that subsequently Milton condemned Presbyterianism utterly, ceased all connection with it, and, in fact, considered it little better than Episcopacy. This, however, was after it developed an intolerance of which the poet would have imagined it incapable. Into his fierce

controversy with Bishop Hall respecting the *Smectymnuans* we cannot enter here, but it is rather amusing to discover that at the end of these hot religious discussions the Halls throw out the suggestion that Milton 'was looking after a rich widow, and had written his former pamphlet, and especially had inserted in it the extraordinary prayer in the name of the three kingdoms, in order to gain this widow's affections.' Milton replies that in order that his accuser may know 'how his astrology is wide all the houses of the heaven in spelling marriages, I care not if I tell him this much profestly, though it be to the losing of my "rich hopes," as he calls them—that I think with them who, both in prudence and elegance of spirit, would choose a virgin of mean fortunes, honestly bred, before the wealthiest widow.' This leads us past all such questions as, Was Milton ever in the army or in the trained bands? to his marriage with Mary Powell, of the Powells of Forest Hill, near Shotover, with which the biographical portion of the second volume fitly closes. The Powells were Royalists, and Milton's entry into the family is said to have been hurried and unexpected. The bridegroom was thirty-five and the bride seventeen; they knew little of each other before marriage, and in a very short time after that event the bride returned to her father's house at Forest Hill, 'on a visit.' More of this visit, however, will be heard anon.

The historical portion of this second volume opens with an event which had very important bearings on the general political aspect of England, viz., the Scottish Presbyterian revolt, as it is termed by the historian. Much is to be found in other records of the progress of that great quarrel between King Charles and the Scots respecting bishops; but Mr. Masson has felt it incumbent upon him to tell the story once more in his own way. He certainly has done it with great fulness, and those who would desire to read a succinct account of the Scotch Covenanters will find one in his clear, sensible pages. Charles sent his cousin, the Marquis of Hamilton, to be a mediator between himself and his discontented subjects; thus showing that he placed no credence in the popular rumour that that nobleman was angling for the crown of Scotland. After much beating about the bush on the King's side, concessions were authorized to be made, and the whole kingdom was moved with delight, till the King required the people to give up their own Covenant and sign one concocted by his counsellors. The Glasgow Assembly of 1638 met whilst matters were still unarranged, and Hamilton did all in his power

to obstruct the proceedings of the Assembly. Although ordered to dissolve on pain of treason, this body went on boldly with their sittings, and by the end of the year they had accomplished a tolerable amount of work. They not only completely swept Episcopacy out of the land, but re-established the Kirk on the Presbyterian model. The moderator of this Assembly was the famous Alexander Henderson, who is accepted as the great successor of John Knox. Some idea of the manner in which Scotland was regarded by Englishmen at this period—as a poor, miserable land—may be gathered from the satirists alone. Cleveland pungently wrote shortly afterwards, expressing, however, a sentiment long prevalent:—

‘Had Cain been Scotch, God would have changed his doom;
Not made him wander, but compelled him home.’

Contempt, nevertheless, gave way to interest when the talk respecting the Covenanters became general. It being found impossible to arrange matters with the ‘refractory’ Scots, Charles declared war against them; and after calling for contributions, marched to the border. Being unsuccessful, however, in reducing them to obedience, he was fain to sign a treaty, or ‘Pacification,’ which was very precarious and shortlived. Gradually there sprang up in England a strong feeling of sympathy with the Scots. This was perceived by (amongst others) Hall, the Bishop of Exeter; and Mr. Masson’s researches have shown that this prelate was by no means so high-minded and above suspicion of mean actions as loose historians have generally thought. The result of a correspondence between Hall and Laud as to the necessity of closing the mouths of the Scots was the production by the former of his pamphlet, entitled, ‘Episcopacy by Divine Right Asserted.’ This pamphlet led to others, and after the settlement of certain riots in London, Charles began his second bishops’ war with the Scots. At this juncture, in November, 1640, the Long Parliament met in Westminster. Its acts are too indelible to need recapitulation. But the principal one was undoubtedly the death of Strafford, whose impeachment was due to Pym in the first instance. Charles, having been a tyrant, was now a traitor to his best friend, and gave his assent to Strafford’s execution. Shortly afterwards came the great English Church-reform movement, in which the Root-and-Branch party bore so conspicuous a part. They were really the Presbyterian party, but took their name from a desire they cherished for the abolition of

Episcopacy, ‘root and branch,’ for the annihilation of all dignities above that of a simple minister, and for the sequestration of the ecclesiastical revenues of bishops and other dignitaries, to be applied to humbler uses or State purposes. A pamphlet war ensued between Hall and the Smectymnuans, and the reforming party lost their Root-and-Branch Bill in the Lords. Action and reaction went on for some months, no approach being made to a settlement of those differences which were gradually widening the breach between the King and Parliament. In 1641 the Grand Remonstrance was presented to the King, showing the evils which had crept into the kingdom, and pointing out the remedies. Charles deigned no answer to this, but shortly afterwards made his memorable unsuccessful attempt to seize five prominent members of the House of Commons. Parliament became master of the field (Charles having retreated to Windsor), and passed the Bishops’ Exclusion Bill. The remaining portion of this instalment of the work is devoted to a description of the events which led to the drifting into the Civil War; and most valuable information is given as to the composition and early movements of the respective armies. We are also shown the famous Westminster Assembly in session; and, finally, Mr. Masson details the steps by which Brownism, afterwards Independency or Congregationalism, rose to be such a formidable foe to Presbyterianism. New-England Congregationalism, too, is somewhat exhaustively treated, and sketches are given of the most eminent New-England Ministers, including John Cotton, Hanserd Knollys, Hugh Peters, and last, but not least, Roger Williams. In the Westminster Assembly the Presbyterian element was overwhelmingly strong at the outset, but we are soon to witness a re-invigoration of Independency which doubtless astonished the religious and political parties of the period.

Beyond all question, the third volume of Mr. Masson’s stupendous work, taken as a whole, centres in itself the most interest; for it is in this that there is recorded one of the fiercest struggles in our national history. It is here that we find described that great conflict of mind as well as of the sword, in which were arrayed in deadly strife great and eminent powers. The story of the Civil War is no new one with us; but we cannot too deeply study its lessons, fraught as it was with the most important and permanent issues for ourselves. The recapitulation of the events of that intensely stirring and momentous period is performed in these pages with a clearness and a conciseness of diction which many of our writers would do

well to imitate; and Mr. Masson has endeavoured—and we think with almost complete success—to do justice to the various characters and circumstances with which he has to deal. It is occasionally difficult to perceive how the history bears upon Milton, and *vice versa*, but looking at it from his own stand-point we have after all little adverse criticism to pass upon the historian. A great portion of the history of this third volume has a deep interest for Nonconformists in general and for Congregationalists in particular. It commences with the Westminster Assembly in session, whose ordinary business was suspended for the purpose of passing the Solemn League and Covenant. In a great measure this was due to Alexander Henderson, who was desirous of binding the two nations in a permanent civil and religious alliance. Henderson is described as ‘all in all, one of the ablest and best men of his age in Britain, and the greatest, the wisest, and most liberal of the Scottish Presbyterians. They had all to consult him; in every strait and conflict he had to be appealed to, and came in at the last as the man of supereminent composure, comprehensiveness, and breadth of brow.’ A great contest, seen for some time to be inevitable, arose in the Assembly between the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists. The battle was really between two principles of Church organization, which are thus put by Mr. Masson:—

‘Was every individual assembly or association of Christians to be an independent ecclesiastical organism, entitled to elect its own pastor and other officers, and to exercise the powers of admonition or excommunication within itself—any action of surrounding congregations upon it being an action of mere observation and criticism, and not of power or jurisdiction; and no authority to belong to meetings of the office-bearers of congregations of the same city or neighbourhood, or to general synods of office-bearers, however useful for various purposes such occasional meetings and synods might be? This was what the Independents maintained; and to this the Presbyterians vehemently said, Nay. It was not desirable, they said in the first place, that congregations themselves should be mere gatherings of Christians drawn together by chance affinities. That would be to put an end to the parochial system, with all the advantages of orderliness and effective administration that belonged to it. Let every congregation consist, as heretofore, mainly of the inhabitants of one parish or definitely marked ecclesiastical territory. Then let there be a strict inter-connectedness of all these parochial congregations over the whole land by means of an ascending series of church judicatories. Let the congregations of the same town or district be connected by a Presbyterial Court, consist-

ing of the assembled ministers and the ruling lay elders of all the congregations, periodically reviewing the proceedings of the said congregations individually, or hearing appeals from them; and let these Presbyteries or Presbyterial Courts be in like manner under the authority and review of Synods, embracing many Presbyteries within their bounds; and, finally, of National Assemblies of the whole Church. Fierce and hot waxed the war between the two systems.’

The Independents, being weak in voting power in the Assembly, issued an appeal to Parliament and public opinion, before a final decision was taken on the great question. Meanwhile, Parliament was engaged in ejecting ultra-royalist ministers,—a task which, contrary to the statements of partial judges, they accomplished with little injustice, considering its magnitude. The war at this time was still being carried on; the Covenant had become stringent; and the Scotch army was on the march. At the close of 1643 the illustrious Pym died, and full honours were paid to his memory. In 1644 it was seen that though the metropolis and the Assembly were very largely Presbyterian, yet Independency prevailed in the country and the army, and Cromwell was already spoken of as ‘the great Independent.’ With the battle of Marston Moor the cause of Parliament progressed, and the army was soon afterwards reconstructed as the New Model. This organization well approved its name by its doings at the battle of Naseby. The remainder of the history is occupied with the King’s flight to the Scots, and the negotiations into which he entered, but without tangible results. Gradually the sad tragedy of Charles’s life approaches, and we are taken through all the several steps of his vicissitudes, till on that cold grey morning in January we find him paying the penalty of his treason at Whitehall. It appears that at the time of his execution, Milton was engaged upon a pamphlet which had for its object the establishment of the proposition that it had ‘always been lawful, through all time, for any who had the power, to call a tyrant to account, to depose him, and if necessary, to execute him, if the magistrate whose duty it was had failed to do so.’ Into this point of constitutional controversy we cannot now enter; besides, is it not fully discussed in the books of the chronicles of Hallam, Macaulay, and other historians, where every shade of opinion may find, as it believes, some substantial warrant for its existence?

One of the most important personal episodes in Milton’s life examined in this volume is that relating to the divorce matter. It seems to us that Professor Masson has dealt with

the subject wisely and well. He has certainly endeavoured to hold the scales between the parties with the most perfect fairness. It is tolerably well-known to all that very shortly after his marriage Milton desired a divorce, but there is some difficulty in understanding what led precisely to this. It would appear, however, from the poet's own language that it was principally because there was no 'fit and matchable conversation' between himself and his young wife; and he issued a tract to prove the thesis that indisposition, unfitness, or contrariety of mind, which hindered the solace and peace of married life, were a greater reason for divorce than those grosser reasons which generally prevail. With this view he attempted to procure a sweeping revision in the marriage law, observing that 'he, therefore, who by adventuring shall be so happy as with success to ease and set free the minds of ingenuous and apprehensive men from this needless thraldom. . . he that can but lend us the clue that winds out this labyrinth of servitude to such a reasonable and expedient liberty as this, deserves to be reckoned among the public benefactors of civil and human life, above the inventors of wine and oil.' Although in the course of his pamphlets Milton makes no reference to his own case, we can yet glean something of what was passing through his mind with regard to his difficulties. The continual references to incompatibility and to want of communion between two married spirits must have a definite meaning. Virtually, we believe, he asks this—Why should I not have a divorce for what is as irksome to me as dissimilar causes are to others? Yet he knew that this was a startling question to put to the world, and one for which it was by no means prepared. He knew he was moving towards a divorce on grounds which had never hitherto been legally sufficient, and he felt that a justification was necessary. We cannot see that anything would have led him into these divorce polemics but a strong conviction at the time of a complete and absolute mental and spiritual incompatibility between himself and his wife. The whole weight of his arguments, and the passionate exclamations with which they are interspersed, point to the same conclusion. He resolved to talk to the world plainly on the subject; he shuddered to think that many were possibly in the same miserable condition as himself, and regarded marriage as a thing 'committing two ensnared souls inevitably to kindle one another, not with the fire of love, but with a hatred irreconcilable, who, were they severed, would be straight friends in any other relation.' In one passage he distinctly ar-

gues that he is moved to this step of writing to justify himself for his wish to procure the divorce on the ground of incompatibility. What could be clearer than this? 'Some are ready to object that the disposition ought seriously to be considered before. But let them know again, that, for all the wariness that can be used, it may yet befall a discreet man to be mistaken in his choice, and we have plenty of examples; and where any indisposition is suspected, what more usual than the persuasion of friends that acquaintance, as it increases will mend all?' Milton was fully impressed with the gravity of the question which he seemed before the world to be resting upon a slight basis. His views on the subject of divorce have not only not been adopted, but they probably never will—one ground alone being considered sufficient upon which to reject them—viz., the ground of loosening the sanctity and importance of the marriage tie by the ease with which it could be dissolved. With regard to Milton's own specific arguments, it may be noted that he significantly omits to deal with the other side of the subject, to wit, the right of a woman to claim a separation or divorce from the husband on the same grounds upon which he would grant it to the man. Abundant evidence, indeed, exists to show that he claimed a superiority for man as the head of the woman, and did not admit her right to an equal position in the married life. Those, however, who wish to learn more regarding the vexed controversy which the poet instituted can turn to the volume for themselves, where Mr. Masson has handled the question in that spirit of candor and impartiality for which he is so deservedly esteemed.

Up to the year 1645 Milton had made himself known through the press chiefly as a pamphleteer. With the exception of the lines 'On Shakspeare,' 'Comus,' 'Lycidas,' and a scrap or two of verse, all the poems he had composed in twenty years remained in manuscript. In the year just named these were collected and published by Humphrey Moseley, in a very diminutive volume. The book included the English and Latin poems, and the poet adopted as his motto the words of the young poet-shepherd Thyrsis in Virgil's pastoral. Contending with his brother Corydon for the prize in poetry, he asks from the shepherds—if they cannot grant him the prize of perfect excellence—

"Some green thing round the brow,
Lest ill tongues hurt the poet yet to be."

The publisher Moseley appears to have been a man of some knowledge and parts, and was enthusiastic respecting these poems, of which

collectively it has been asserted that 'since Spenser's death there had been no English poetry of Spenser's kind equal to that contained in this volume.'

For a specimen of our author's assiduity as an historian we can commend to the reader his elaborate sketch of the Sects and Sectaries in England at the time of the Civil War. He has spared no pains to accumulate details respecting every known religious body, details which appear in proper order with a summary of the distinctive tenets held by the various sects. Certainly religious thought would seem to have been as active at this time as at any period in the island's history, and it is exceedingly entertaining and instructive to turn to these records now, where we find views in full operation similar to others in our own age, and which we have been in the habit of considering as new with the nineteenth century. For instance, the Materialists of the present were more than foreshadowed by the Soul-sleepers or Mortalists, whose leading tenet was that 'the notion of a soul or supernatural and immortal essence, in man, distinct from his bodily organism, is a sheer delusion, contradicted both by Scripture and correct physiological thinking, and that from this notion have arisen all kinds of superstitions and practical mischiefs.' Then there were the Sceptics or Questionists, who 'questioned everything in matters of religion, holding nothing positively nor certainly, saving the doctrine of pretended liberty of conscience for all, and liberty of prophesying.' Sketches are also given of the Anabaptists (the most numerous of the Sectaries), to whom the famous Praise-God-Barebones belonged; the Old Brownists, who were independents, but of an extreme type; the Antinomians, a sect which originated with Luther's contemporary and fellow-townsmen, John Agricola, of Eisleben; the Familists, whose main principle was that every society of Christians should be a kind of family party, jolly within itself in confidential love-feasts and interchanges of sentiment, and letting the general world and its creeds roar around unquestioned and unheeded—though a somewhat different account is also given of them; the Millenaries, who looked for a temporal kingdom of Christ; the Seekers, whose doctrines may be almost guessed from their name, and whose chief ornament was Roger Williams; the Divorcers, of whom Milton was the representative, and who were caricatured at the time by the picture of a man in an admonishing attitude, and without his hat, dismissing or putting away his wife who has her hat on, as if ready for a journey, and is putting a handkerchief to her eyes; the Anti-Sabba-

tarrians, whose name is sufficiently explanatory of their chief tenet; the Arians, Socinians, and other Anti-Trinitarians; the Anti-Scripturists and the Atheists. From all of which it will be perceived that the seventeenth century was troubled by a great many religious theorists. These various sects, not very powerful individually, hung on to the Independents because of their support of the principle of liberty of conscience.

A very slight transition brings us to what is the most attractive portion of the latest instalment of Mr. Masson's work—viz., his sketch of the rise and progress of Toleration. We think that Hallam* has scarcely gone deep enough when he says that 'a common cause made Toleration the doctrine of the sectaries.' There were noble spirits who at that time held that everybody's conscience should be absolutely free in matters of religion, and that it was the inherent right of every man to judge for himself, extending to others that freedom which he himself enjoyed. Nay, the principle of Toleration must have been held on the Continent by some minds long before this, for we find that Calvin incurred odium by the death of Servetus.† It is true that Southey, in his work on the Church, asserts that up to the time of Elizabeth, 'no church, no sect, no individual even, had yet professed the principle of Toleration;' but he has been proved to be incorrect. This subject is one of especial interest to Dissenters, and the Independents and Baptists may well cherish pride in their forefathers, who so fearlessly asserted the grand idea of liberty of conscience. Professor Masson pays the following well-deserved tribute to them in the chapter devoted to the examination of the question of Toleration:—

'The history of the modern idea of Toleration could be written completely only after a larger amount of minute and special research than I am able here to bestow on the subject. Who shall say in the heads of what stray and solitary men scattered through Europe in the sixteenth century, *nantes rari in gurgite vasto*, some form of the idea, as a purely speculative conception, may have been lodged? Hallam finds it in the "Utopia" of Sir Thomas More (1480-1535), and in the harangues of the Chancellor of the Hospital of France (1505-1573); and there may have been others. But the history of the idea, as a practical or political notion lies within a more precise range. Out of what within Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the practical form of the idea bred? Out of pain, out of suffering, out of persecution: not pain inflicted constantly on one and the same section of

* 'Constitutional History,' chap. x.

† 'Sleidan,' vol. iii.

men, or on any two opposed sections alternately, but pain revolving, pain circulated, pain distributed till the whole round of the compass of sects had felt it in turn, and the only principle of its prevention gradually dawned on the common consciousness! In every persecuted cause, honestly conducted, there was a throe towards the birth of this great principle. Every persecuted cause claimed at least a toleration for itself from the established power; and so, by a kind of accumulation, the cause that had been last persecuted had more of a tendency to toleration in it, and became practically more tolerant than the others. This I think might be proved. The Church of England was more tolerant than the Church of Rome, and Scottish Presbyterianism or Scottish Puritanism was more tolerant (though the reverse is usually asserted) than the Church of England prior to 1640. Not to the Church of England, however, nor to Scottish Presbyterianism, nor to English Puritanism at large, does the honour of the first perception of the full principle of liberty of conscience, and its first assertion in English speech, belong. That honour has to be assigned, I believe, to the Independents generally, and to the Baptists in particular.

It has been found that the principle of toleration was discernible so far back as in the writings of Robert Brown, the father of the incipient Independency of Elizabeth's reign, and also amongst the Baptists in Henry VIII.'s time. But a sect despised by many—viz., the Anglo-Dutch Baptists, had first preached the doctrine in a formal manner, for in a confession, or declaration of faith, put forth in 1611 by the English Baptists in Amsterdam, this article occurs—'The magistrate is not to meddle with religion, or matters of conscience, or to compel men to this or that form of religion; because Christ is the King and Lawgiver of the Church and Conscience.' To the full height of this declaration, made two centuries and a half ago, many religious bodies have not yet attained. In some respects the Baptists had advanced further than the Independents in this matter, and also in the formation of churches, for while the latter generally held that the civil power might lawfully compel all its subjects to some sort of hearing of the Gospel with a view to their belonging to churches or congregations, the Baptists always strenuously denied this. They held that the world or civil society and the Church of Christ were totally distinct and immiscible. In the minds of Roger Williams and John Goodwin the idea of Toleration obtained full and unlimited sway. The Westminster Assembly generally exhibited the strongest opposition to the tenet, and Mr. Thomas Hill, in a special sermon preached before that body, asserted that, 'such as would have a tolera-

tion of all ways of religion in His Church' were unfaithful to the Covenant, and in fact that 'to set the door so wide open as to tolerate all religions' would be to make London an Amsterdam, and 'would lead to—would certainly lead to—Amsterdamnation!' All who wish to learn more on this topic, which has so much to offer that is new and valuable, we must refer to Mr. Masson's pages.

No more than a passing reference can be made to the attacks on Milton for his defiance of the book-censorship and the Stationers' Company. Everyone knows that it was these proceedings which resulted in one of the most splendid pieces of eloquence with which English prose literature is adorned. Milton's 'Areopagitica,' a Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing, shows the poet in his loftiest mood, his spirit burning with indignation at the unwarrantable interference with liberty. His arguments are powerful and crushing, and his declamation wonderfully sustained. Doubtless one of the reasons why this book holds such a strong place in our regard at this day is because it was the first throwing down of the gauntlet on behalf of a great principle so pregnant with importance for succeeding generations. Mr. Masson says of this work—

'It is, perhaps, the most skilful of all Milton's prose-writings, the most equable and sustained, the easiest to be read straight through at once, and the fittest to leave one glowing sensation of the power of the author's genius. It is a pleading of the highest eloquence and courage, with interspersed passages of curious information, keen wit, and even a rich humour, such as we do not commonly look for in Milton. He must have taken great pains to make the performance popular.'

Those who know the 'Areopagitica' for themselves will agree with this dictum.

We have now completed our *résumé* of Mr. Masson's work up to the present time. There yet remains a considerable portion of the poet's life to deal with, and the biographer's material is anything but exhausted. We have, however, finished with some of the most important events in the history, and that which comes hereafter will be more purely personal to Milton, as the author of the sublimest poem in the language. Concluding with a few observations on the manner in which Mr. Masson is fulfilling his prodigious task, we may remark that his writing, for the most part, is fully equal to what we should have expected from our previous knowledge of his style. The way in which he tells his story is most enticing, and a large proportion of what, on a cursory view, seem to be

three dry, unwieldy, and leviathan volumes, possesses all the interest of a novel, with the superiority of the real over the fictitious. Occasionally Mr. Masson falls into colloquialisms which are not befitting the dignity of his subject, and which mar those passages of the history in which they occur; but this is a fault of which we have not very frequently to complain, and it is condoned by the general excellence of the work. The original plan of the author was to divide Milton's life into three periods, giving a volume to each; but we find that the close of the third volume brings us but a few years beyond the proposed bound of the first. Of course, it will not be necessary to deal at such length with the latter half of the poet's life, but even if the work should only be completed with the issue of two or more volumes, the world will not regret, for surely it can afford to receive and welcome so full a record of a life which it holds in peculiar reverence. We trust at no distant date to be able to congratulate Mr. Masson on the completion of his enterprise—an enterprise which only partially obtains its reward in the gratitude of the living, appealing, as it does, with undoubted certainty of success, for a yet fuller and deeper appreciation from posterity.

ART. V.—*Mind and the Science of Energy.*

THE connection between the two classes of phenomena known as material and mental, remains, and is likely to remain, as mysterious and debateable as ever; but the problem enters into so many interesting and pressing questions, that it can never cease to excite attention, though confessedly insoluble. And since the subject has quite as much to do with physics as with metaphysics, the continual advance of the physical sciences presents it occasionally under new aspects. The aim of this essay is to show that certain recent but generally-accepted theories concerning the physical forces touch the question, and affect the position of mind.

The law of the conservation of energy is one of these generalizations, and is now so familiar as not to require detailed exposition. It is unnecessary to make quotations in support of the statement that the various forms of energy existing in the material universe are now supposed to constitute a grand store of force, which never suffers diminution or increase; but whenever a certain amount of energy ceases to exist in one form, exactly

that quantity is converted into one or more of the other forms, through a series of transformations which proceed for ever, and manifest themselves in the endless changes of the world. The following passage from Professor Tyndall's Lectures on Heat gives a vivid and comprehensive conception of the theory:—

'It is at the expense of the solar light that the decomposition of carbonic acid, by which planets and animals are nourished, is effected. And an amount of sunlight is consumed exactly equivalent to the molecular work effected. If the sun's rays fall on sand, the sand is heated, and finally radiates away as much as it receives; if the same rays fall on a forest, the quantity of heat given back is less than that received, for the energy of a portion of the sunbeams is invested in the building of the trees. I ignite a bundle of cotton, which yields a certain quantity of heat by burning; precisely that amount of heat was abstracted from the sun in order to form the cotton. . .

'The sun too, is the source of animal life. In the plant the clock is wound up; in the animal it runs down. In the plant the atoms are separated; in the animal recombined. And as surely as the force which moves a clock's hands is derived from the arm which wound it, so surely is all terrestrial power drawn from the sun. His warmth keeps the sea liquid, and the atmosphere a gas. He lifts the rivers and glaciers up the mountains. The grass grows, and the scythe swings, by his power. . . .

'The sun's energy is poured freely into space, but our world is a halting place where his energy is conditioned. It takes a million shapes and hues, and finally dissolves into its primitive form. The sun comes to us as heat, he quits us as heat, and between the entrance and departure of his energy the multiform powers of our globe appear. They are the moulds into which his strength is temporarily poured in passing from its source through infinitude.'—(Pp. 431—433.)

In the inorganic world the physical forces, heat, light, electricity, magnetism, chemical affinity, &c., have been proved by experiment to be mutually convertible; and the precise amount of one which is equivalent to a certain precise amount of another has been, at least in many cases, ascertained. In the organic world the difficulty of experiment is much greater, but there is every reason short of actual demonstration to believe that in the domain of life the forms of energy observe the same law; that is to say, are drawn from the common store of force, and restored to it again, and change from form to form in proportions equally exact. So that the energies of the animal frame, muscular, nervous, and the rest, are to be ranked among the physical forces as strictly as those of the volcano and the steam engine.

Of nerve force, with which this inquiry is specially concerned, Professor Bain writes:—

‘Nervous power is generated from the action of the nutriment supplied to the body, and is therefore of the class of forces having a common origin, and capable of being mutually transmitted, including mechanical momentum, heat, electricity, magnetism, and chemical decomposition. . . .

‘The nerve force that is derived from the waste of a given amount of food, is capable of being transmuted into any other force of animal life. Poured into the muscles during violent conscious effort, it increases their activity; passing to the alimentary canal, it aids in the force of digestion; in moments of excitement the power is converted into sensible heat; the same power is found capable of yielding true electrical currents. The evidence that establishes the common basis of mechanical and chemical force, heat, and electricity, namely, their mutual convertibility and common origin, establishes the nerve force as a member of the same group.’—(‘The Senses and the Intellect,’ pp. 59, 60.)

The energy of the universe has been described as a store of force which never suffers diminution or increase. But the whole of it is not always operative. Portions of it lie latent for longer or shorter periods, but until they are dissipated by passing into activity, they remain stored up in readiness to perform their natural operations. Thus, when the weight of a clock has derived force from the arm which wound it, that force may either be given back at once by a sudden fall, or expended gradually in the movements of the clock, or not expended for an indefinite time, if the weight be lifted on to a shelf. The cotton, which by burning yields back the heat which it abstracted originally from the sun, may do so sooner or later, or not at all. The Leyden jar, charged with electricity, may remain charged, or may dissipate its energy at one shock, or by a series of slighter shocks. And the nervous centres, replenished after food, may expend their force quickly in exhausting efforts, or part with it slowly in gentle exertions. Energy is therefore recognised as being sometimes latent or potential, sometimes actual or kinetic; and the law in question has been shortly expressed by saying that ‘the sum of the potential and dynamic energies of the material universe is a constant quantity.’

Again; a distinction must be drawn, at least in thought, between the operations by which alone physical energy is known to us, and energy itself, conceived of as effecting those operations. The operations of physical energy consist of the motions of matter, in every instance which we are able to investigate, unless the phenomena of conscious-

ness be included among them, and deemed exceptions; a question which is about to be discussed. We cannot even figure to our minds any change of matter which does not consist of motion.

The motions may be either molar or molecular; that is, may be either those of masses visible to the eye, or those of the particles composing such masses, which move in orbits generally too small to destroy the cohesion of the particles, or to appear to the sight as movements. Thus heat (as a property of bodies, not the sensation) is a molecular agitation, which may become sufficiently intense to expand, and even to break up the masses exposed to it. It loosens the molecules of ice, for example, till that solid becomes a liquid, and may sever them so violently that they fly apart as steam. So light consists of undulations, waves of different lengths answering to different colours. In like manner, electricity and magnetism are presented to us simply as matter moving in different ways. Chemical changes, again, are revealed to us only as movements. Acts of muscular energy consist of contractions; acts of nerve-force of movements in the nervous organism, both accompanied by the chemical changes involved in the waste of tissue, and necessitating those involved in its repair.

Professor Huxley writes:—

‘If there is one thing clear about the progress of modern science, it is the tendency to reduce all scientific problems, except those which are purely mathematical, to questions of molecular physics; that is to say, to the attractions, repulsions, motions, and co-ordination of the ultimate particles of matter. . .

‘The phenomena of biology and of chemistry are, in their ultimate analysis, questions of molecular physics. Indeed the fact is acknowledged by all chemists and biologists who look beyond their immediate occupations.’—(Essay on the ‘Scientific Aspects of Positivism,’ in ‘Lay Sermons,’ &c., p. 183.)

Energy in action, or kinetic energy, is presented to us, then, as motion of various kinds; and some are disposed to rest in that conception of it, and to discard the idea that imponderable agents, subtle fluids, occult principles, or anything at all lies behind to be distinguished from the movements produced. Such, at least, is the view which Mr. Grove presents in his essay on ‘The Correlation of Physical Forces.’

‘The course of reasoning adopted appears to me to lead inevitably to the conclusion that these affections of matter are themselves modes of motion; that, as in the case of friction, the gross or palpable motion, which is arrested by the contact of another body, is subdivided into molecular motions—or vibrations, which vibrations are heat or electricity,

as the case may be; so the other affections are only matter moved or molecularly agitated in certain definite directions. . . . Many admit that electricity and magnetism cause or produce by their passage vibrations in the particles of matter, but regard the vibrations produced as an occasional, though not always a necessary effect of the passage of electricity, or of the increment or decrement of magnetism. The view which I have taken is, that such vibrations, molecular polarizations or motions of some sort from particle to particle, are themselves electricity or magnetism; or, to express it in the converse, that dynamic electricity and magnetism are themselves motion, and that permanent magnetism and Franklinic electricity are static conditions of force, bearing a similar relation to motion which tension or gravitation does. . . .

'Certain it is, that all past theories have resolved, and all existing theories do resolve, the actions of these forces into motion. Whether it be that, on account of our familiarity with motion, we refer other affections to it, as to a language which is most easily constructed, and most capable of explaining them; whether it be that it is in reality the only mode in which our minds, as contradistinguished from our senses, are able to conceive material agencies; certain it is that since the period at which the mystic notions of spiritual or supernatural powers were applied to account for physical phenomena, all hypotheses framed to explain them have resolved them into motion. . . . Nor, if we except terms derived from our own sensations, . . . can we find words to describe phenomena other than those expressive of matter and motion.'—(Pp. 252—255.)

And in his address at Nottingham, in 1866, as President of the British Association, Mr. Grove said:—'I believe the day is approaching when the two fundamental conceptions of matter and motion will be found sufficient to explain physical phenomena.'

There is one obvious objection to this view of physical energy—it fails to give any satisfactory representation of energy in its latent form. For if, when actual, energy consists simply and solely of motion, when latent it is simply and solely motion suspended, which is nothing at all. In other words, it is destroyed, which the law of energy teaches that force cannot be. Inasmuch as when a certain amount of energy becomes latent, precisely that amount may be called into action again, after a shorter or longer interval, one must argue that latent energy cannot be a mere negation. But if energy, when latent, is not simply motion suspended, energy, when active, cannot be simply motion. And besides this objection, we can hardly help regarding the correlated movements of the universe as the effects of a common something called energy, however obscure our conception of its nature must

be. Each of these views will have to be examined in its bearing upon the phenomena of consciousness.

Coming now to the relation between the phenomena of consciousness and material processes, note that it is only in the nervous organisms of the higher animals that they appear together, at least to us. The problem of their relation lies therefore within the borders of those organisms, which, as we have seen, belong to the domain of the law of energy, like every other portion of the material universe which is known to us.

The nervous organism is a purely material structure, capable, like muscle or bone, of chemical analysis into the elementary substances of which it is composed, and, as has been explained, it is the seat of a strictly physical force. Like light, heat, electricity, and the other correlated forces, nervous energy is derivable from the rest, and convertible into them. Its exertion depends on a certain condition of the nervous tissue, is accompanied by molecular changes there, and followed by a definite amount of material waste.

Suppose now that portion of the nervous organism called the retina is exposed to the vibratory action we call light. At the point where the luminiferous waves strike the nerve, there occurs a change in the character of the motion, regulated by the law of energy. No energy is lost, but a certain amount, which before operated as luminous vibrations, now operates as molecular movements of the nervous organism, which pass along the incarrying nerves to the brain, and the chain of movements is continued in molecular reactions effected there. The course of these movements, though too intricate and delicate to be exactly traced, is a purely mechanical problem. With superior faculties and means of observation, every step in this series of changes might be rigorously deduced on mechanical principles.

But now a new element must be introduced. When the vibratory impulse received by the retina is transmitted to the brain, a *sensation* is experienced, which, by a misleading use of words, we are accustomed to call by the same name as the æthereal waves which break upon the retina. The æthereal undulation is called *light*, and so also is the *feeling*, though no two things can be less alike than what we understand by an undulation and a feeling, and though the whole series of movements in the nervous organism intervene between the two.

The facts now to be compared are the movements of the nervous organism and the accompanying sensation. They are connected in the most intimate manner. A sen

sation of light is never experienced apart from an act of nervous energy; and there is reason to believe that the same is true not only of every other sensation, but also of every purely mental process; in a word, that each state of consciousness is accompanied by a distinct operation of nervous force. Dr. Tyndall writes:

‘I hardly imagine there exists a profound scientific thinker, who has reflected upon the subject, unwilling to admit the extreme probability of the hypothesis, that for every fact of consciousness, whether in the domain of sense, of thought, or of emotion, a definite molecular condition of motion or structure is set up in the brain.’—(Address on Scientific Materialism; delivered to the British Association at Norwich.)

On the following page of this address, however, Dr. Tyndall points out in the strongest language that a radical distinction exists between these two closely connected sets of facts; those, namely, of nervous force and consciousness.

‘The passage from the physics of the brain to the corresponding facts of consciousness is unthinkable. Granted that a definite thought, and a definite molecular action in the brain occur simultaneously; we do not possess the intellectual organ, nor apparently any rudiment of the organ, which would enable us to pass, by a process of reasoning, from the one to the other. They appear together, but we do not know why. Were our minds and senses so expanded, strengthened, and illuminated, as to enable us to see and feel the very molecules of the brain; were we capable of following all their motions, all their groupings, all their electric discharges, if such there be; and were we intimately acquainted with the corresponding states of thought and feeling, we should be as far as ever from the solution of the problem, “How are these physical processes connected with the facts of consciousness?” The chasm between the two classes of phenomena would still remain intellectually impassable.’

Professor Huxley endorses this opinion. In a paper entitled ‘Mr. Darwin and his Critics’ (‘Contemporary Review,’ Nov., 1871), he writes thus of the passage just quoted:—‘I know nothing whatever, and never hope to know anything, of the steps by which the passage from molecular movement to states of consciousness is effected, and I entirely agree with the sense of the passage . . . from Dr. Tyndall.’

In the same paper he writes:—‘As it is very necessary to keep up a clear distinction between these two processes, let the one be called *neurosis* and the other *psychosis*.’

The facts before us then are these:—The

nervous organism is a material structure, and the seat of a strictly physical force, obeying the laws of energy. And certain of the operations of that force are accompanied by acts of consciousness, but between the two processes, the physical and the psychical, there is a clear distinction.

Now we may either make here the distinction before mentioned between the molecular movements of the organism, and the energy conceived of as producing them, or, with Mr. Grove, we may discard this occult energy, and recognise in the nerve changes nothing but the movements themselves. Suppose, first, that behind the movements is an underlying energy; and then let us ask, in what relation to that energy do the psychical processes stand? Are *they*, as well as the molecular movements, products of that energy, and effected at its expense, or are they not? Let each supposition be followed to its consequences. Conceive, then, of force as an occult something, neither matter nor motion, but associated with matter, and producing motion, and capable of existing in a latent form, and capable of operating, both in the varied movements of the material universe and in the processes of thought. Since all physical changes are presented to us as varieties of movement, while thought—though on the present supposition a product of physical energy like them—is separated from them by ‘a chasm intellectually impassable,’ it follows that, on this view, thought is the single product of energy which is not motion. Observe the consequences which follow from this conception that thought and physical changes are different manifestations of a common force.

The nervous organism, like every other living substance, undergoes material losses and repairs. With superior means of observation, the complete series of these changes which separate nervous replenishment from nervous exhaustion might be traced; each change exactly proportioned in nature and amount to the one which preceded it, and all consisting of ‘the attractions, repulsions, motions, and co-ordination of the ultimate particles of matter.’

But since, on the present supposition, thought is not itself a material change, the energy which produces thought cannot, at the same time, be producing material changes. Yet we now suppose thought to be one manifestation of the energy by which material changes are wrought. Therefore during the act of thought, there must be a certain amount of energy withdrawn to perform it, leaving so much less, for that period, to effect material changes. Could observation be directed to this point, the oc-

currence of the psychical process would reveal itself in the temporary diminution, and subsequent resumption, of the full amount of change going forward in the material structure, producing an interruption in the series of material changes such as the most perfect analysis of the physical process would fail to explain. A certain material antecedent, or set of antecedents, would have material consequents deficient in number or vigour, because part at least of the energy employed in them was gone to produce a psychical consequent. And again those enfeebled material consequents would be followed by consequents in excess as to number or vigour, as soon as the energy withdrawn had been restored. All analogy is against the supposition that such breaks occur in the chains of material sequences.

It may seem that since the energy of the nervous organism is known to exist at times in a latent form (that is, in a form which does not manifest itself in material changes), it would be possible for it, while thus physically in abeyance, to become operative as thought, and then pass on to resume the production of material changes. But this is more than questionable, for is not the energy called latent employed in maintaining the chemical unions of the elaborate compounds which form the nervous organism? If so, these compounds would fall to pieces on the withdrawal of energy from them to generate thought. To suppose that energy, when physically latent, is at liberty to do work which does not consist of material changes such as it performs when physically operative, would be equivalent to supposing that a weight in the hand which has potential energy to fall to the ground, might have that energy devoted for a time to other purposes without leaving any physical trace of these extra-physical operations; but of course if any energy were so withdrawn, the pressure of the weight on the hand, and the muscular expenditure which that causes, would be diminished in the same degree; to suppose which is absurd. Moreover, nervous energy is expended by continuous thought.

Therefore, this view of the connection between thought and the physics of the brain, that they are different forms of activity assumed by a common but inscrutable energy underlying both, seems inadmissible. For since it represents thought as a process distinct from the material changes of which the nervous organism is the seat, and yet as a process effected at the expense of the energy which operates in them, it involves a break in the chain of physical antecedents and consequents every time a thought occurs, an objection which cannot but seem

fatal to a disciple of natural science. It is satisfactory to find this conclusion confirmed by Professor Bain, who writes, in his recent work on 'Mind and Body':—

'It would be incompatible with everything we know of the cerebral action to suppose that the physical chain ends abruptly in a physical void, occupied by an immaterial substance, which immaterial substance, after working alone, imparts its results to the other edge of the physical break, and determines the active response—two shores of the material, with an intervening ocean of the immaterial. There is, in fact, no rupture of nervous continuity.'—P. 131.

But if, on these grounds, it is impossible, while maintaining the distinction between thoughts and movements, to regard the psychical processes as effected at the expense of the physical energy, like the molecular changes of the nervous organism, it follows, by the laws of energy, that all psychical processes lie outside the physical universe. For those processes, being distinct from molecular movements, and not being products of the physical energy which effects them, the physical changes must follow one another precisely as if no psychical fact had arisen. At some stage in the series of physical nervous changes a molecular movement is accompanied by a thought or feeling; but the physical energy concerned performs only physical work during, as well as before and after, the time when the feeling is experienced.

Considered chronologically, the psychical fact is a consequent of some physical antecedent; but when we view that antecedent in its position as a link in a chain of physical sequences, the preceding argument compels us to believe that the physical antecedent is transformed, not into a psychical, but into a physical consequent, and this transformation must be wholly unaffected by the generation of the psychical phenomenon. We are brought, then, to this, that while the physical force which operates in the nervous organism is governed by the law of energy as strictly as are the other forms of force from which it is derived, and into which it passes; nevertheless, certain of its exertions are accompanied by psychical phenomena which are at once closely related, and yet apparently incommensurable with it.

This correspondence between parallel but distinct trains of physical and psychical facts curiously resembles the celebrated scheme of *Pre-established harmony* advocated by Leibnitz, and thus briefly described by Mr. Lewes:—

'The human mind and the human body are two independent but corresponding machines.

They are so adjusted that they are like two unconnected clocks constructed so as that at the same instant one should *strike* the hour and the other *point* it.' ('History of Philosophy,' Art. 'Leibnitz'.)

The theory of *Occasional causes* suggested by Des Cartes to meet this invincible difficulty, seems, too, but an antique description of this modern conclusion:—

'The brain does not act immediately and really upon the soul; the soul has no direct cognizance of any modification of the brain; this is impossible. It is God Himself who, by a law which He has established, when movements are determined in the brain, produces analogous modifications in the conscious mind. In like manner, suppose the mind has a volition to move the arm; this volition is, of itself, inefficacious; but God, in virtue of the same law, causes the answering motion in our limb. The body is not, therefore the real cause of the mental modifications, nor the mind the real cause of the bodily movements. . . . The organic changes, and the mental determinations, are nothing but simple conditions, and not real causes; in short, they are occasions, or occasional causes.'—('Laromiguière; Leçons de Philosophie,' tom. ii., pp. 255-6. Translated and quoted by Sir W. Hamilton; 'Lectures on Metaphysics,' vol. i., pp. 301-2.)

Dr. Tyndall, in the passage lately quoted from his address, advocates no positive theory to account for the difficulty in question, as these earlier writers do,—a wise abstinence, taught by the experience of two centuries; and yet his description of the facts, the latest utterance of modern research, if it be regarded as accurate and adequate, seems almost to land us in some strange theory like these.

Some inferences also may fairly be drawn from Dr. Tyndall's statement. If the physical changes of the nervous organism proceed according to the law of the conservation of energy, and psychical phenomena arise only on the occurrence of these changes, and are distinct from them, it would seem that there can be no direct connection between successive thoughts and feelings, for these will be connected with each other only through the medium of intervening physical changes. So that however similar two (so-called) associated thoughts may be, one cannot suggest the other, since it is only their physical counterparts which are linked together, and these determine the course of thought. One cannot but suppose, further, that the similarity of two thoughts will be in proportion to the similarity of their physical counterparts; just as two similar sensations of red light are produced by luminiferous vibrations of the same length, though the sensa-

tions bear no resemblance whatever to the vibrations. Strictly speaking, similar æthereal light-waves must produce similar molecular movements in the nervous organism, and these last excite similar sensations. Here, obviously, the similar sensations of red light follow each other, not because of any direct connection between the sensations, but because of the similarity of the antecedent vibrations. If this be so, the 'association of ideas' is resolved into the association of the physical equivalents of ideas, and our trains of thought and feeling are governed by the laws of matter and motion; they depend upon the mechanical action of the physical forces just as, in reading, the order of our ideas is determined by the arrangement of the ink on the paper. And if the chain on which the order of our ideas depends is physical, each psychical fact must be conceived as but a pendant to an antecedent physical fact, or set of facts; thoughts and feelings must be like beads strung on a thread of physical sequences. The beads seem to form a chain, but in fact they have no direct connection with each other, but only with the thread. Or the physical sequents may be represented by the small letters, a, b, c, &c., and the psychical accompaniment of each physical fact by the corresponding capital letter; so that the psychical train would run A, B, C, &c., and its members be only indirectly related to each other. Important consequences follow hence, which cannot be considered here.

The two suppositions to which attention was invited have now been examined. The one, that the energy stored up in the brain is capable of producing either movements or thoughts, has been shown to be untenable, because it would involve a break in the continuity of the molecular changes there whenever a thought occurs. The other supposition, which regards physical energy as confined to the production of physical effects, so far sets the facts of consciousness apart that they can never be included among physical phenomena. The entire universe, as presented to us, is thereby separated into the two great groups of physical and psychical phenomena, and it must forever remain to us so divided. Intimate as the relation is between the two, no encroachment is possible by which a single fact of consciousness should ever be embraced among material facts. The most rudimentary sensation, experienced by the lowest animal to which psychical states can be supposed to belong, is separated by an impassable gulf from the physical processes amid which it arises. The division is one of kind, and not of degree; and therefore excludes such a nascent

sensation from the class of physical facts as completely as the varied faculties and acquirements of a cultured human mind.

The material universe is, on this view, a congeries of moving masses and vibrating molecules, without light or heat or sound, as these are known to us; and it is only where organisms exhibit the *extraphysical* manifestations of feeling and thought that the dark, cold, silent atom-streams of matter reveal themselves as a radiant, colored, ardent, and vocal world, its multitudinous and separate facts presented, as a *whole*, only to thought.

It is obvious that this exclusion of all psychical facts from the physical universe follows equally, if—still making the radical distinction between thoughts and movements—we accept the supposition of Mr. Grove, discard the notion of occult energy, and maintain that the physical universe consists only of matter and its movements.

If so, the whole amount of change going forward in the nervous organism must consist of movements which, however diversified, are movements still. There can be no point at which the quantity of movement is lessened, because a portion of it has been converted into thought. The nervous organism, as a purely physical structure, consists simply of matter in motion; and whatever psychical processes accompany its movements, cannot in the slightest degree affect the series of nerve-changes. Mr. Grove's way out of the difficulty is to suggest that 'sensations themselves may be but modes of motion,' a supposition to be discussed afterwards.

On any tenable view, then, the radical distinction drawn by Professors Tyndall and Huxley between thoughts and movements, taken in connection with the law which forbids the transformation of physical energy into anything which is not physical energy, actual or potential, places the facts of consciousness outside the chain of physical sequences. But Professor Huxley sometimes employs expressions which represent psychical and physical facts as equally, and in the same sense, products of physical change. For example:—

'All vital action may be said to be the result of the molecular forces of the protoplasm which displays it. And if so, it must be true, in the same sense, and to the same extent, that the thoughts to which I am now giving utterance, and your thoughts regarding them, are the expression of molecular changes in that matter of life which is the source of our other vital phenomena.'—('On the Physical Basis of Life,' *Lay Sermons*, &c.)

'All vital action includes all the physical phenomena of life, and also all psychical phenomena; in other words, all the material changes of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, and also all facts of consciousness; it includes, therefore, the two sets of phenomena between which, as they meet in the nervous organism, Professor Huxley teaches 'it is very necessary to keep up a clear distinction.'

No doubt psychical phenomena may be said to be the result of molecular changes in this sense, that they arise only, so far as our knowledge goes, as accompaniments of the physical phenomena of life; but if the distinction maintained elsewhere by Professor Huxley exists, thoughts cannot be 'the expressions of molecular changes,' *'in the same sense and to the same extent'* as 'our other vital phenomena.' But if we describe thoughts as '*results*' of molecular changes, then we should say that 'our other vital phenomena,' namely, the physical processes of life, *are* molecular changes. For molecular changes are *another name for* the physical phenomena of life, but are separated from psychical phenomena, as Professor Tyndall affirms, by 'a chasm intellectually impassable.' If, with Mr. Mill, we define 'the cause of a phenomenon to be the antecedent, or the concurrence of antecedents, on which it is invariably and unconditionally consequent' ('*Logic*,' vol. i. p. 372), 'or the whole of the contingencies of every description which, being realized, the consequent invariably follows' ('*Logic*,' vol. i. p. 365), undoubtedly the physical antecedents of the act of thought are covered by this language; they are at least a part of its cause, or among its causes; but if we follow the course of the physical chain of which those antecedents are links, we shall, by the law of energy, find the entire amount of force operating in them pass into their physical consequents, exactly as if no 'result' of thought had arisen. Then how can thought be said to be the result of its physical antecedents '*in the same sense, and to the same extent*' as the physical consequents into which the whole energy of those antecedents passes?

The following extract from Professor Huxley's paper on 'Mr. Darwin and his Critics,' contributed to the '*Contemporary Review*' for November, 1871, is open to a similar objection:—

'As the electric force, the light waves, and the nerve-vibrations caused by the impact of the light waves on the retina are all expressions of the molecular changes which are taking place in the elements of the [electric] battery; so consciousness is in the same sense an expres-

sion of the molecular changes which take place in that nervous matter which is the organ of consciousness.'

Not, surely, 'in the same sense;' for the physical changes generated by the electric battery all consist of the motions of matter; but the psychical processes arising in the nervous organism are, by disciples of Professor Huxley, to be clearly distinguished from the physical processes of which that material structure is the seat. In the same paper we read:—'There is every reason to believe that consciousness is a function of nervous matter, when that nervous matter has attained a certain degree of organization, just as we know the other actions to which the nervous system ministers, such as reflex action, and the like, to be.' But reflex action is of course *movement*, which, according to Professor Huxley, consciousness is not.

In a lecture on Des Cartes, published by Professor Huxley in 'Macmillan's Magazine' for May, 1870, the words occur:—'Thought is as much a function of matter as motion is.' This is a somewhat new statement of the problem, inconsistent with the opinion that thought is 'the expression of molecular changes' 'in the same sense, and to the same extent' as 'our other vital phenomena;' for they are molecular changes; and thought, if *another* function of matter than motion, is at any rate not the *same*; and besides, it seems scarcely accurate to call thought a function of matter simply, distinct from motion, since it arises only in connection with a particular mode of motion, namely, an act of nervous energy. It is rather the function of a mode of motion; that is to say, the function of a function.

No doubt thought is thus far comparable with motion, that both are *acts*, and not *entities*. For when no longer present to consciousness a thought ceases to exist, as the motion of a falling stone ceases to exist (in that form) after it has reached the ground. The motion of the stone, however, as the law of energy teaches, is neither created, nor annihilated, but is derived from an indestructible fund of force, and restored to it again. Is the energy of thought analogous, in this respect, to physical energy? If it be, yet we have seen that the psychical energy cannot be exercised *at the expense of the physical*, for the whole of that continues, on the view before us, to operate as motion actual or potential, which, on the present supposition, thought is not. Then must we suppose a distinct fund of psychical energy, from which each thought is drawn, and into which it passes back, and a correspondence between the physical and psychical processes resembling the Pre-established Harmony? At any

rate, it is impossible to conceive thought to be a strictly isolated act, emerging out of nothing, and vanishing utterly.

But does it fit the facts to say, 'thought is as much a function of matter as motion is?' A function, as the word is employed here, is an operation or act. An act is change, and must consist, according to our powers of conception, of something which acts or changes. Thus motion is a function of matter, because it consists of matter acting or changing. But when the act of thought takes place, the thought does not consist of matter acting or changing, for the change of matter accompanying thought is motion, and on the present supposition thought is not motion, but it is very necessary, according to Professor Huxley, to keep up a clear distinction between the two processes. Motion and change of matter are one and the same thing; but thought and change of matter are two very different things, if this distinction is maintained. Between the two classes of phenomena there is 'a chasm intellectually impassable.' At least, therefore, motion and thought stand in very different relations to matter.

It may perhaps be maintained that though motion is the only kind of change to which we conceive matter subject, it may undergo kinds of change of which we have no conception, and thought may be one of them. Doubtless, also, it may be no more extraordinary that a psychical fact should follow a physical fact, than that one physical fact should follow another. We cannot discover any connection between cause and effect other than that of invariable and unconditional sequence, though we are equally unable to deny that a further connection may exist. Professor Huxley says truly ('Mr. Darwin and his Critics,' 'Contemporary Review,' for November, 1871):—'I confess I can no more form any conception of what happens' (when the motion of one billiard ball is communicated to another) 'than of what takes place when the motion of particles of my nervous matter gives rise to the state of consciousness I call pain.'

But if we suppose that thought consists of some change of matter other than motion, of a change, therefore, which leaves the matter which experiences it physically unaffected by its occurrence, the same inadmissible alternatives arise; for the psychical energy of the act of thought is not, on the supposition, derived from the physical energy, which, when operative, consists only of motion; either, then, each thought is an act proceeding from nothing, and returning to nothing, or else each must be drawn from a fund of psychical energy distinct from the physical,

indispensable as the operations of this last are to psychical manifestations. Moreover, since matter belongs, by all its known characteristics, to the physical system, it seems hardly legitimate to describe processes which do not affect the physical system as changes of matter.

To say then that two processes, which may be styled *neurosis* and *psychosis*, are concerned in every act of thought, and that the process called *neurosis* belongs strictly to the physical universe, and is governed by the laws of energy, while that called *psychosis* lies outside the chains of physical sequences, is, to point out a distinction of great importance, but to proclaim the insoluble difficulties of the relation between the processes in question, by bringing into prominence the two correspondent, but to us incommensurable, faces of each fact into which consciousness enters.

It is obvious that these particular difficulties arise in consequence of the supposition that the physical and psychical processes concerned in thought are as essentially distinct as they seem. But it is possible to hold that the distinction between these processes is only apparent, and that the two are really one. This supposition remains to be examined.

First, however, let us test by the light of the preceding discussion representations such as are often made of the relation between thought and the brain. For example, the following statements of the problem occur in a widely-circulated book by Dr. Büchner, entitled '*Kraft und Stoff*,' of which there is an English translation, called '*Force and Matter*.' Dr. Büchner disagrees with this expression of Vogt:—'*Thought stands in the same relation to the brain as bile to the liver, or urine to the kidneys*;' justly remarking that '*urine and bile are visible, tangible, and ponderable substances; they are, moreover, excretions of used-up materials*.'

Then he describes his own view in these words:—

'Thought, spirit, soul, are not material, not a substance, but the effect of the conjoined action of many materials endowed with forces or qualities. . . . The steam engine is, in a certain sense, endowed with life, and produces, as the result of a peculiar combination of force-endowed materials, a united effect, which we use for our purposes, without, however, being able to see, smell, or touch the effect itself. The steam expelled by the engine is a secondary thing; it has nothing to do with the object of the machine, and may be seen and felt as matter. Now, in the same manner as the steam engine produces motion, so does the organic

complication of force-endowed materials produce in the animal body a sum of effects, so interwoven as to become a unit, and is then by us called spirit, soul, thought. The sum of these effects is nothing material; it can be perceived by our senses as little as any other simple force, such as magnetism, electricity, &c., merely by its manifestations.'—('Force and Matter,' pp. 135-6.)

The effect of the action of the brain is likened in this passage to the effect of the action of a steam engine. What help does this comparison afford? The steam-engine, like the brain, is said to produce, 'as the result of a peculiar combination of force-endowed materials,' a united effect which we are unable to see, smell, or touch. Dr. Büchner tells us in the next sentence but one that this effect is *motion*, which obviously is the only kind of effect obtained from the steam-engine (except the material waste). But though we must concede to Dr. Büchner that we cannot apprehend motion by *smell*, we certainly can do so by sight and by touch. And motion, as we have seen, is the universal and characteristic function of matter,—the energy which every material structure receives, and employs, and imparts. The steam-engine in operation is a combination of materials in motion, and motion is the natural and only effect which it produces. It draws energy of motion from the boiling water, and yields exactly what it draws; nor could any complication of its machinery make it yield anything else.

Therefore it is simply worthless as an illustration of the action of the brain in thought; for there the very difficulty is, that though merely a material structure, like the steam-engine, the brain, and the brain only, produces, besides *movements*, which are natural to such a structure, an effect which is not motion. This comparison, and that of the electric battery lately quoted from Professor Huxley, and all comparisons to bodies which simply generate motion, miss the very problem they are employed to clear up. The air of mystery which attaches to expressions like—'*the organic complication of force-endowed materials produces a sum of effects, so interwoven as to become a unit, and is then called spirit, soul, thought*,' is simply misleading if it is meant to suggest that out of a combination of materials and motions, if only it be extremely intricate, something which is different from either might naturally arise. Such expressions succeed in mystifying the ignorant; but clear-sighted men must see that no mere multiplication of materials and movements can yield anything else but materials and movements. Let the steam-en-

gine bear witness, and the watch, and the entire vegetable world, and the whole material universe, excepting only the nervous systems of animals which are in question.

So far as the comparison of the steam-engine goes, Dr. Büchner employs motion only to illustrate thought; but the last sentence of the quotation suggests an analogy between thought and occult energies, like magnetism and electricity; these two views resembling those which have been discussed. The last sentence, coloured by both views, involves some confusion of ideas. For in the first clause thought is described as itself an effect, or manifestation, produced by motions of matter. But in the second clause it is described as an occult force, perceptible only by its manifestations, like electricity and magnetism; and their manifestations are motions alone. That is to say, a division is implied between forces and their manifestations, and in one clause thought is ranked as a manifestation, and in the other as an occult force. It is obvious that thought is an effect or manifestation, and not the hidden cause of a manifestation (whatever may be said of spirit and soul); and on this account it is compared by Professor Huxley and by Dr. Büchner himself to motion, as being, like that, a function of matter. But if so, no help is gained from the reference to magnetism and electricity, which, as effects, are simply motions.

The impossibility of finding any illustration which affords a true parallel to thought is shown not only by Dr. Büchner's unsuccessful choice, first of the steam-engine, and then of electricity, but also by the following comparison, quoted with apparent approbation from Huschke, and placed by Dr. Büchner as the heading of one of his chapters:—‘There subsists the same relation between thought and the electrical vibrations of the filaments of the brain as between colour and the vibration of ether.’—(Page 135.)

Of course there does, and for the obvious reason that colour is itself a fact of consciousness, that is, a feeling. The sensation of colour is one of the psychical facts which constitute the problem; and could not have been adduced to throw light on this difficulty, as Dr. Büchner employs it (Huschke may have had a different intention), by any one who remembered what the difficulty was.

The same chapter is headed by a much more pertinent quotation from Moleschott, the explicit statement of the extreme form of materialism:—‘Thought is a motion of matter.’—(Page 135.)

It might be supposed that Dr. Büchner intends to maintain this opinion, as he takes

it for a motto; but his doing so seems only an example of the indefiniteness of the views held on this question; since he proceeds, not to establish the identity of thought and motion, but to state the view given above, and which may be described by an expression of Friedreich, which he endorses:—‘Mental function is a peculiar manifestation of vital power.’—(Page 125.) By using the steam-engine and the watch (Page 132), which generate only motion, as illustrations, it may seem that Dr. Büchner views this ‘peculiar manifestation’ as only motion; but this cannot be, for after employing them he protests that these comparisons are ‘not intended to prove anything beyond affording’ a slight hint as to the possibility of the production of the soul from material combinations.’—(Page 132.) It has been shown that for this purpose they are valueless.

There remains the extreme view formerly mentioned, and just quoted as that of Moleschott, that ‘thought is a motion of matter;’ in other words, that the physical and psychical processes concerned in thought are really *one*, though they seem *two*.

By this, of course, it is not meant that matter in motion, as we conceive it, is identical with thought, as we conceive it. Obviously the expression *matter in motion* describes a set of phenomena which impress us as altogether different from the set described by the word *thought*; and which must continue to seem to us thus different, after we have affirmed their unity. Nor is it meant that thought is a compound, which, on being resolved into its elements, is found to consist of matter in motion, as water is a compound which consists of oxygen and hydrogen, substances having properties different from its own. That illustration, like others lately mentioned, would be beside the mark; for the properties of water, though different from those of the elementary gases composing it, are the same in kind as theirs, being simply modes of change, that is, of motion, which, in certain conditions, water undergoes and produces. But if the physical and psychical processes be regarded as identical, it is meant that certain movements of the nervous organisms do, while they continue such, and without any additional element, themselves constitute the act we call thought.

This form of materialism is manifestly free from the enormous difficulties which encumber the supposition that two distinct processes are concerned in thought; but among the inferences it bears must be reckoned this, that since all the forms of physi-

cal energy are essentially alike, if thought is identical with one mode of motion, it must be essentially like every other. The sensation of light, for example, being, on the supposition now made, identical with certain movements of the optic nerve, must be essentially like the luminiferous vibrations of the ether, the movements of a living cell, the fall of a stone, &c. In short, the radical diversity which seems to exist between all the forms of physical and psychical energy disappears. To that conclusion the extreme form of materialism seems to lead.

There is a suggestive coincidence between this result and that at which the idealist arrives. The idealist, examining our relations to the external world, discovers that, universal and irresistible as is the conviction of its existence, that conviction cannot be proved to be true. We attribute certain of our sensations to external phenomena as their causes; but we can know only that of which we are directly conscious. We are conscious only of feelings, using that word in the widest sense, and the external world we believe in does not consist of feelings. Sir W. Hamilton, indeed, maintains, with many philosophers, that in external perception we are directly conscious of something different from ourselves. But even he allows that we can be directly conscious only of what is in actual contact with our nervous organisms; for example, that in sight we cannot be directly conscious of the sun, or of any object we see, but only of what touches the retina. And it is difficult to understand what can be meant by being directly conscious of an external object, of a table, for instance, except that we have feelings of extension, resistance, &c., which we believe are produced by the table. And then it is the feelings, and not the table, of which we are conscious. And no conclusive reason can be assigned for the belief that there is a table to cause the feelings.

The law of energy supports the argument of the idealist here. For consciousness is seated in the nervous organism alone; whatever its nature be, its manifestations take place within the borders of that organism, which is a material structure, and a vehicle of physical energy. If, then, consciousness informs us *directly* of any physical facts, they can be those only of the nervous organism, or in immediate relation to it; and they must consist of movements taking place there *at the time* the feeling which reveals them to us is experienced. For as Sir W. Hamilton writes (Notes on Reid, p. 810):—'Consciousness is a knowledge solely of what is now and here present to the mind.' Of physical changes antece-

dent, by however short an interval, to the feeling which is supposed to be aware of them, we cannot possibly be immediately percipient. But physical changes occurring in the outer world are antecedent in time to any feeling which can reveal them; for before they can be felt the physical energy of which they consist must be converted into nervous force, and when so converted, it has, of course, ceased to exist in the form it wore previous to its conversion. Therefore the feeling which accompanies an act of nervous force, must always and necessarily be later in time than the external movement which generated the nervous change. Hence direct consciousness of aught outside the nervous organism seems impossible.

And yet the physical changes occurring *within* that organism, the only ones which it is conceivable we might immediately perceive, because they are coexistent with consciousness in space and in time, are never revealed to us as such. The feelings of extension, &c., which, according to Sir W. Hamilton, we attribute to our organism, are psychical, not physical. We are not conscious that we have a nervous organism at all. Since the physical changes *there* are not revealed to us, *a fortiori* others, further removed in space and time, cannot be. Thus the exact opposite of what we might expect takes place; the things of which we seem directly conscious, the outward objects we say we see, touch, &c., it is demonstrably impossible that we should immediately perceive, while we are entirely unconscious of those physical accompaniments of our sensations which seem to be the only physical facts accessible to us, if any are.

It is generally admitted, even by those who are not idealists, that the argument of idealism is incapable of direct refutation. Professor Huxley writes:—

'All our knowledge is a knowledge of states of consciousness. "Matter" and "force" are, so far as we can know, mere names for certain forms of consciousness. . . . It is an indisputable truth that what we call the material world is only known to us under the forms of the ideal world; and as Des Cartes tells us, our knowledge of the soul is more intimate and certain than our knowledge of the body.'—('Lecture on Des Cartes': Macmillan's Magazine for May, 1870.)

Before considering the coincidence referred to above between the conclusion of idealism and the extreme form of materialism, it will be instructive to discuss the relation in which Professor Huxley understands his hypothetical materialism to stand to the 'indisputable truth' on which idealism is

based. In his paper 'On the Physical Basis of Life' ('Lay Sermons,' &c.) he writes:—

'In itself it is of little moment whether we express the phenomena of matter in terms of spirit, or the phenomena of spirit in terms of matter. Matter may be regarded as a form of thought, thought may be regarded as a property of matter. Each statement has a certain relative truth. But with a view to the progress of science, the materialistic phraseology is in every way to be preferred. . . . If we find that the ascertainment of the order of nature is facilitated by using one terminology, or one set of symbols, rather than another, it is our clear duty to use the former, and no harm can accrue so long as we bear in mind that we are dealing merely with terms and symbols.'

■ This view of materialistic phraseology, as simply a helpful means to the study of nature, similar—as the writer goes on to say—to the x's and y's with which the mathematician works his problems, but which he never confounds with real entities, would be unobjectionable even to an idealist.

At the same time exception may be taken to the expressions, 'matter may be regarded as a form of thought, thought may be regarded as a property of matter; each statement has a certain relative truth.'

For it might be inferred hence that idealism and materialism are theories supported by similar kinds and degrees of evidence. But it is not so. For in regarding *matter as a form of thought*, with the idealist, we regard it simply as it is presented to us, and make no supposition at all respecting it. That is an accurate account of all we can know about matter, even though we may suspect that it is much more than that. But when we say *thought is a property or function of matter*, we venture beyond our knowledge into the region of assumptions. We assume that the hypothetical external cause of certain of our sensations is their true cause, that matter exists. We assume that there is no corresponding internal cause of all our sensations, that mind does not exist. But the evidence for a psychical substratum of psychical phenomena is similar to that which points to a physical substratum of physical phenomena. It would seem that both should be admitted, or neither. But if both are admitted, the proposition that thought is a function of matter falls to the ground. If, declining to make assumptions, we admit neither, we are left with the other proposition, that matter is a form of thought.

Or the propositions in question may be compared thus:—The statement that thought is a function of matter is inconsistent with the statement that matter is a form of thought. But this last assertion is a strict account of the fact as presented to us. Therefore the

former assertion is inconsistent with a strict account of the fact as presented to us.

If it be replied that the statement, thought is a function of matter, is regarded, not as absolutely true, but merely as helpful in interpreting nature, it may still be urged that even suppositions of this character should harmonize with the natural facts with which they deal; and that the supposition in question does not harmonize with this leading natural fact, that material phenomena are presented to us only as phenomena of consciousness. This is not a metaphysical subtlety, which the student of nature may disregard, but a leading natural fact, which must have a prominent place in any consistent theory of nature. Therefore it seems unjustifiable to say of two inconsistent propositions, one of which is based upon the facts before us, and the other on a supposition at variance with them, 'each statement has a certain relative truth.' If conjecture is permitted at all, it would seem that the suppositions made should preserve the prominence which unquestionably belongs in the facts to the psychical element, so far as our knowledge extends. At any rate the suppositions made should not reverse that prominence, and render the psychical facts, of which alone we are directly conscious, wholly dependent on the material facts, whose very existence is hypothetical. Therefore the language of Professor Huxley, here and elsewhere, seems inconsistent with what he admits to be the indisputable natural fact taught by idealism, that our knowledge, even of the material world, is a knowledge of states of consciousness.

But a singular agreement, instead of any discrepancy, seems to exist between the conclusion of idealism and that extreme materialism which absolutely identifies the physical and psychical processes concerned in thought. For this identification abolishes the distinction between the material and ideal worlds at their points of meeting, and proclaims, therefore, that the psychical objects of perception, instead of being in any sense copies of the physical objects to which they correspond, are the same things as those physical objects. For example, the feelings on resistance and extension which the table excites when pressed, are, on this view, the same things as the physical changes which it produces on the nervous organism; in other words, we are conscious of the physical effects wrought on our nervous organism, for those physical effects are themselves our sensations.

Between this conclusion and the idealism of Bishop Berkeley there is a close correspondence. He insisted that we can be conscious only of ideas; and that they, the immediate

objects of perception, are the only objects of the existence of which we have evidence. The 'matter' he repudiated was the occult something supposed to exist as a substratum behind and distinct from our perceptions. The idealist interlocutor in one of the dialogues of Hylas and Philonous says :

'I am not for changing things into ideas, but rather ideas into things; since those immediate objects of perception, which, according to you, are only appearances of things, I take to be the real things themselves.'

And in his '*Principles of Human Knowledge*,' Bishop Berkeley writes:—

'I do not argue against the existence of any one thing that we can apprehend either by sensation or reflection. That the things I see with my eyes and touch with my hands do exist, really exist, I make not the least question. The only thing whose existence I deny is that which philosophers call matter, or corporeal substance.'

It may be said that to merge, with Berkeley, all physical facts in psychical ones, is by no means the same proceeding as to identify the physical and psychical processes concerned in thought. But if these processes be identified, physical and psychical phenomena can no longer retain their independence of each other. Instead of being two, they are one; and there can be no question as to what character that one must bear.

For the material world, certain of whose processes are thus declared to be the same things as perceptions, is confessedly known to us only as the hypothetical external cause of those perceptions; and it is assumed to be such simply because something different from our perceptions, and outside them, seems necessary to account for them. But there is no such necessity, if the material world and perceptions are found to be the same things wherever they meet; and consequently the sole ground for supposing that an external world exists is, on the present hypothesis, taken away. Having merely assumed a distinction between the worlds of matter and consciousness, if we find that where the two meet they are not distinct, the obvious course is to abandon the assumption. To retain the distinction between the two, and seek some hypothesis to identify them, when the necessity for supposing that they are two no longer exists, is to remain burdened with a difficulty which has vanished.

And it would be out of the question to effect this union by merging the world presented to us in consciousness in the material world whose existence is only assumed. If one of the two must be renounced, obviously it is the hypothetical material world which

must be surrendered, and then the conclusion of the idealist is established.

It may be suggested that the hopeless impossibility of the attempt to trace the steps by which the material processes of the nervous organism produce, or become states of consciousness, arises from the fact, proclaimed by idealism, that our knowledge even of the material world is a knowledge of states of consciousness. For, of course, the material changes of the brain, like everything else, are known to us only as states of consciousness. We cannot see our way out from these states to the physical facts which we believe lie behind them; and therefore it is that we cannot see our way back to consciousness from the physical facts. Having leaped a fathomless gulf in crossing from consciousness to matter, we must traverse the same abyss in returning. If it were otherwise,—if the steps between the physics of the brain and sensation were made plain to the physiologist, these would be the very steps between consciousness and the external world of which the psychologist is in search; and the ability to observe them would imply that the limit of consciousness had been passed, and that the material world was apprehended outside it, an achievement which the indisputable truth on which idealism rests shows to be impossible.

From the various alternatives now considered let us turn back to the important point from which they have been drawn, and which seems to present the latest judgment of science on the relation between mind and the nervous organism; I mean that that organism is a material structure, receiving, employing, and parting with energy in strict accordance with physical laws, and just as if no facts of consciousness arose there. In other words, the psychical processes, closely as they correspond with the nerve-changes, are not links, like them, in the chains of physical sequences. We have seen that the science of energy seems to require this conclusion, and that Professors Tyndall and Huxley (the latter, at least, in some passages) distinctly endorse it. It is affirmed also (as ascertained since this paper was written) by Mr. Bain, in his new book, entitled '*Mind and Body*,' and by Mr. Herbert Spencer, in the second edition of his very remarkable work, '*The Principles of Psychology*.' His argument is convincing, and besides confirming the above conclusion, shows that it may be reached by a different road. A few short extracts must suffice here.

'Though accumulated observations and experiments have led us by a very indirect series of inferences to the belief that mind and ner-

vous action are the subjective and objective faces of the same thing, we remain utterly incapable of seeing, and even of imagining, how the two are related. Mind still continues to us a something without any kinship to other things.'—('Principles of Psychology,' 2nd ed. vol. i. sec. 56.)

Again,—

'Let it further be granted that all existence distinguished as subjective, is resolvable into units of consciousness similar in nature to those which we know as nervous shocks; each of which is the correlative of a rhythmical motion of a material unit, or group of such units. Can we then think of the subjective and objective activities as the same? Can the oscillation of a molecule be represented in consciousness side by side with a nervous shock, and the two be recognised as one? No effort enables us to assimilate them.' . . . And 'it might be shown that the conception of an oscillating molecule is built out of many units of feeling; and that to identify it with a nervous shock would be to identify a whole congeries of units with a single unit.'—Ibid. sec. 62.

Mr. Spencer devotes several chapters of this work to a disproof of Idealism, but he seems to concede the argument on which idealism builds when he says:—

'Were we compelled to choose between the alternatives of translating mental phenomena into physical phenomena, or of translating physical phenomena into mental phenomena, the latter alternative would seem the more acceptable of the two. Mind, as known to the possessor of it, is a circumscribed aggregate of activities; and the cohesion of these activities, one with another, throughout the aggregate, compels the postulation of a something of which they are the activities. . . . As, by the definition of them, external activities cannot be brought within the aggregate of activities distinguished as those of mind, they must for ever remain to him nothing more than the unknown correlatives of their effects on this aggregate; and can be thought of only in terms furnished by this aggregate. Hence, if he regards his conception of these activities lying beyond mind, as constituting knowledge of them, he is deluding himself; he is but representing these activities in terms of mind, and can never do otherwise. Eventually he is obliged to admit that his ideas of Matter and Motion, merely symbolic of unknown realities, are complex states of consciousness built out of units of feeling. But if, after admitting this, he persists in asking whether units of feeling are of the same nature as the units of force distinguished as external, or whether the units of force distinguished as external are of the same nature as units of feeling; then the reply, still substantially the same, is that we may go further towards conceiving units of external force to be identical with units of feeling, than we can toward conceiving units of feeling to be identical with units of external force. . . .

'Hence though of the two it seems easier to translate so-called Matter into so-called Spirit, than to translate so-called Spirit into so-called Matter (which latter is, indeed, wholly impossible); yet no translation can carry us beyond our symbols.'—Ibid. sec. 68.

'The antithesis of subject and object, never to be transcended while consciousness lasts, renders impossible all knowledge of that ultimate reality in which subject and object are united.'—Ibid. sec. 272.

It is, indeed, still supposed by some that the mental processes, as distinguished from the corresponding nerve-changes, are performed at the expense of the physical energy of the nervous organism. For example, this seems to be Dr. Bastian's opinion, who says, in his work on 'The Beginnings of Life':—

'When a muscle contracts, an amount of heat disappears which holds a definite relation to the amount of work done; and so it may well be that when the nerve-centre is in action—when *pains* and *pleasures* are felt, when *thoughts* are rife—this is possible only by reason of a disappearance or metamorphosis of a certain amount of potential energy which had previously been locked up in some of the organic constituents of the body. We cannot, however, prove that it is so, because we have not yet been able to show that there is evolved, during brain action, an amount of heat, or other mode of physical energy, less than there would have been had the sensations not been felt and the thoughts thought.'—(Vol. i. pp. 46, 47.)

It may be, however, that Dr. Bastian here refers to the physical counterparts of sensations and thoughts. The arguments already urged against the view just mentioned, and the high authorities quoted on the other side, seem to justify us in regarding a radical distinction between the psychical and the correlative physical processes of the nervous organism as one of the recognised, or soon to be recognised, positions of science. And surely, though the great problem is left unsolved, this is an important conclusion, a real onward step in our knowledge; for if fully established, it must finally clear away all the coarser theories of materialism entertained in the past, and speculations on the connection between matter and mind must enter henceforward on a new phase. There will, indeed, still be scope for the widest diversity of opinion respecting the nature of mind, and its possible independence of matter; but a large class of materialistic inferences, which seemed to have some scientific basis, but against which human nature boldly, and as it seems justly, protested, seem shut out by evidence that the operations of thought cannot be classed

among the other operations of the material universe, and can be assimilated to them only if the material universe be itself merged in the states of consciousness through which alone it is presented to us. Such a conclusion relieves the fears forcibly expressed in the following words of Professor Huxley, some of whose own language, quoted above, qualifies the assertion of the first sentence:—

‘As surely as every future grows out of past and present, so will the physiology of the future gradually extend the realm of matter and law until it is co-extensive with knowledge, with feeling, and with action.

‘The consciousness of this great truth weighs like a nightmare, I believe, upon many of the best minds of these days. They watch what they conceive to be the progress of materialism, in such fear and powerless anger as a savage feels, when, during an eclipse, the great shadow creeps over the face of the sun. The advancing tide of matter threatens to drown their souls; the tightening grasp of law impedes their freedom; they are alarmed lest man’s moral nature be debased by the increase of his wisdom.’—(‘On the Physical Basis of Life,’ ‘Lay Sermons,’ &c.)

Wherever facts lead us we must follow; but it is urged that, unless the preceding examination of them is wholly at fault, the more advanced and thorough-going theories of physical science ascribe to the facts of mind a unique and exceptional character, which excludes them from the realm of matter, with which, at present, they are mysteriously and inseparably associated. If so, physical science may be destined to extinguish the fears for the spiritual nature of man which its immature speculations aroused; and those who are concerned for that nature may watch without the slightest alarm ‘the advancing tide of matter.’

The preceding arguments seem to justify the conclusion that the operations of thought can never be ranked among the other operations of the material universe; but while that conclusion seems valid, and is surely important, it must be confessed that the notions we can at present form of the relation between mind and matter are not only very imperfect, but so manifestly disjointed and incongruous as to show that we have not yet found the direction in which the solution of the mystery lies. That solution is sure to be self-consistent, to accord with all the facts concerned, and to illustrate the unity which each real advance in our knowledge of nature confirms.

At present unitarian schemes seem either untrue to fact, as when thought is regarded as a property of matter, or at variance with

beliefs which have as good a warrant as we can show for anything—namely, that it is impossible to doubt them, as when the material world is merged in mind. While if, with Professors Tyndall and Huxley, and Mr. Herbert Spencer, we take the most honest course, and simply describe the facts which are presented to us,—that is to say, recognise parallel series of molecular movements, and states of consciousness, inseparable in fact, but refusing to be identified in thought, we come upon difficulties and inconsistencies which prove how far we are at sea. For the notion of two parallel but independent series of facts timed to correspond, as in Leibnitz’s ‘Pre-established Harmony,’ satisfies nobody; and if, to use Mr. Herbert Spencer’s favourite phrases, we call these ‘subjective and objective faces of the same fact,’ and ‘manifestations of an ultimate reality in which both are united,’ we do but vary our difficulties.

For in the first place, do not these skilfully-chosen phrases beguile us by hiding the invincible difficulty under an ambiguity of expression?—‘subjective and objective faces of the same fact,’—what does it mean? If the two *faces* were found, on interpretation, to amount to two *facts*, all our difficulties remain, and it is a hindrance rather than a help to have them so skilfully veiled. While if, as is probable, Mr. Spencer were to insist in explanation on the *sameness*, or *oneness*, of the fact, his expression would resolve itself into the proposition just discussed at length—‘thought is a mode of motion,’ which, if the preceding argument holds, lands us in idealism. If the two-faced fact be really *one*, then the material and ideal worlds are *identified* at their points of meeting, and the hypothetical material element must give place to the ideal, of which we have actual experience.

Again, it is only certain changes of the nervous organisms of the higher animals which present to us such a twofold, yet closely correspondent character, that instead of calling them objective facts and subjective facts, it seems preferable to call them objective and subjective faces of the same fact; to believe, that is, that their objective character is merely one aspect of an inscrutable reality which has a very different and subjective side. But the nervous organism is in every sense a part of the material universe, from which its expenditure of energy and waste of substance are continually being repaired. If, then, the objective character of certain of its phenomena is merely one aspect of an inscrutable reality which has a very different and subjective side, surely we are bound to ascribe this doubleness, these

physical and psychical faces, to all the other phenomena of the material universe. We cannot continue to regard physical phenomena in general as simply objective facts, if we deny that simply objective character to certain phenomena strictly physical, and grant them only a physical face. If that is a true description of facts of the nervous organism, it must be a true description of other facts of the material universe to which the nervous organism, as a material structure, in every respect belongs. Its movements are exceptional indeed, if *they alone* are not mere movements, but inscrutable acts which show motion only on one side.

It may seem that all objective facts known to us only have subjective faces, since such facts are presented to us only in a subjective form—that is, as states of consciousness, but this happens because every external fact must impress the nervous organism before we apprehend it, and that apprehension is the subjective face of a certain physical condition of the nervous organism alone.

And, if psychical phenomena are only occasional accompaniments of modes of motion, emerging in the nervous organisms and vanishing there, the old difficulty rises, from what source do they proceed? The movements of the nervous organism cannot be in any respect out of proportion to the energy they use up, because part of it goes to give them a psychical face. But if not, then a series of acts, which before had but one aspect, now has two, and now again but one; and yet the appearance of the transient aspect does not alter the series in its permanent aspect in the slightest degree. This difficulty of finding an independent origin for psychical phenomena disappears, if we suppose that the doubleness which leads us to describe them and their physical correlatives as objective and subjective faces of the same fact is an essential characteristic, true of all physical facts if true of one; only then we must believe that the whole material universe has a psychical as well as a physical side.

The situation, then, is this: the realistic conception of the physical universe represents it as spreading on every side immeasurably beyond the nervous organisms, within which alone we encounter, like islets in a boundless sea, the isolated phenomena of mind. These phenomena are not woven in with the physical phenomena amid which they arise; that is, thoughts do not come and go interchangeably with modes of motion, as products of physical energy, and links in the chains of physical sequences. Nor can we conceive of mental phenomena as groups of isolated facts, discontinuous with the physical chain,

and emerging and vanishing without antecedents or consequents. Such a conception of them is inadmissible, because it supposes a force beginning and ending in nothing, and is at variance with the unity and continuity of nature. It is less inadmissible to suppose a *continuum* of psychical facts corresponding with the *continuum* to which all physical facts belong; which agrees with the statement made above, that if we are led to conceive of mind and nervous action as subjective and objective faces of the same thing, we ought to ascribe this twofold character to other modes of motion as well as to those of the nervous organism. This is equivalent to saying that what we call mind is co-extensive with what we call matter.

It is impossible not to place side by side with this conclusion the fact formerly mentioned, that we are unable to regard the motions of matter (which are all that the material universe presents to us) as alone concerned in physical changes. We are compelled to postulate an energy behind them, working by law, guided by intelligence. Are psychical phenomena *special* manifestations of the unseen energy which we cannot help thinking indispensable to every physical change? At least it is noticeable that while that suggestion comes on us from one quarter, we should be led by another set of considerations to conjecture that what we call mind may be co-extensive with what we call matter.

ART. VI.—Revision of the Text of the New Testament.

- (1.) *Tregelles on the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament, with Remarks on its Revision upon Critical Principles.* London: Samuel Bagster and Sons.
- (2.) *Introductory Notice of the first part of Dr. Tregelles' Greek New Testament.*
- (3.) *An Exact Transcript of the Codex Augiensis, &c., with a Critical Introduction.* By the Rev. F. H. SCRIVENER, M.A. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co.
- (4.) *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament, for the use of Biblical Students.* By the Rev. F. H. SCRIVENER, M.A. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co.
- (5.) *Novum Testamentum Textus Stephanici, A.D. 1550. Accedunt Variæ Lectiones, Editionum Bezae, Elzevirii, Lachmanni, Tischendorfii, Tregellesii.* Curante F. H. SCRIVENER, A.M. Editio auctior et

- emendator. Cantabrigiæ: Deighton, Bell, et Soc. 1872.
- (6.) *Novum Testamentum Græce. Antiquissimorum Codicum Textus in Ordine Parallelo dispositi accedit Collatio Codicis Sinaitici.* EDVARDUS H. HANSELL, S.T.B. Oxonii, 1864.
- (7.) *The First Twelve Chapters of the Gospel according to St. Matthew in the Received Greek Text, with various Readings and Notes, Critical and Expository.* By the late Rev. J. FORSHALL, M.A., F.R.S. London, 1864.
- (8.) *The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel according to St. Mark vindicated against recent Critical Objectors, and established.* By JOHN W. BURGON, B.D. Oxford and London: Parker and Co. 1871.
- (9.) *Outlines of Textual Criticism applied to the New Testament.* By C. E. HAMMOND, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press Series.
- (10.) *The Words of the New Testament as Altered by Transmission and Ascertained by Modern Criticism.* For Popular Use. By Professors MILLIGAN and ROBERTS.

THE list of works named by us at the head of this article—and the list might easily have been extended—is at once a sufficient and a highly gratifying proof of that revived interest in the study of the text of the New Testament, by which England is at present marked. It is somewhat strange indeed that we should have to speak of 'revived' interest in such a connection, for of all countries in the world England was that in which it might have been expected that this interest, at least, would never flag. Englishmen may be less metaphysical, and so less fitted for the high problems of dogmatic theology than the Germans. They may be less gifted with the genius of historical inquiry than the French. But it is no presumption to say that by their liberal education, their wide culture, their strong common sense, and their practical piety, they are peculiarly fitted to excel in the study of the Scripture text. And they once not only excelled, but excelled pre-eminently until, as they have done in many another branch of learning, they allowed others to appropriate the advantages which they had won, to make a more diligent use of them, and to pass them in the race. There is no denying the fact that the investigation of the great problems connected with the text of the New Testament, for which far more had been done in this country than elsewhere, seemed, after the days of Bentley, to forsake what might almost be regarded as its own, and to take refuge on the Continent of Europe. Marsh, indeed in

England, and Principal Campbell, of Marischal College, Aberdeen, in Scotland,—the latter, one whose memory has not yet experienced the full measure of justice it deserves,—still kept alive the sacred flame. But it did not kindle much enthusiasm in others—neither of them had many followers. Occasional good work was done in the department, or in departments kindred to it. The Hebrew text of the Old Testament was studied, manuscripts were collated or published in *fac-simile*, German treatises were translated; but there was little general interest in the inquiries to which the science of textual criticism leads; and, at the close of rather more than a century from the days of Bentley, one of our noblest critical scholars, after devoting the flower of his life to that edition of the Greek Testament which will be a lasting monument to his fame, had to say, in issuing the first part, in words than which we think hardly any more sad were ever penned, 'I now consign this first portion of my Greek New Testament to the hands of the *few* [the italics are his own] who take sufficient interest in the matter to desire thus to receive it.'*

What explanation may be given of the fact now stated it is difficult to say. There was no want of attractiveness in the study itself, for everyone who has in any degree devoted himself to it will acknowledge that it possesses an unequalled and irresistible charm; that it presents problems demanding for their solution the widest range of acquirement, the acutest discernment of differences, the calmest and most impartial judgment; while, at the same time, it brings with it rewards that add to the pleasure of ordinary success the thought of being occupied with the very words in which the mind of God has been revealed to man. There was no want of memories coming down from past generations of a nature fitted to rouse the zeal and spirit of generations following. The memory of Mill alone was an inheritance for ever; and then there was the thought of the unhappy but brilliant Bentley finding refuge in these studies, as in no others, from his troubles, and exclaiming with enthusiasm in the prospectus of his projected but, alas, unaccomplished work, that he 'consecrates it as a *κεμήλιον*, a *κτῆμα* *ἐσθαι*, a *charter*, a *magna-charta* to the whole Christian Church, to last when all the ancient MSS. here quoted may be lost and extinguished.' There was no want of leisure and of means of study, of wealth and libraries, and college life with all the quickening influences that ought

* Tregelles, 'Greek New Testament.' Introduction, p. 7.

to be imparted by it. And, finally, there was no want of an audience to which to speak; for English people loved their Bible, and with their strong views of the inspiration of the sacred writers, would have found it impossible to resist the appeal of critical scholars that, since they attached so much value to the words of Scripture, there were none on whom so imperative an obligation lay to ascertain what these words really were. Notwithstanding all this the study of the text of the New Testament did not flourish in England. Our scholars fell into the background; Griesbach and Lachmann in Germany led the van.

Within the last twenty years there has at length taken place among us that remarkable revival of the spirit of this study to which allusion has been already made. On every side the most gratifying indications of fresh interest in it are to be met; and the names of Tregelles, Scrivener, Westcott, and Lightfoot, who have all in one form or another given the results of their studies in the text of Scripture to the world, bid fair to regain that palm for us which, since Lachmann's days (for Tischendorf's honours have been won in another field), no one in Germany has risen to grasp.

There is still, indeed, a feeling in the minds of many that not much practical result is to be expected from these studies, and that it may even be doubted whether the amount of gain will be so great as to counterbalance what they fear will be the more general effect, an irreverent handling of the Word of God, and the diffusion through the minds of the community of a certain amount of suspicion and hesitation regarding it. Strange to say, these opinions are expressed mainly by those who take the highest view of the inspiration of Scripture, and who bow with a more profound reverence than others to words which they believe to have been immediately dictated by the Spirit to the sacred penmen. Not that it is always so. Dr. Tregelles has given expression to the very opposite opinion. In the introduction to his Greek New Testament, from which we have already quoted, he says:—

'In the case of any common writer, we should gladly recur to the better and more ancient evidence; and we should never think of adhering traditionally to that which we may well know to be precarious, or worse than doubtful. Surely, then, those who reverence God's Holy Word must be responsible for using the same care, the same discrimination with regard to it, which they do in connection with other writings and works.*

Yet even these words convey an inadequate impression of the relation of Dr. Tregelles to the point before us; for, if there be one thing more apparent than another in all that he has said and done, it is that the very profoundness of his reverence for Scripture, that the singular depth of his conviction that he was dealing with the *ipsissima verba* of the Spirit of God, has at once impelled him to his studies, and sustained him amidst many discouragements and trials connected with them. Others might also be named by whom a similar spirit has been displayed, such as Professors Westcott and Lightfoot. The same high motive has actuated them, and been the spur to those labours by which they have done much to restore to England her ancient prestige in the field of Biblical inquiry.

Still, there is too much cause to acknowledge that the feeling to which we allude is widely spread in the British churches, and especially among those who claim to be the purest representatives of Evangelical Christianity. There is a want of interest in the study of the text, a magnifying of the difficulties to be overcome, an underrating of the confidence with which conclusions may be accepted, and, in the last resort, the assertion that we ought at least to wait, that the facts are, as yet, neither sufficiently collected nor classified, and that on so momentous a question the mind of the community ought not to be disturbed till we are more prepared than we are now to give a final verdict. We entreat those who argue thus to pause for a moment and reflect how inconsistent with their general views such a position is. Surely, in exact proportion to the degree in which we assign inspiration to the words of the evangelists and apostles, must be our sense of the importance of knowing exactly what these words were. Even although none of the more weighty expressions of the text were to be affected, who shall venture to say by what small changes its power and beauty as a whole may be either diminished or increased? In the great pictures of a master's hand the eye of the spectator may be chiefly won by the leading figures or objects presented to his view; yet even the most subordinate touches of the picture are necessary to the fulness of impression produced by it. Let one of them be changed, let one object in the grouping be displaced, or one small patch of colour be substituted for another, and the whole effect will instantly be marred. Let the original arrangement of colour be restored, and, though unable perhaps to explain the reason, we shall come again under the spell of the original conception.

* 'Greek New Testament.' Introduction, p. 1.

"A friend called on Michael Angelo, who was finishing a statue. Some time afterwards he called again; the sculptor was still at his work. His friend, looking at the figure, exclaimed, "You have been idle since I last saw you." "By no means," replied the sculptor, "I have retouched this part, and polished that; I have softened this feature, and brought out this muscle; I have given more expression to this lip, and more energy to this limb." "Well, well," said his friend, "but all these are trifles." "It may be so," replied Angelo, "but recollect that trifles make perfection, and that perfection is no trifle."

Even, therefore, though it were the case that only small matters were affected by the labours of the Biblical critic, the correct determination of these may be of unspeakable consequence to the general influence of the New Testament revelation. We cannot tell what may be the result. In ways that we cannot anticipate, it may be such as to lend new strength to the claims or a new charm to the beauty of Scripture. Of this much we are sure, that every fragment that has been broken away, that every spot or stain that has been imprinted on it through lapse of time or human carelessness, has tended in some degree to make it less influential than it would otherwise have been.

It is not enough, however, to speak thus. We must deny that the changes to be produced on the text of the New Testament by sound and careful criticism are so trifling as they are often represented to be. We are quite aware of the language most frequently used upon this point, and do not dispute its general accuracy. Bentley was not wrong when he said in his own terse and vigorous language:—

'The real text of the sacred writers is competently exact, indeed, even in the worst MSS. now extant; nor is one article of faith or moral precept either perverted or lost in them, choose as awkwardly as you can, choose the worst by design out of the whole lump of readings.'

And again:—

'But even put your thirty thousand readings into the hands of a knave or a fool; and yet with the most sinistrous and absurd choice he shall not extinguish the light of a single chapter, nor so disguise Christianity but that every feature of it will still be the same.'

The general truth of the statement contained in these words, and often since repeated in other forms, we at once admit. We admit that all the experience hitherto

gained points irresistibly to the conclusion, that in the great substance of her faith the Church has always been in the possession of her rightful inheritance, and that that inheritance will be only the more assured to her the more the criticism of the Scripture text attains the perfection after which it is at present struggling. Yet we are persuaded that this aspect of the case is often unintentionally exaggerated, and that an under-estimate is formed of the amount of effect to be produced by the adoption of what we believe to be true readings of the New Testament instead of false ones now in use. The essence of our doctrinal theology may undergo no change, but certain accidental distinctions and determinations which have gathered in course of time around its leading statements, and which have in no small degree increased the difficulty of receiving them, may be materially modified. Even if doctrine be not touched at all, there are not a few questions connected with our ecclesiastical relations, our social condition, even with the religious experience of the private Christian, that have been complicated and darkened by false readings. Historical and critical inquiry, too, into the authenticity of the books of Scripture, has suffered from the same cause; and while men have been searching for a solution of difficulties in considerations whose weakness often did more to confirm than remove them, the hint toward the true solution may sometimes be found in some reading that, after having been buried for centuries in unknown or uncollated MSS., has only been recently brought to light. The best way to make good our statement, and before dealing in general remarks, is to give one or two examples of what we mean.

We select first of all a reading in Matt. v. 32, a text bearing closely upon the important question of marriage and divorce. As we meet the words in the *Textus Receptus* we read, 'Whosoever shall put away his wife, *παρεκτός λόγον πορνείας ποιεῖ αὐτὴν μοιχᾶσθαι*,' and the only meaning that can be attached to them is, that whosoever puts away his wife for another cause than that of adultery on her part causes her to commit adultery, because, thus put away, she may marry another. It is at once obvious, we may remark in passing, that the meaning thus gained is exposed to two fatal objections, first that the woman put away may *not* marry again, in which case it cannot be said that she commits adultery; secondly, that our attention is directed to her as the guilty party, whereas it is our Lord's design to show that not she but the man is guilty. This, however, is not the main point before

* In his remarks upon a Discourse of Free-thinking.

us. It is that, according to the Roman Catholic view of this verse—a view shared, if we are not under a false impression, by many English divines—divorce is *wholly* disallowed. Even adultery does not render it lawful to dissolve a marriage. *Πορνεία* is understood to mean not unchastity after, but unchastity before marriage, and the inference is that divorce can only be allowed where the latter has existed, and when therefore no marriage can be properly said to have taken place. The difficulty experienced in meeting this is the use of the word *πορνεία*, which might at first sight lead us to think of virginal, not marital incontinence, and which thus forms the great strength of the Romish argument. Is there anything then that may show us that it is implied in the whole drift of the passage that the latter, not the former is meant? We turn to the true reading, *μοιχευθῆναι* instead of *μοιχᾶσθαι*, and we notice its effect. The whole meaning of the clause is changed. It is not now that the woman put away commits adultery by marrying ‘another,’ so that the guilt is transferred from her husband to her; but it is that the husband, by the very act of putting her away, *has himself acted as an adulterer*, has committed a deed of adultery on the wife whom he has divorced, has made her to suffer adultery at his hands. That such is the true sense of the passage is clear, not only from the word *μοιχευθῆναι*, which must be translated as a passive, but from the parallel verse in Mark x. 11, ‘Whosoever shall put away his wife and marry another,’ *μοιχᾶται ἐπ’ αὐτήν*, that is, ‘committeth adultery upon or against her,’ the first wife, for that *αὐτήν* refers to her is clear from the following words which ought to read, *καὶ ἐὰν αὐτῇ ἀπολύσασα κ.τ.λ.* It appears then that, according to the teaching of our Lord, especially in Matt. v. 32, the act of putting away a wife and adultery against her or upon her are equivalent to one another. When a man puts away his wife, except for the cause mentioned, it is a testimony on his part that he is making his relation to her to be that of an adulterer; when he commits adultery against her it is putting her away. Both are *ipso facto* a breaking of the marriage bond. The inference is obvious. Adultery by either partner dissolves the marriage and is a justification of divorce. Only on the ground that adultery is a legitimate cause of divorce can it be said that a man who puts away his wife for any other cause is abrogating the marriage bond *as an adulterer*, and is as guilty as he. It is implied therefore in the passage before us, when the true reading is adopted, that *πορνεία* does

not mean unchastity before, but unchastity after marriage. The Roman Catholic interpretation is false; and the great doctrine is established that divorce is unjustifiable on any other ground than adultery, but is justifiable on that.

We take next another and a simpler case, bearing upon an altogether different point, and yet hardly less valuable in its own way. The objection against the authenticity of the Gospel of St. John, drawn from the fact that ‘the Jews’ are so often spoken of there as persons with whom the writer has no connection, though, if his Gospel be authentic, he was himself a Jew, is familiar to every one. Here, it is said in effect, is a method of speaking altogether unprecedented and unnatural; there is nothing like it in the earlier Gospels; it betrays at once the author’s Gentile birth; no Jew could thus have separated himself from his people. We turn to Matt. vii. 29, where the evangelist, indisputably a Jew, remarks of Jesus at the close of the Sermon on the Mount, ‘for He taught them as one having authority and not as the scribes,’ *καὶ οὐχ ὡς οἱ γραμματεῖς*. But the true reading is *καὶ οὐχ ὡς οἱ γραμματεῖς αὐτῶν*, ‘and not as *their* scribes’—the very method of expression that we find in the Gospel of St. John, but far more natural in it when we think either of its date or of the circumstances amidst which it was penned.

Our next example shall have reference to the Gospel of St. Mark, and, instead of giving it in our own words, we shall give in the words of Mr. Burgon. But first let us notice that the common reading of Mark vii. 19 is, ‘Whatsoever thing from without entereth into the man it cannot defile him; because it entereth not into his heart, but into the belly, and goeth out into the draught, purging all meats,’ *καθαρίζον πάντα τὰ βρώματα*. The meaninglessness of this, to say nothing of the false translation of *καθαρίζον*, must at once be obvious to every one. A true translation of *καθαρίζον*, however, would only make the clause still more meaningless. What says a faithful criticism of the text? That the true reading is *καθαρίζων*, and ‘that expression,’ says Mr. Burgon, ‘does really seem to be no part of the Divine discourse, but the evangelist’s inspired comment on the Saviour’s words.’ Our Saviour (he explains) by that discourse of His—*ipso facto*—‘made all meats clean.’ How doubly striking a statement, when it is remembered that probably Simon Peter himself was the actual author of it—the same who, on the housetop at Joppa, had been shown in a vision that ‘God had made clean’ (ὁ θεὸς ἐκαθάρισε)

'all His creatures!'^{*} Therein indeed consists the singular beauty of the reading *καθαρίζων*, when we look at it in connection with the universal tradition of the early Church that St. Mark was the 'interpreter' of St. Peter. We see the apostle, in the light of all that had been revealed to him in his later life, looking back upon the words once spoken by his Divine Master in regard to eating meats with unwashed hands. He had not understood them at the time. Now he understands them; and, as he quotes the remarkable declaration that outward things cannot defile a man because they enter not into his heart, but into the belly, and go out into the draught, he adds, '*this He said making all meats clean.*' We cannot forbear adding, though foreign to our immediate purpose, that it is somewhat doubtful whether, in conformity with the principles of the rest of his work, Mr. Burgon is entitled to admit *καθαρίζων* into the text.

One other passage only would we notice, but that, one of great dogmatic value, John i. 18. The words of the received text are, 'The only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him.' But the true reading is most probably *μονογενῆς θεὸς* not *ὁ μονογενῆς υἱός*. Of the full effect of this reading upon the Christology of the New Testament it is impossible as yet to speak, for the words must first be accepted, and must have time to work themselves into the consciousness of Christendom, before we can say in what manner they will influence the Church's method of conceiving the doctrine of the Trinity, and the relations of the different persons of the Godhead. This much, however, is obvious, that on the one hand they constitute the most striking testimony in the New Testament to the divinity of Jesus, and that on the other they render a certain modification in the sense of *θεός* necessary. In the absolute and highest sense of the word *θεός* cannot have *μονογενῆς* predicated of it. It is not divinity therefore in its most absolute and remote sense, not divinity exactly as it exists in One who is the fountain-head of all existence, not a *θεότης* covering in every particular precisely the same field of thought when applied to the Son as when applied to the Father, that is here attributed to Jesus. It is divinity rather as the necessary effluence of that Being to whom we give in its highest sense the name of God. It is divinity as it is expressed in the words of the Nicene Creed, where the preposition *ἐκ* must be noticed as well as the words with which it is connected, *θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, θεὸν*

ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ γεννηθέντα. What the text does is to carry us back to the thought of God as essentially expressing Himself in another, as doing this not so much by deliberate act as by the very nature of His own being, so that this other shall be justly described as 'the brightness of His glory and the express image of His existence (*ὑποστάσεως*)'—Heb. i. 3—co-eternal therefore with Himself, not created, essentially Divine, yet not so in every respect as Himself, because though not in order of time, yet in order of thought He is after Him. Further, how much ought this reading to accomplish in bringing home to us the great truth so powerfully drawn out by Mr. Hutton in his very striking essay on the Incarnation, that God is in His own essence, and not merely in relation to us, what we endeavour to express by the word Father:

'We are told by the incarnation something of God's absolute and essential nature, something which does not merely describe what He is to us, but what He is in Himself. If Christ is the Eternal Son of God, God is in deed and in essence a Father; the social nature, the spring of love is of the very essence of the Eternal Being: the communication of His life, the reciprocation of His affection dates from beyond time—belongs, in other words, to the very being of God Before all worlds He was essentially the Father, essentially love, essentially something infinitely more than knowledge or power, essentially communicating and receiving a living affection, essentially all that the heart can desire.'^{*}

How much, too, ought it to effect in the way of meeting some of the most remarkable Christological speculations of the Continent, that the 'Sonship' of Christ begins with his manifestation in the flesh, and that the conception of this Sonship has nothing to do with the conception of the Logos in His eternal pre-existence. Finally, though speaking with much hesitation, and with a profound sense both of the difficulty of the subject, and of the infinite value to the Church of the doctrine of the divinity of Jesus, we venture to suggest that out of this one reading, when it has taken thorough possession of the minds, and been worked into the logical apprehension of Christians, there may come a closer bond of thought between Trinitarians and that higher section of Unitarians who are often not far removed from them in the substance of their faith.

These examples may suffice for the present. We might have confined them to smaller matters, and the effect would hardly have been diminished, for such matters, if less important individually, gain importance

* 'The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark,' p. 179.

* Hutton's 'Essays,' i. pp. 245, 251.

by their number. They meet us everywhere; and their combined value cannot be over-estimated. No great doctrine may be involved in them; but, under the influence of correct readings, what freshness, what vivacity, what undreamed of turns of thought appear to us! The individuality of the writers, their *naïveté*, their simplicity, their abruptness, their boldness, come out in a way that no one could have anticipated. We are almost in another world. What Professor Jowett has said of sound principles of interpretation is not less true of the application of just criticism to the construction of the text, 'The Bible will still remain unlike any other book; its beauty will be freshly seen, as of a picture which is restored after many ages to its original state; it will create a new interest, and make for itself a new kind of authority by the life which is in it.*' We add only one consideration more, but that a consideration which, in judging of the point before us, ought to be distinctly borne in mind. These better readings will be translated. Sooner or later they will be placed in the hands of the great mass of Christians. Then we shall see their power. There is a vast difference between the effect produced by a good reading being known to a few students in their closets, and its finding its sphere of instruction or quickening or comfort in the consciousness of the Church at large. Every day we have illustration of similar facts. A thought has been long slumbering in our minds. We have often dwelt upon it, and it has led to nothing. We see it at last find public expression from some other source. From that moment it is another thought to us. It does not slumber now. It has an emphasis, a vitality, a power which it had not before. The half extinguished taper that, slipped alone into the taper-vase, dies, when slipped in among a number of other tapers kindles the whole into a flame. So also in the case before us. It is no argument against the reasonableness of expecting great results from new and better readings of the New Testament text that these readings, though long known to scholars, have produced little effect. Let them be taken into, and offered to the world in, the published text; above all, let them be translated into the English Bible, and their power will immediately be felt as it has not been before. The determination of the text of Scripture, in short, instead of being a trifling thing, is precisely that part of Biblical study which promises to be most rich in fruit.

If what has now been said be true, it be-

comes all the more important to see that the principles upon which we proceed in fixing the text be sound; so that, on the one hand, no change may be made with undue haste; and, on the other, none be refused that is borne witness to by competent evidence. Two schools of criticism here offer themselves to our choice, and practically there are only two. They are represented, and that with a keenness of which we shall say no more than that it is proportional to the interest and importance of the subject, by several of the authors named at the head of this article, and especially by Dr. Tregelles and Dr. Scrivener. Our space will hardly permit us to go at length into the argument between these critics, to say nothing of the fact that the effort to do so would lead us away from the aim that we have immediately in view. It will be well, however, to state their respective positions, and to do so as much as possible in their own words. We shall then consider a little more fully the principles laid down by Dr. Scrivener, because he may be regarded as the ablest exponent of views held widely in this country; because, in several works ranging over a considerable period, he has reiterated his conclusions with much confidence; and because he has lately found a spirit of championship in Mr. Burgon, that shows how far such studies are from being necessarily only dialectical and cold.*

Amidst the immense mass of MSS. known to us, the first and most important duty of the critic is to determine which are most worthy of reliance. Tregelles' principle then is, to apply external tests to the determination of the point. He sees that we have in our hands versions of the New Testament made at a period long anterior to that of our existing MSS., as also citations from the New Testament in writings of the

* It is impossible for us to name Dr. Scrivener, and that especially at a time when we are about to object to principles strenuously advocated by him, without expressing our high admiration of the services he has rendered to the Church of Christ in the department of Biblical criticism. For a long series of years he has laboured in this cause with a diligence, a faithfulness, and a conscientiousness worthy of it. The works given by him to the world, the product of the most extensive study, are models of what the critical student of Scripture has to do. That one whose services are so valuable in a department too rarely pursued should be left burdened with the cares of a remote parish in Cornwall, instead of being placed in some sphere where he would have complete leisure for what he has chosen as his life-work, seems to us a reflection upon those dignitaries and patrons of the English Church who are generally thought to have regard, in the distribution of their extensive patronage, to theological attainment.

Fathers that have come down to us from the same early age. No doubt, even here, an element of uncertainty has to be contended with. The text of versions and of citations has been affected by time as well as the text of our New Testament codices themselves. The editions of them that have been published are frequently uncritical and incorrect. We may often be as uncertain as to the readings they presented at the time when the MSS. containing them appeared, as we are with regard to the readings that we would deduce from our MSS. of the New Testament. Still, after making due allowance for these chances of error, a sufficient amount of certainty remains to enable us to decide with perfect confidence as to the manner in which a very large number of important texts were read at a date much more remote than that from which any MS. evidence has come down to us. These texts, thus determined, become with Dr. Tregelles' criteria of the value of a MS. Do its readings accord with them in the main? It is a proof that that MS. possesses an ancient text, and that it is entitled, so far at least, to speak with authority upon this point. Do they not so accord? Then there is at least no proof that its text is ancient, but rather the contrary, and it is not entitled to speak in the same tones. Dr. Tregelles would further apply this mode of dealing to versions, comparing them with our oldest MSS. and with citations from the early Fathers, as also to citations from the early Fathers, comparing them with our oldest MSS. and with versions; 'thus,' to use his own words, 'obtaining a threefold cord of credible testimony—not, be it remembered, that of witnesses arbitrarily assumed to be trustworthy, because of real or supposed antiquity, but of those valued because their internal character has been vindicated on grounds of simple induction of fact.*'

Such is the principle; it is the result of applying it that is startling. It is found as a matter of fact that by far the larger number of MSS. known, including nearly all the cursives, cannot stand the test, that a few MSS. alone can do so. After giving a number of illustrations, Dr. Tregelles says:—

'They all prove the same point—that in places in which the more valuable ancient versions (or some of them) agree in a particular reading, or in which such a reading has *distinct* patristic authority, and the mass of MSS. stand in opposition to such a lection, there are certain copies which habitually uphold the older reading.†

The conclusion is obvious. These 'certain copies,' although few in number, are better witnesses to the state of the ancient text than the mass of MSS. exhibiting different readings; and combining with them now, but for another purpose, the versions and citations by which their value was proved, it is impossible, Dr. Tregelles would urge, to resist the inference that they afford us the most correct text of the New Testament:—

'The mass of recent MSS.,' he says, 'possess no determining voice in a question what we should receive as genuine readings. We are able to take the *few* documents whose evidence is proved to be trustworthy, and safely discard from present consideration the 89-90ths, or whatever else their numerical proportion may be.*'

Or, in other words:—

'The case would be more correctly stated if it were claimed that the *united* testimony of versions, Fathers, and the oldest MSS. should be preferred to that of the mass of modern copies.†

Dr. Scrivener again starts with the assertion that the principles thus advocated by Tregelles are tantamount to the shutting out of a large portion of the evidence, a procedure in itself always objectionable, but rendered especially so in the present case by three considerations, to which he attaches great weight:—(1) That the value of our modern codices as independent witnesses is enhanced by the fact that it can be shown that they are not degenerate copies of our older MSS. (2) That there is every probability that these modern MSS. are copies of MSS. even older than the oldest that now survive. (3) That the testimony of our ancient codices is not unanimous.

'In the ordinary concerns of social life,' he says, 'one would form no favourable estimate of the impartiality of a *judge* (and such surely is the real position of a critical editor) who deemed it safe to discard unheard eighty-nine witnesses out of ninety that are tendered to him, unless indeed it were perfectly certain that the eighty-nine had no means of information except what they derived from the ninetieth; on that supposition, and on that supposition alone, could the judge's reputation for wisdom or fairness be upheld.†

Again:—

'It has never, I think, been affirmed by any one (Dr. Tregelles would not be sorry to affirm it if he could with truth) that the mass

* 'History of the Printed Text of the New Testament,' p. 150.

† Ibid. p. 148.

* 'History of the Printed Text of the New Testament,' p. 138.

† Ibid. p. 141.

† Introduction to 'Codex Augiensis,' p. 7.

of cursive documents are corrupt copies of the uncials *still extant*; the fact has scarcely been suspected in a single instance, and certainly never proved. I will again avail myself of Davidson's words, not only because they admirably express my meaning, but because his general bias is not quite in favour of the views I am advocating:—" *Ceteris paribus*," he observes, "the reading of an ancient copy is more likely to be authentic than that of a modern one. But the reading of a more modern copy may be more ancient than the reading of an ancient one. A modern copy itself may have been derived not from an extant one more ancient, but from one still more ancient no longer in existence. *And this was probably the case in not a few instances.*" No one can carefully examine the readings of cursive documents as represented in any tolerable collation, without perceiving the high probability that Davidson's account of them is true. But it is not essential to our argument that the fact of their being derived from ancient sources now lost should be *established*, though internal evidence points strongly to their being so derived; it is enough that such an origin is possible to make it at once unreasonable and unjust to shut them out from a "determining voice" (of course, jointly with others) on questions of doubtful reading.*

Again, after discussing some of the texts brought forward by Tregelles in support of his propositions, he goes on:—

"Those who have followed me through this prolonged investigation will readily anticipate my reply to Dr. Tregelles' "statement of his case," comprehended in the following emphatic words: "It is claimed that the *united* testimony of versions, Fathers, and the oldest MSS. should be preferred to that of the mass of modern copies; and further, that the character of the few ancient MSS. which agree with versions and Fathers must be such (*from that very circumstance*) as to make their general evidence the more trustworthy." Unquestionably, I rejoin, your claim is reasonable, it is irresistible. If you show us all, or nearly all, the uncials you prize as deservedly maintaining a variation from the common text which is recommended by *all* the best versions and most ancient Fathers, depend upon it we will not urge against such overwhelming testimony the mere number of the cursive copies, be they ever so unanimous, on the other side.†

To a similar purport Dr. Scrivener speaks in his latest expression of opinion on this subject:—

"No living man possessed of a tincture of scholarship would dream of setting up testimony exclusively modern against the "unanimous" voice of antiquity. The point on

which we insist, and find it so difficult to impress upon Dr. Tregelles and his allies, is briefly this—that the evidence of his "ancient authorities" is anything but unanimous; that they are perpetually at variance with each other, even if you limit the term "ancient" within the narrowest bounds.*

And once more—

"We do not place the more modern witnesses in one scale, the older in the other, and then decide *numero non pondere* which shall prevail; we advocate the use of the cursive copies principally, and indeed almost exclusively, where the ancient codices are at variance; and if, in practice, this shall be found to amount to a perpetual appeal to the younger witnesses, it is because, in nineteen cases out of twenty, the elder *will* not agree.†

From these passages the following principles of the school, represented by Dr. Scrivener, may be gathered:—

(1.) That the modern MSS. are in many particulars the representatives of an ancient text that has been handed down by them and by them alone, and that, therefore, they are to be constantly consulted.

(2.) That the propriety of an appeal to them is confirmed by the fact that we cannot examine them without seeing that they are not degenerate copies of our older MSS., but that they possess an independent character, and are marked by features peculiar to themselves.

(3.) That, notwithstanding this, ancient testimony to any reading is conclusive where it is unanimous, or nearly so; but,

(4.) That such ancient testimony is never, or very rarely, unanimous, and that, when it is not, the mass of modern MSS. ought to be called in to give final decision.

The practical result of these principles is that in almost every case where we have a contested reading we shall have to follow the modern MSS. and that the text ultimately adopted by us will differ materially from the ancient text preserved, either in any one ancient MS. or in all. We make one or two observations upon the whole question, without taking up the four principles above noticed in their order.

I.—The position assigned on Dr. Scrivener's system to the cursives is one to which they have no rightful claim. It is at once conceded that they may, in many instances, preserve an ancient and true reading that, owing to one cause or another, has little or no evidence from the ancient MSS. themselves. But the question immediately arises, how are we to know when this occurs? The

* Introduction to 'Codex Augiensis,' p. 8.

† Ibid. p. 17.

* 'Introduction to the Criticism of the New Test.,' p. 398.

† Ibid. p. 407.

mere fact that the ancients are divided, as we shall for the present suppose them to be, is no proof that the reading presented by the moderns is entitled to our acceptance. It may be, but we must have evidence of some kind to assure us that it is. That it has come down to us in a very large number of the moderns, does not by itself constitute such proof as we require. It might do so could it be shown that these moderns had, in all probability, handed down, each in its own independent way, a text once used in widely separated quarters of the world, were they in other words not only independent of our ancients, but also *independent of one another*. It is notorious, however, that this is not the fact. Their close agreement in a vast number of particulars is evidence that they must have had a common origin. On no other principle is it possible to explain that unanimity which differs so greatly from the amount of divergence exhibited by their ancient compeers. Those who advocate their claims make much of the circumstance that, long before our oldest MSS. were written, the text of the New Testament was in a state of great confusion, and that this, and not alone the carelessness with which MSS. were written, a carelessness of which our oldest MSS. display numerous and indisputable marks, is the explanation of the divergence of the latter from one another. There is no doubt that they are right. But how then is it to be explained that our modern MSS. exhibit not so much divergence as singular agreement? If they all bore *independent* witness to ancient readings, they would also bear witness to the confusion that marked ancient times, and out of which the varieties of the others arose. Why is it that they do not? There is only one answer to be given. They have sprung from a common source. Similar influences of one kind and another have made them what they are. They constitute a *group*. Even although, therefore, we allow that they may have been copied from an ancient text, of which every ancient representative has been lost, even although they may be possessed of a higher character than that of being degenerate representatives of any of the older MSS. in our hands, it is yet obvious that, in reckoning up our authorities, they must be estimated as one. They are not the 'eighty-nine witnesses out of ninety' tendered to a judge by discarding whom the judge betrays his partiality, unless it be 'perfectly certain that the eighty-nine had no means of information, except what they derived from the ninetieth.*' They are rather,

speaking generally, the ninety who have all been instructed by the same informant before they appear in court. That they are numerous adds in consequence no weight to their testimony. They are so evidently connected with one another that the thought of their *number* must be laid aside; and laid aside not only, for that it must be so here is not denied, when they are in opposition to all our old authorities, but in respect to the readings considered in themselves that are presented by them. After we have separated from their mass the few that we know to contain an ancient text, the rest can be regarded, on the most favourable supposition, as no more than witnesses to another ancient text contained in them alone.

Let us allow then, for the sake of the argument, that they are so. The great body of the cursives now form a group testifying to a particular reading about which our oldest authorities are disagreed. We urge that their relation to this disagreement is entirely different from that asserted for them by their defenders. They are only one authority, not ancient in form, but, by the supposition, and as regards the reading in question, ancient in substance. Viewed in the most favourable light they can only take rank along with our ancients, occupy the same platform, and be entitled to the same privileges as each of them. To regard them as a make-weight, that may be thrown into one of the scales of a balance held in equilibrium by our divided older MSS., is to put them in an altogether singular and anomalous position. And the anomaly is the greater when we consider that this equilibrium is not always produced by the same old MSS. being in each of two scales. One such MS. is now in one scale, now in another. * will be with B against A, C, D, when we are examining to-day. To-morrow their relative position will be altered; A will have joined B, and * will be in the scale with C and D. Thus, in Luke vi. 1, * B and L omit the word *δευτεροπρώτω*, while A, C, and D support it. In the same verse A joins * B and L in omitting the *τῶν* before *σπορίμων*, while C and D keep together, and along with * retain the article. In both examples, and looking at the older MSS. simply as old, there is a tolerably equal conflict of authorities, and the scales are filled in each case pretty much by the same weights. When we pass to the seventh verse of the same chapter things are changed. * which had gone with B and L in the first verse, now opposes them by reading *παρετήρουν* instead of *παρετηροῦντο*, the reading of A, B, D, and L; while in the same verse B also forsakes its old companions, and reads *θεπα*

* Scrivener's 'Codex Augiensis.' Introduction, p. 7.

περίσει, κ , A, D, and L reading *θεραπεύει*. In the case of the last two readings, then, the weights in our scales are altered. Upon what reasonable ground shall it be maintained that the body of our cursive MSS. shall interpose in all these cases to turn the scales one way or another, and this, though the effect will be that they will decide against B in the first mentioned, with B in the last mentioned readings? Why shall they have a right to keep out of the confusion, to look down upon it from a serene height, to wait till the perplexity, however different the causes that have produced it, is complete, and then to step in and decide the matter as they please? They ought to have been in the contest. Whatever claims they may have they have no claim to be a *Deus ex machina*, themselves free from the struggle of life, and only stooping from their throne to put an end to it with final and decisive voice. We might quite as well ask that this privilege should be reserved for κ , or for B. Either of them might, with equal justice, be set aside for a time, and, when all our other authorities, moderns included, had left us equally balanced, be brought in to make the one scale heavier than the other. It is a misapprehension of the part to be acted by critical authorities when any one of them whatever has the permanent place of peace-maker assigned to it. Yet such is practically the place given to the cursives by the school whose views we are engaged in combating. Nothing else can be meant by such words as these—'Where the oldest authorities really agree we accept their united testimony as practically conclusive;' our design is 'to employ their (the cursives) confessedly secondary evidence in those numberless instances where their elder brethren are hopelessly at variance.'*

Not only, however, is a wrong place of apparent honour thus assigned to these MSS., they are deprived, as usually happens in such a case, of the real regard that may be due to them. Why should their evidence be called 'secondary' as if it were always and necessarily so? Why should any one not 'deem it safe, except perhaps in very exceptional instances, to adopt as true a reading of the cursives, for which but slender ancient authority, or none, can be produced?† It is difficult to understand clearly what is meant by 'secondary evidence,' or why this particular evidence should be so called. If the cursives give evidence at all

they must give it as primary evidence; and surely the claim put forth on their behalf, that they are independent witnesses to an ancient text, implies that their evidence is primary. Their friends too are well aware that even the most zealous defenders of the ancients draw a distinction between some of the cursives and others, rejecting no doubt the greater number, but accepting a few as hardly less valuable than our oldest uncials. Is this distinction to be disallowed? Are these few to be cast back into the great mass from which they have been separated, and to be spoken of as only able to give 'secondary evidence'? What is allowed to these may, for aught we know in the first instance, be the just privilege of all, and to treat them therefore at once as 'secondary' is to them an injustice. Again, we fail to see the principle upon which defenders of the cursives say that it is unsafe to accept a reading of theirs supported by 'slender ancient authority or none.' It is questionable whether, before having submitted the cursives to a trial of which we have yet to speak, they have any right to say this. It often happens that, when we deal with the ancient MSS. alone, the verdict of a very slender minority is entitled to preference. Surely, if in such a case the mass of cursives can be thrown into the scale the argument is at least strengthened. But, whether it be so or not, why should this statement come from the quarter from which we find it coming? There it ought to be held that cursives, representing older MSS. that have perished, are always entitled to come forward and contest the ground with the older that survive.

There seems to be a secret consciousness that they cannot do this. Hence the creating for them of that unsatisfactory position into which they are put, that of arbitrating between contending parties. It is designed to do them honour when they are thus told that they shall have a casting vote in the case of a division, but it does not affect the end. The true honour is to allow them to give their voice while the arguments on either side are led, so that they may if possible prevent that equality of division which it is always desirable to avoid.

II.—The cursive MSS. upon this system escape a trial to which we are bound to subject every MS., whether ancient or modern, before fixing the value to be assigned to it. There is an impression in the minds of many that the defenders of the ancient MSS. cling to them because they are ancient, and it is astonishing how hard it seems to be to dissipate this illusion. Even Mr. Burgon yields to it. When, in his work on 'The Last Twelve

* Scrivener, 'Introduction to the Criticism of the New Test.' p. 399.

† Ibid. p. 407.

Verses of St. Mark,' he imagines his 'unprejudiced student' weighing the merits of Codices *A* and *B*, and being willing to suspend his judgment of condemnation, it is upon the ground that 'the two oldest copies of the Gospels in existence are entitled to great reverence *because* of their high antiquity. They must be allowed a most patient, most unprejudiced, most respectful, nay, a most indulgent hearing;' and then he adds, 'But when all this has been freely accorded, on no intelligible principle can more be claimed for any two MSS. in the world,' as if more were asked! Again, denouncing what he terms 'the co-ordinate primacy, claimed for Codex *B* and Codex *A*, he exclaims, 'The text of the sacred deposit is far too precious a thing to be sacrificed to an irrational, or at least a superstitious devotion to two MSS., simply because they may possibly be older by a hundred years than any other we possess.*' There cannot be a greater mistake than the idea given utterance to in such words. The value of these MSS. is not upheld because they are ancient, but because they are good. And what is a good MS.? To answer, an ancient one and the more ancient the better, is so small a part of the reply that one may well hesitate before saying so at all. It is no doubt true that, looking only at the ordinary chances of corruption, it is likely that a MS. of the fourth century will have suffered less than one of the tenth or eleventh. It is the product of fewer transcriptions, and we may therefore infer that it has been exposed to fewer alterations. But we are met here by the fact formerly alluded to, that at a date older than the oldest of our MSS. the text was notoriously uncertain and corrupt. Mere antiquity, therefore, does not necessarily make a good MS. It may have been copied from a bad one. It may have been carelessly copied. Something more than antiquity is necessary to make it good, and that is, that its readings be good. What are good readings, again, can only be determined by taking into consideration partly the external evidence supplied by MSS., versions, and citations, where that evidence is tolerably unanimous, and partly internal criteria, such as a good meaning, conformity to the general mode of expression adopted by the writer, accordance with his known style of thought, together with various others that force themselves upon the critic in the prosecution of his task. From these sources combined we learn that in the earliest age of Christianity a particular number of texts were read in a particular way. We

turn to our MSS., and if they present these readings, and at the same time no positive evidence against themselves, they are good; good, however, not because they may be ancient, but because, taking into account all the varied evidence possessed by us, we find that they meet the demands of that evidence, and by their correspondence with it establish their claim on our regard. Nor, let it be noted, are they only good for these particular texts, they are generally good. For surely it will not be denied that proved value in regard to a number of texts, and these characteristic ones, is a fair test of the value of a MS. in general. Proved veracity in a witness upon many points is a reason not only why we should believe him upon these points, but why we should accept him as a generally credible witness. Let us refuse to acknowledge this principle, and an important law of evidence is overthrown.

It cannot therefore be too strongly urged upon those who look with suspicion upon the partiality shown by Dr. Tregelles, for example; to ancient MSS., and who consider this an unreasonable one-sidedness, that the preference rests in but an extremely small degree upon the fact that these MSS. are ancient. They happen to be so, but the reason why they are preferred is that, in the light of all the evidence possessed by us as to the Antienicene text of Scripture they make a nearer approach to the original text than is made by the most of those later than themselves. Accordingly, there are cursives, such as 1, 33, 69, that, because they stand nearly the same tests as these, are held to be of nearly equal value; that is, three MSS. of the tenth, the eleventh, and the fourteenth centuries respectively are consulted with nearly the same confidence as those of the fourth and fifth.

Things being so with regard to the oldest MSS., it will surely be allowed that the tests applied to them must in fairness be applied also to the moderns. If age alone does not make a good MS. neither does youth. Nor would even the fact of a hundred witnesses coming forward to prove a point save us from the necessity of investigating in each particular case whether or not the witness be a good one. If we have reason to believe that the hundred are all good certainly their evidence ought to be, and would by most men be held to be, conclusive on the point at issue. But this 'reason to believe' is what we must ask. Their general credibility must be tried by tests which every judge applies. If they stand the tests they have a just claim to be listened to. If they do not, they must be rejected, however numerous. Nor can the

* 'The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark,' pp. 72, 76.

admission of the fact that our modern MSS. are not bad copies of our present ancients, or that they *may* represent a MS. of an earlier age better than any of the latter now existing, save them from the trial to which their more ancient brethren were exposed. They may, as compared with the old uncials, have individual character, they may represent a parentage of remote antiquity. These things are possible. But it is also possible that they may be copies of bad old uncials, that their own character, even though individual, may be bad. We urge only that they must be tested. If they stand the test, the mere fact of their being modern does not injure their value. It may be their misfortune that they were born in a late age, but it is not their fault. If they can establish their claims to be good, let them take their places as witnesses whose evidence may counterbalance that of any witnesses however old. If they cannot do so let them be removed.

Unless these principles be admitted, the whole science of which we speak becomes mere empiricism. We shall be driven about on a sea of uncertainties without either compass or rudder. A vague internal sentiment as to what is right or what is wrong will, in innumerable instances, be our only guide, and we shall end in constructing a text which, however it may approve itself to our

feeling of what ought to be, will have the most trustworthy evidence of antiquity against it. Again, therefore, we must urge that before any modern MS. is available as an important authority in the formation of the New Testament text, it must be tested in exactly the same way as the older are. When the advocates of the cursives admit this, we shall acknowledge ourselves to be at one with them. They have not done it yet, and why they have not done it is not explained.

III.—The want of unanimity in our older MSS. is so stated by the school of which we speak, as to convey an exaggerated and therefore false impression. That these MSS. do not keep continuously together is most certain, but that they are perpetually changing about in such a way as to leave us totally uncertain what reading to adopt, and to necessitate the bringing in of the mass of the cursives in order to render a decision possible, is not a correct statement of the case. We take a chapter of the Gospels to test the accuracy of this statement, and we choose at random the seventeenth chapter of the Gospel of St. John. According to Scrivener's last edition of his Greek Testament, the following readings in that chapter are disputed. The evidence is from Tischendorf, and we select only what is necessary for our purpose* :—

	On one side.	On other side.
v. 1. Omit or insert <i>ὁ</i> before <i>Ἰησοῦς</i>	✱ B	A C D L (curs.)
ἑπάραις or ἐπῆρε	✱ B C* D L	A C* (curs.)
„ Omit or insert <i>καί</i>	✱ B C* D L	A C* (curs.)
ἴνα or ἵνα καί	✱ A B C* D	C* L (curs.)
„ Omit or insert <i>σου</i>	✱ B C*	A C* D Gr. L (curs.)
v. 3. γινώσκωσιν or -ουσιν	✱ B C	(curs.) A D L
v. 4. τελειώσας or ἱτελ	✱ A B C L	D (curs.)
v. 6. ἔδωκας or δίδωκός	✱ A B D	C L (curs.)
καὶ ἔμοι or καὶ μοι	✱ C D L	(curs.) B
„ ἔδωκας or δέδωκας	✱ A B D L	C (curs.)
„ τετήρηκαν or -ασι	✱ B D L	A C (curs.)
v. 7. δέδωκας or ἔδωκας	✱ C D L	(curs.) A B
„ εἰσὶν or ἔστιν	✱ B C L	A D
v. 8. ἔδωκας or δέδωκας	✱ A B C D	✱ L (curs.)
„ Insert or omit <i>καὶ ἐγνώσαν</i>	✱ C B C L	(curs.) ✱ A D ;
v. 11. οὐκέτι or οὐκ ἐτι	Evidence does not apply.	
οὗτοι or αὐτοὶ	CD Gr. L	(curs.) ✱ B
καὶ γὰρ or καὶ ἐγὼ	✱ B C* D L	A C* (curs.)
„ ᾧ or οὗς	✱ B C L	(most curs.) D* (curs.)
„ καθὼς or καθὼς καὶ	✱ A B C* D L	B* (curs.)
v. 12. Omit or insert <i>ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ</i>	✱ B C* D L	A C* (curs.)
„ ᾧ or οὗς	✱ B C* L	A C* D (curs.)
„ Insert or omit <i>καὶ</i> before <i>ἐφύλαξα</i>	✱ B C* L	A C* D Gr. (curs.)
v. 13. αὐτοῖς or αὐτοῖς	✱ A B	C* D L (curs.)
v. 16. οὐκ εἰμί before or after <i>ε. τ. κ.</i>	✱ A B C D L	(curs.)
v. 17. Omit or insert <i>σου</i>	✱ A B C* D	✱ C* (curs.)
v. 19. Insert or omit <i>ἐγὼ</i>	✱ B C D L	(curs.) ✱ A
„ ὧσιν before or after <i>καὶ αὐτοὶ</i>	✱ A B C* D L	C* (curs.)
v. 20. πιστευόντων or πιστευουσύντων	✱ A B C D* Gr. L	(most curs.) D* (curs.)
v. 21. πᾶτερ or πατὴρ	✱ A C L	(curs.) B D
„ Omit or insert <i>ἐν</i>	✱ B C* D	✱ A C L (curs.)
„ πιστεύῃ or -ῃ	✱ B C*	✱ A C* D L (curs.)

* The evidence in the first column of authorities belongs to the first alternative mentioned in the left-hand column. (Curs.) denotes that the mass of the cursives go with the MSS. named.

v. 22. <i>καὶ</i> or <i>καὶ ἐγὼ</i>	ⲛ B C* D	A C*	(curs.)
„ <i>δέδωκας</i> or <i>ἔδωκ</i>	ⲛ B C L	A D	
„ Omit or insert <i>ἐσμεν</i>	(ⲛ*) B C* D L	ⲛ* A C*	(curs.)
v. 23. Omit or insert <i>καὶ</i> before <i>ἰνα</i>	B C D L	A	(curs.)
v. 24. <i>πάτερ</i> or <i>πατήρ</i>	ⲛ C D L	A B	
„ <i>ὁ</i> or <i>οὗς</i>	ⲛ B D	A C L	(curs.)
„ <i>δέδωκας</i> or <i>ἔδωκ</i>	ⲛ B C D L	A	(curs.)
„ <i>δέδωκας</i> or <i>ἔδωκ</i>	ⲛ A C D L	(many curs.) B	(many curs.)
v. 25. <i>πάτερ</i> or <i>πατήρ</i>	ⲛ C D	(curs.) A B	

A glance at this table will show better than any mere numbering of times that certain MSS. are found together, the correctness of our statement that the ancient MSS. are not so hopelessly at variance after all. Yet it may be just worth noticing that the two codices, whose supremacy the defenders of the cursives are chiefly desirous to overthrow, ⲛ and B, go together twenty-eight times, and oppose each other only eleven times out of thirty-nine; that D opposes ⲛ and B when combined only nine times; that L opposes the same combination nine times, and joins ⲛ and B, or B alone where ⲛ is not available for our purpose, nineteen times. Only in four various readings out of forty-one in all, in the first mentioned in verse 8,

the second in verse 21, the first in verse 24, and that of verse 25, does it seem that there would be the slightest reason to call in the cursives, because the ancient evidence was pretty equally divided; and it is somewhat curious to mark that in all the four they would decide with ⲛ against B.

If the illustration thus afforded of the point before us is not enough, we may take even the cases selected by Dr. Scrivener in the Introduction to his 'Codex Augiensis' to prove the opposite. In order, however, to form a proper judgment as to their effect, it will be necessary to tabulate them, and, inasmuch as we are speaking of MSS. alone, to note only the readings of the leading uncials:—

	On one side.	On other side.
Mark iii. 29. <i>ἀμαρτήματος</i> or <i>κρίσεως</i>	ⲛ B L C* vid. D	A C* (curs.)
„ iv. 12. Omit or insert <i>τὰ ἀμαρτήματα</i>	ⲛ B C L	A D (curs.)
„ iv. 24. Omit or insert <i>τοῖς ἀκούουσιν</i>	ⲛ B C D L	A (curs.)
„ x. 21. Omit or insert <i>ἄρας τὸν στανρόν</i>	ⲛ B C D	A (curs.)
„ xii. 4. Omit or insert <i>λιθοβολήσαντες</i>	ⲛ B D L	A C (curs.)
„ xii. 23. Omit or insert <i>ὅταν ἀναστῶσιν</i>	ⲛ B C D L	A (curs.)
„ xiii. 14. Omit or insert <i>τὸ ρηθὲν ὑπὸ Δαυιδ τοῦ προφῆτου</i>	ⲛ B D L	A (curs.)

Such are Dr. Scrivener's examples adduced to illustrate, *inter alia*, the want of harmony among our ancient MSS., and the propriety therefore of making our appeal to the great mass of the cursives. We leave them, separated from the many other facts with which, for other purposes, they are associated in his pages, to make their own impression on our readers. If they have any acquaintance with MSS., they will certainly allow that the amount of harmony is far greater than could have been expected. Through almost the whole of the seventeenth chapter of St. John, and of these seven passages from St. Mark, the text can be easily determined without looking at the cursives. There is no such want of unanimity as to make it necessary to call them in. If they are to be called in at all, and we fully allow that they ought to be so, it must be for a purpose totally different from that assigned them by their ablest defender. It must not be to decide a controversy among ancient authorities that cannot be settled

without them—for here such a controversy scarcely exists—but to take their place as an independent group of witnesses, who shall prove as others do their claim to be heard, and shall then have their evidence weighed as a constituent part of the proceedings.

In reality, however, this whole scheme of counting the number of ancient witnesses on either side of a disputed reading, and then bringing in the modern MSS. to decide the matter where there is disagreement, proceeds upon a false idea of the function of the Biblical critic. That function is not to count heads in opposing groups. It is to inquire, as far as opportunity allows, into the history of each separate reading. He has a certain phenomenon before him, and he has to account for it. He has not merely to say, ⲛ, B, D, and L read so and so; A and C read otherwise; four are better than two; I decide for the former. He has, if possible, to explain how the variety arose. He has to test the value of his MSS., not only in general, but in reference to the par-

ticular part of the New Testament, a text of which he may be examining. He has to weigh the evidence in the light of many considerations applicable to each MS., even to each section of a MS., alone; and to find, as far as he can, the key of all existing variations. That key is the reading he will then adopt. Hence it is that he will often follow three against four, two against five, or even sometimes one against six, a proceeding that would be totally illegitimate except upon such a wide basis of considerations as that now referred to, yet a proceeding that is of the very essence of all intelligent criticism.

IV.—Too much importance is attached, upon the system we are examining, to the fact that the modern MSS. are not degenerate descendants of our present uncials. Those who depend mainly on the latter are not bound to show that they are. There is indeed one thing that they ought to be able to show, not perfectly, because the best text that can be formed is only an approximation to the original text, but imperfectly and in measure, that the cursives are the degenerate descendants of the *text finally adopted by them*. If this text be true they must be so; and to show *how* they are so, to exhibit the process by which the degeneracy took place, to explain in what manner they have come to be what they are, is like the converse operation by which we test the correctness of an arithmetical account. In so far as we can show this we have a fresh proof that we are right, and it often can be shown. To return, for example, to the seventeenth chapter of St. John. In verse 1, the mass of cursives insert *ὁ* before *Ἰησοῦς*, owing to the constant tendency of scribes to completeness and definiteness of statement. *Ἐπάρας εἶπεν* is changed into *ἐπῆρε καὶ εἶπεν* under the influence of the immediately preceding *ἐλάλησεν*. The scribe has the one aorist in his mind, and he naturally follows it up with the other. In the same verse a *καὶ* slips in easily after *ἵνα*, from the impression that the sentence terminated with *σε*, and for the purpose of making the second clause balance that going immediately before. *Σου* again is added after *υἱός*, because in the preceding clause it is *σου τὸν υἱόν* of whom we read. In verse 4, *ἐτελειώσα* is substituted for *τελειώσας*, under the influence of the previous *ἐδόξασα*. Twice in verse 6, in verse 7, in verse 8, in verse 22, and twice in verse 24, *ἔδωκας* is changed into *δέδωκας*, because in verse 5, where the Father's giving to the Son is first mentioned, *δέδωκα* is the form used, and that form naturally remains upon the mind of the scribe, while the impression

of it is deepened each successive time he uses it. The substitution of *ἐστίν* for *ἔστιν*, in verse 7, and of *οὗς* for *ὧν* in verse 11, though most cursives here give the latter reading, requires no remark. The change of order in verse 16 at once explains itself. The *ἐν*, inserted before *ῶσιν* in verse 21, is obviously a repetition of the *ἐν* undisputed in the first clause; and in verse 20, the substitution of *πιστευσόντων* for *πιστευνόντων* is so natural, that it is difficult to see how it could have been avoided. Remarks of a similar kind will apply to the passages formerly selected from St. Mark, and they ought more or less to apply to all passages where the reading recommended by the cursives is different from that finally adopted by us. We have no interest therefore in showing that these cursives are bad copies of our older MSS. It is admitted that they are not. If we can establish that they are bad copies of the *original text*, and can give a probable explanation of the mode of their decline from it, nothing more can be reasonably required.

Lastly, we must ask our readers seriously to consider what will be the effect of putting the great mass of the later MSS. of the New Testament in the position claimed for them on the system we have been examining—that is, not the position of independent witnesses, but of arbiters between what are spoken of as hopelessly divided ancients. We have shown indeed that these ancients are not so hopelessly divided as is alleged. But that they are almost always to some extent divided is unquestionable. If, therefore, we are in such cases to resort to the moderns as our guides out of otherwise hopeless difficulties, what will be the result? The words of Dr. Scrivener, already quoted, are an instructive answer:—‘We advocate the use of the cursive copies principally, and indeed almost exclusively, where the ancient codices are at variance; and if, in practice, this shall be found to amount to a perpetual appeal to the younger witnesses, it is because in nineteen cases out of twenty the elder *will not agree*.’* That is, in nineteen cases out of twenty we shall have to follow the cursive text. There is no exaggeration in such an expectation, if the principle that leads to it be once admitted. Out of the forty-one cases that we have had before us from the Gospel of St. John, there are but nine where the cursives read with our chief ancient witnesses or with a considerable proportion of them. In the seven cases from the Gospel of St. Mark there is not one. It

* ‘Introduction to the Criticism of the New Test.,’ p. 407.

is always so. Let the inquirer take the trouble to go through the evidence for the different readings of one chapter in any good critical edition of the New Testament, and he will at once satisfy himself of the fact. There is a certain amount of division among our ancient authorities. The cursives are generally against the majority in number, still more against the majority in proved character and weight. Let us follow them, and we shall certainly vindicate the *Textus Receptus*, but we have no hesitation in saying that we shall lose innumerable readings more important, more venerable, more divine. We shall lose readings that, if we know anything at all upon the subject, we know to have been used in early times, before the corruption of the text became excessive, over the whole or nearly the whole Church of Christ. We shall lose readings that can be shown, like those noticed in the early part of this paper not one of which would be left, to be of the highest value for our correct estimate of the word, and our proper understanding of the will, of God. No doubt, upon the system that places its main dependence upon ancient MSS., we shall lose some valuable passages too, passages that have wrought their way into the inmost heart of Christendom, taken the deepest hold of its convictions, been fruitful to it both of instruction and of comfort; passages also that we would fain keep if we could because, though not strictly a part of God's revealed will, they perfectly harmonize with it. On either side there is some loss, on either some gain; but how anyone who has studied the subject should not see that in the one case the loss immeasurably preponderates over the gain, in the other the gain over the loss, we are wholly unable to discover.

ART. VII.—*Mr. Bright's Return to the Ministry.*

THE chief event of the quarter, in relation to home politics, is the return of Mr. Bright to public life. The bare rumour of such a probability proved powerful enough to suspend the disintegration of the Liberal party, and acted like a spell upon the bellicose intentions of the League. But the Tory press professed to regard it in quite another light. 'The Quaker was to be revived as an afterpiece.' As the time approached for Mr. Bright himself to speak, the curiosity and expectation of the public became intense. The silly season of journalists was

at its height, and they made themselves especially busy with the event. With a total forgetfulness of the character of the man whose career, past and future, they were discussing, they lectured, admonished, and finally extolled him to the skies. His moderation, his prudence, his sagacious statesmanship, were praised beforehand. They were sure that he would never lend himself to such and such views. They felt certain that he would say this, and confident that he would never say that. His eulogists appeared to take for granted that whatever else he did he would efface himself. At last the immense meeting was held, and a system of telegraphy unparalleled in the history of reporting was prepared to flash the words of moderation and prudence to every part of the United Kingdom. When Mr. Bright spoke he was clear, direct, full of vigour and as Radical as ever. The grand echoes of his voice had scarcely died away before the whole tribe of counsellors and eulogists began to curse him to his face. Suddenly the discovery was made by one of them that the consternation was unfounded, and that the speech had nothing in it after all.

Let us see how far this is true. Mr. Bright had hardly been on his legs five minutes before he administered a back-hander to the Establishment, and, as some people thought, to the Premier as well. The member for Birmingham had been present during the last debate on Mr. Miall's motion, and winced visibly when he heard Mr. Gladstone assert, in half-repentant tones, that thought was less free in Ireland than it had been before the Church was disestablished. There was a rush of exultation in the way in which Mr. Bright leapt back to this subject after the enforced silence of four years. It was the uppermost topic in his mind, and the first upon his tongue. Speaking of the great principles which, during the last five years, had been adopted and fixed irrevocably in the policy and legislation of England by consent of Parliament and the acknowledged consent of the country, he named first those which the Irish Church Act has established, viz., that the State has the right of appropriating to a large extent the property of a political church, and of removing its bishops from the House of Lords. With special reference, as it seems to us, to what fell from Mr. Gladstone, he added: 'At this moment we see in Ireland a Protestant Episcopal Church in perfectly good health, and endeavouring honestly to free itself from certain errors and, as it thinks, superstitions, which it fancied it had been rid of three hundred years ago.' Of course

the inference from all this is obvious. Mr. Bright was speaking, not merely historically, but with a direct reference to the future. We may be reminded, doubtless, that he abstained from any expression of opinion as to whether or not the time has come for the application of these principles to the 'political institution' which exists in this country. But he abstained equally from any attempt to put the question aside, or to speak of its solution as visionary or impracticable. Nor did he content himself with pointing out the importance and relevancy of the Irish precedent. He took care to indicate the side upon which the Church as a State Church is most vulnerable. He condemned the sale of livings as an odious scandal, thus striking at the whole system of patronage upon which the political Church is built. In the course of the debate upon Mr. Hughes's motion for a Royal Commission to inquire into the revenues of the Church, last July, facts were disclosed which it is not at all unlikely that Mr. Bright had in his mind when he addressed himself to this subject. It was shown on that occasion that probably no less than one-fourteenth of the whole saleable patronage of the Church is in the market at this moment; that during the year four parish churches had been offered for sale in Liverpool alone; that the advertisements which crowd the columns of ecclesiastical newspapers, and the lists of clerical agents to which they refer, describe this species of property with a minuteness of detail which leaves nothing to be desired except all mention of the sacred responsibilities of the purchaser; and that men of station, not only in the State but in the Church, are not ashamed to fling the cure of souls as a thing to be scrambled for by spiritual speculators. Take for example the following items, which are extracted from actual advertisements: 'Good society and no squire,' 'almost a sinecure, single service, and no school,' 'net income £800, population 1,740, duty only on every alternate Sunday,' 'hunting, fishing, shooting, and a rookery,' 'population 1,800, annual value £1,800, incumbent (the advertiser) aged fifty-eight, but he is, it is believed, in a very bad state of health.' When items such as these are permitted constantly to meet the public eye; when the Archdeacon of Sudbury is found selling the advowson of Yalding, 'net income, say £1,950, incumbent seventy-two, price £13,000,' and the Earl of Shrewsbury, President of the Free and Open Church Association, remarks in public, that 'it is the duty of churchmen to endeavour to leave Mr. Miall and his friends

no tangible ground for attacks upon the Church;' and then offers the next presentation of Burghfield, 'with a capital rectory-house, glebe, and tithe-rent charge amounting to about £1,120 per annum;' when Dodworth and Falmouth are put up at the auction mart both on the same Ash-Wednesday with no more ceremony than a cellar of wines, what are we to think of a great spiritual community which cherishes these abuses, and yet pretends to represent the religious feeling of the nation? 'Lay patronage,' exclaims Mr. Beresford Hope, 'has created a very desirable class of clergymen, unique, so far as I am able to ascertain, among the Christian communities of the world, who are at once men of the world and men of the Church;' and thus following, he might have added, with an unique interval, the footsteps of the apostles whose successors they claim to be. There was a delicate irony in the exhortation which Mr. Bright addressed to the Church. He trusted that 'the time would come when the members of that Church would regard the purchase of livings in the light in which it is regarded by all persons outside and unconnected with that Church.' He omitted to mention what is to be done when this happy revulsion of feeling takes place. At present, however, we are far enough from anything of the kind. When Lord Chief Justice Coleridge was discussing the Benefices Bill, which was brought in by Mr. Cross, he regretted—

— 'That his professional experience did not permit him altogether to endorse the statement of the hon. member for Cambridge University with regard to the increased sense of responsibility existing among lay patrons. He was unable to say that the sale of benefices and the general immorality of those concerned in disposing of them was diminishing, or their morality increasing. Day by day cases came before him which he should have believed were fictitious had he not been obliged upon the evidence to believe them true.'

Nor would the passing of the Act for the sale of the Lord Chancellor's livings argue any great sensitiveness of the public conscience in this respect. The fact is, that the immemorial usage of the Church has seared the public conscience, and lowered the whole national conception of religion. But let us suppose that the public conscience were not seared, and that the Church were really anxious to free herself from this prodigious disgrace, is there any one who can inform us how this is to be done? When you have disendowed the Church in England, as you have disendowed her in Ireland, you will be in a position to satisfy the pecuniary

claims of patrons. But until you do this, you are powerless. Mr. Gladstone is once more Chancellor of the Exchequer. Is he prepared to ask the House to vote ten millions sterling, in order that he may abolish 'purchase in the Church'? Church reformers have taxed their ingenuity in vain in the hope of finding some means of escape from a practice which, as Mr. Bright truly observes, 'would not be tolerated in any other branch of the public service.' Their proposals are utterly futile. The Bishop of Exeter wishes to throw the burthen of the redemption of patronage upon the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; in other words, to satisfy the demands of rich patrons out of funds set apart mainly for the relief of poor districts. Mr. Hughes wishes to prohibit the sale of next presentations. What does he find in the history of patronage to justify the belief that such a prohibitory law would operate? What so easy as to sell the advowson, with a verbal agreement that it should be handed back or resold the moment after the desired appointment had been made? Shrewd Mr. Henley scatters all such hopes to the winds. 'If A had got something to sell,' he says, 'and B wanted to buy it, the thing would somehow be passed from one man to another, in spite of any Act of Parliament of that kind.' The Church is in this unhappy position: her existence as a State Church is bound up with the existence of a system which must perish. The Siamese twins cannot be parted. The poison which flows from the diseased incorporate life is ultimately fatal, yet the knife kills.

It is impossible that Mr. Bright should address his constituents after the lapse of more than four years and make no mention of the ballot, of the abolition of purchase, of our great arbitration case with the United States, and of the ever-rising question of the county franchises. The vast body of working men before him would naturally expect, also, that he should advert to the attempts which have been made to cripple the freedom of labour in the interests of employers, and they were not disappointed. He touched upon all these points in passing, and upon the extravagance of our public expenditure as well. Perhaps it would have been desirable if he had been a little more explicit and emphatic in dealing with the last. The country cannot forget that in 1869 he spoke of our expenditure in terms like these:—

'Rely upon it, that so long as Parliament exacts from the industry of the people £70,000,000 a year, there is no power on earth that can raise your poor and suffering population from its present position. Let me tell

you this—I say it as a member of this administration which is just formed, and I tell you nothing here that is a secret, as you know,—that no Government is deserving of the confidence and support of the people of this country which cannot carry on the administration of the country in a manner consistent with the dignity and the security of the nation for a smaller sum than £70,000,000 a year.'

There is probably no question upon which the Gladstone administration has so thoroughly disappointed public expectation as upon this. It came into office with the loudest professions of economy. Retrenchment was the *cheval-de-bataille* upon which Mr. Gladstone rode through his campaign in South Lancashire. He ousted the preceding administration to the cry that it had been lavish and spendthrift, and yet at the first access of one of those paroxysms of folly to which the feebleness of the British public is periodically liable, he made the paroxysm his own, and at one bound raised the army estimates by a sum identical with that which it cost Mr. Disraeli two years of prodigality to spread over the whole area of national expense. It is in vain for Mr. Bright to talk about a free breakfast table, and to hint at the abolition of income tax, so long as we persist in keeping on foot a huge force of regulars, militiamen, and volunteers as a protection against impossible invasions; and it is well that we should all understand the price which we pay for the maintenance of a costly bugbear. The probable surplus of revenue is such that a moderate reduction of our forces would enable the Chancellor of the Exchequer to sweep away the income tax and the sugar duties as well; and if there is any part of the policy of the Government which demands an apology at the hands of the apostle of retrenchment, it would seem to be the flagrant violation of those promises which, with so much flourish and ostentation, they inscribed upon their flag.

But in all probability Mr. Bright felt that he stood before the public less as the apologist of the administration than as the guarantee of better things to come. At all events, when he came to deal with what was evidently intended to be the main topic of his speech, his language was dictated by no overweening tenderness for the policy of those with whose political fortunes he had once more united his own. The boldness of his denunciation of the Education Act left nothing to be desired. After clearing himself from responsibility on the ground that while that measure was in course of preparation he was little more than a nominal member of the Cabinet, he exposed the

danger of legislating upon a question of this magnitude without the guidance of an enlightened public opinion. It has always seemed to us as though the projectors of the Education Act were in a hurry to seize a base of operations which they feared might be disputed if it were not promptly occupied in force. It is difficult otherwise to explain the urgency with which a second first-class measure was pressed through a House already groaning with the effect of digesting the novel principles and complex details of the Irish Land Bill. Mr. Forster, the sinister influence of whose recent speech at Liverpool was probably felt at Exeter, himself bears witness to the panic which existed in his own mind. 'It was necessary without a moment's delay that we should set to work to provide a national system of education.' Now there was no such necessity. For instant legislation there was no public pressure whatever. It is true that an Education Act was required, and that the whole nation was looking forward to it. But the question had as yet passed through no portion of the process which eventuates in sound legislation. It was still in the hands of doctrinaires. The hustings and the platform knew nothing of it except the fact that it must be discussed. The class which beyond all others were interested in its right solution, found themselves for the first time within the pale of the Constitution and were still rubbing their eyes at the novelty of the spectacle around them. In addition to all this, a juncture at which the public mind was surcharged with other topics was selected as that at which to launch a subject of unrivalled difficulty, and demanding for its consideration the amplest leisure and the utmost caution. This is why the 25th Clause, as Mr. Forster says, 'was passed so quietly.' Well, finding Mr. Forster's mind in the state of panic which he has described, the denominationalists by whom he was surrounded, and who have never ceased from that time to this to buzz about him like hungry flies, had no great difficulty in persuading him to build with anything which he found upon the spot, 'wood, hay, stubble.' The ground was encumbered by the existence of a denominational system, which for most of the real purposes of education had proved itself to be a failure. The number of children who emerged from under this system with an education which deserved the name of national was ludicrously small. The reason was obvious. Education was regarded by its promoters as the vehicle of dogma. When Mr. Lowe stepped in with his revised code and demanded something more in return for the State grants, the anger of the

clergy was intense; but how completely they remained masters of the situation is proved by the fact that so recently as 1871 only one child in forty was able to pass the reading examination in what was then Class VI.—that is, to read an ordinary paragraph in the newspaper. Yet it was this comparatively worthless system of education which Mr. Forster erected into a national one, in order to stave off the political peril of an uneducated electorate.

'The fault of the bill is, in my mind,' said Mr. Bright, 'that it extended and confirmed the system which, in point of fact, it ought to have superseded.' And he went on to show that a national system of instruction based upon denominational effort must not only fail of accomplishing its assumed object, but that in a country in which the organization of the Church is so perfect and so powerful, it must practically become a system over which the Church will exercise supreme control. For the petty concessions which were made to Nonconformist opinion during the passing of the measure, were purchased by an enormous increase of the grants, and when this augmentation was once secured, together with plenty of time to plant new schools, the victory of the Church was complete, and the canonization of Mr. Forster commenced. It is difficult, in spite of all which he has said to the contrary, to doubt the propriety of that canonization. In modern times the Church has had no such benefactor. He has crowned that educational organization of the priesthood over which a recent writer in the *Quarterly* exults, and with the very best intentions has stunted, perhaps for many years, the education of his countrymen. And his whole speech, so far as he intended it to be the justification of this fundamental policy of his, was one long, adroit, and eloquent begging of the question. For the alternative of denominational education is not that children should be suffered to grow up without the opportunity of religious instruction. The question is not, shall religion be taught, but by whom? At an enormous public expense the whole country has been covered with a religious net-work, presided over by persons whose sacred duty it is to become 'fishers of men.' The free churches are toiling everywhere with the same object. The land is full of pulpits and Sunday-schools, nor has it ever been contended that day-schools should afford no facilities to those who are the authorized expounders of the Christian faith. But the clergy are not satisfied unless they can post an unordained curate, under the title of schoolmaster, in every parish, and so flood

us with catechisms at the public cost. But perhaps the absurdities of those who defend a national denominational system of education have reached a climax in Mr. Forster's assertion that without a direct reference to Scripture we cannot teach a child to speak the truth. Let us suppose the worst. Let us imagine all the agencies to which we have referred to have become extinct. When we are dealing with a principle which is sanctioned by the public conscience, by the law, and by the universal practice of everybody who does not aspire to be a blackguard, it is not necessary to appeal to the personal example of good men like Abraham, Moses, or David, which might possibly be found to be on the other side.

But Mr. Bright's objections to the Education Act were not confined to the principle of 'educating through the sects.' The mode of electing school boards was condemned by him with equal emphasis. The question of religious education is left to the school boards. As a necessary consequence they became the arena of sectarian conflicts while, through the unnatural agency of the cumulative vote, they are crowded with bigots and crotcheteers. Mr. Forster thinks that he has found a new argument for his devices in the assertion of Mr. Jowett, that in no instance had parents objected to the religious teaching given by the Leeds School Board. 'Parents,' adds Mr. Forster, 'they might take it for granted, from this fact, did not feel much of the religious difficulty.' Yet it is in the name of this religious difficulty, as felt by parents, that he maintains in the face of vehement opposition the 25th Clause. Mr. Bright, on the other hand, advocates its repeal, and hints that he has discovered the means of meeting every possible objection to such a course. We gather from Mr. Stansfeld's recent speech at Halifax, that the Cabinet has decided upon the adoption of some such expedient; but no one knows better than Mr. Bright or Mr. Stansfeld that the repeal of this obnoxious clause cannot end the strife. A direct and special tax, when it is levied for purposes which we disapprove, is always more odious than one which is disguised in the general demands of the Exchequer, and therefore is more stoutly resisted. But the Nonconformists' repugnance to the Education Act, apart from their objection on educational grounds, is based upon the fact that it has brought about a vast re-endowment of the Church; and whether that endowment proceeds from the national exchequer, or comes directly out of the purses of the ratepayers, in principle the objection is the same. In proportion, therefore, as the

whole question of national education becomes better understood throughout the country, we may expect to see that re-consideration of the Act which Mr. Bright foretells, more and more urgently forced upon Parliament in spite of the repeal of the 25th Clause, or any other attempt to mitigate or disguise the injustice and the feebleness which are inherent in the measure itself.

When Mr. Bright had launched his protest against the Education Act, the chief topic which remained for him to handle was that of the land. 'What the agricultural class in this country requires,' he said, 'is, that the land should be made absolutely free;' and in a letter which he addressed subsequently to Mr. Sanders, of Stockton, he explained the meaning which he attaches to the term 'free land':—

'It means the abolition of the law of primogeniture, and the limitation of the system of entails and settlements, so that "life interests" may be for the most part got rid of, and a real ownership substituted for them. It means also that it shall be as easy to buy or sell land as to buy or sell a ship, or at least as easy as it is in Australia, and in many or in all the States of the American Union. It means that no legal encouragement shall be given to great estates and great farms, and that the natural forces of accumulation and dispersion shall have free play. It means, too, that while the lawyer shall be well paid for his work, unnecessary work shall not be made for him, involving an enormous tax on all transactions in connection with the purchase and sale of lands and houses.'

Mr. Bright has always been of opinion that great social benefits would flow from the reforms which he contemplates. There is no doubt that these changes, coupled with the institution of an Encumbered Estates Court, and a thorough simplification of titles by means of compulsory registration and the recognition of a fixed term of undisputed possession, would permit land to gravitate much more freely than it does now into the best hands—that is, those most capable of doing it justice. The community, not only of producers but of consumers, suffers immense loss through the circumstance that land often remains for generations in the possession of crippled or impoverished persons; and there is every reason to believe that if transfer were rendered cheap and easy, many estates, especially in populous neighbourhoods, would be parcelled out into small plots and pass into the hands of thrifty labourers and artisans. There is no class of Englishmen which does not hanker after what—for want of a better term—we must call visible

property, and the return from houses and gardens in the occupation of the proprietor, would be far more remunerative than the interest allowed by savings' banks. It is pitiable to think of the amount of time which the great wage-earning class squanders in dissolute amusements, because it has no resort for its leisure except the ale-house, and no powerful and constant motive for the exercise of provident frugality. We maintain, then, that the question of free land is still a poor man's question, and that it is precisely one of those which, with the diffusion of intelligence, is destined before long to become popular in the constituencies. It has been damaged no doubt to some extent by the extravagant theories of some land-law reformers. For example, we can scarcely conceive a more monstrous proposal than that the State should confiscate to its own use all the increased value of land due to causes over which the owner has no control. Why should the owner of land be the only person not to participate in the fruits of general prosperity? If this proposal is just, the converse is just also, and the owner in cases in which his land falls in value through causes over which he has no control is entitled to come down upon the State for compensation. We believe that for all practical purposes the only true and honest theory of the land is this—that whatever may have been its original tenure, yet through centuries of national consent it has become as absolutely the property of those who hold it in fee-simple as any other thing which they possess, and like any other thing which they possess it should be made capable of being passed freely from hand to hand.

The land question has, of course, achieved new prominence through the recent attitude of the agricultural labourer. A great rise has already taken place in the rate of wages, and the farmer naturally looks about for some means by which he may reimburse himself for the enhanced cost of his operations. We believe that he will recoup himself in great measure from the higher quality of the labour for which he pays. Good food and cheerful prospects will in time raise Hodge from the position of a feeble and unwilling drudge to that of a muscular and industrious servant. But the farmer has a right to expect that the legislature will do something for him as well. An equitable scheme of tenant-right, maintained by adequate tribunals, and followed by a generous system of leasing, would give an impetus to his trade under the influence of which he would soon cease to grudge a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. The writer of a recent

review, to which we have already referred, declares that the real attack upon property is to come through tenant-right, and loudly denounces it as an outrage upon the rights of landlords. Landlords have so long made and administered the laws in their own interest, that they are naturally intolerant of any attempt to restore the balance and to make them in the interest of anyone else, especially of those whose well-being has been made subservient to their own. But surely it is the duty of the State to extend an equal protection to the property of every subject in the realm, whether that property consist of land or of capital; and if the owner of land is unable or unwilling to cultivate it at his own cost and his own risk, to see that those whom he invites to assist him are, so far as may be, protected in the expenditure which the right use of the land demands. Nor is it possible that Parliament can continue to permit the wholesale ravages of ground game. Hares must take their chance in a country which teems with population, and where agriculture has become a science, the problems of which cannot be successfully solved if the conditions are to be constantly disturbed by the legalized irruption of wild animals. Mr. Bright was loudly and justly cheered when he reverted to one of the old questions of his political youth. 'It seems to be monstrous,' he exclaimed, 'that tenant farmers should occupy land, pay a great rent for it, and that they should not have absolute property in all that lives upon the soil.' We have now sketched the outline of that liberal policy to which Mr. Bright, after years of retirement and reflection, still gives his firm adhesion. Mr. Chamberlain had the satisfaction of hearing his political representative adopt one after another, with scarcely any exception, his now famous and much abused four points. The League, together with everyone who desires to see the education of the people emancipated from priestly control, went away pacified and comforted. The effect of the speech upon the prospects of the party has been incalculable. Mr. Bright has never aspired to be regarded as a party leader. On the contrary, he has always disowned the title and disclaimed the responsibility; but it may be safely affirmed that at this juncture there is no party leader in England whose advice would have been received so implicitly in the ranks as a word of command. By the weight of his personal authority he has done more to arrest the demoralization and restore the confidence of the Liberal forces than the most skilful reconstruction of the ministry, or the most ample declarations of a change of policy on the part of its chief. This is a

great personal triumph, and it is due to that of which a politician may justly feel proud—a reputation for honesty of purpose and inflexible devotion to principle, upon which even faction has never dared to breathe. 'I hold the principles,' said Mr. Bright in his address, "when in office which I have constantly professed since you gave me your confidence sixteen years ago. When I find myself unable to advance those principles, and to serve you honestly as a minister, I shall abandon a position which demands of me sacrifices which I cannot make.' What those principles are Mr. Bright has carefully explained, and his simple declaration that he will quit office when they cease to be in the ascendant is an indisputable guarantee against any recourse to the vagaries of 1870, and the retrograde policy of the last few years. For if with this understanding Mr. Bright should find that he must tender his resignation, that event will speedily be followed by another—the downfall of the administration. The certainty of this result will appear from a careful survey of the circumstances which have rendered Mr. Bright's adhesion to the ministry a matter of supreme importance. It would be a curious coincidence, if the explanation were not upon the surface, that the retirement of Mr. Bright from public life should mark the flow and his return to it the ebb of Conservative success in the constituencies. Up to the year 1870 the Liberal majority in the House of Commons remained unimpaired. The party gains and losses were equal. What happened in 1870 to turn victory into defeat, to prompt the fable of a Conservative reaction, and finally to let loose the *Quarterly* reviewer? To the statesman of the Education Act belongs the credit of breaking up the Liberal party, and making Mr. Disraeli once more a possibility. It was during the passing of that Act that a Liberal ministry, with a majority of one hundred and twenty, made the grand discovery of ruling by the help of the Tories. Nothing could be simpler. Throw strict principle overboard, and you might dispense with the aid of the whips. Compromise with the opposition, and if those reckless radicals insisted upon a division, the lobby of lobbies could not contain you. The only drawback was that you had reckoned without the country. An election took place, and it was lost. Before the circumstance could be properly explained, we lost another. The Whig press was fertile in explanations. There was always an exceptional cause for our misfortunes, but the only thing which was exceptional was success. Toryism became disagreeably rampant, and talked in the most feeling manner about Conservative

reaction. The Whigs hinted that the advent of a great third party was at hand. All this time the discontent in the constituencies was becoming only too loudly pronounced. Men stood aloof from the committee rooms who knew the secret of elections. An unaccountable paralysis prostrated the very persons who were in the habit of doing everything whenever the party found itself in the presence of the enemy. The crotcheteers, those invariable forerunners of party dissolution, came to the front and seemed as though, if it were possible, they would deceive the very elect. Even the working classes began to desert us. The Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Parks Bill had proved more than they could comfortably digest. Our prodigal expenditure upon the army, and the attempt to infuse a martial spirit among the people, by the establishment of military centres, disgusted that portion of the electors who are ardent lovers of peace. The daily working of the Education Act, the triumphs which cumulative voting gave to clerical organization, the irrepressible exultation of State-Churchmen at the spectacle of a *ci-devant* Quaker covering the country with Church schools, the refusal of the Government to repeal the 25th Clause even after it had lost all value except as a weapon of defiance for Mr. Forster to brandish in the faces of Nonconformists, the utter breakdown of the Endowed Schools Act so far as it proposed to sweep away the monopoly of Church control, the reactionary Endowed Schools Act Amendment Bill, the thorough ecclesiasticism of the ministerial policy, culminating in the half contemptuous tone of the speech by which Mr. Gladstone insisted upon closing the debate on Mr. Miall's motion almost before it had begun—all this series of measures and incidents exasperated beyond endurance those earnest and indefatigable politicians, by the aid of whose exertions alone in the constituencies were the friends of ministers able to defy the formidable alliance of the Church, the brewery, and the land. The session closed for the Liberal party in the midst of a profound gloom, the silence of which even Mr. Gladstone durst not break.

It is absolutely necessary that we should state the truth in this matter, however painful it may be to do so; for in relation to the prospects of the party the crisis has been most serious, and we fear that the danger is not over even yet. The immediate effect produced by Mr. Bright's speech has no doubt been immense; but we must not shut our eyes to the fact that this effect is solely due to the expectation that the policy which he represents will, speaking generally, be-

come the policy of the Cabinet. If, contrary to our hope and belief, this should not be the case, and Mr. Forster should once more come to the surface with his policy of conditional surrender, the disappointment will be intense, jealousy and disunion will instantly revive, the patched-up party will once more fall asunder, the elections will go against us, and the last state will be worse than the first. And it is from a knowledge of what is the real feeling of advanced Liberals—not merely of those daring spirits who aspire to be pioneers, but of the more moderate members of the party below the gangway; men of wealth, whom it is absurd to suspect of cherishing designs against property; men of culture, whom it is ridiculous to suppose guilty of desiring innovation for its own sake—it is, we repeat, from a knowledge of the opinion of such men that we speak when we assert that the position is still critical. Let us discuss, therefore, what we think we have a right to expect from the Administration as the result of this new combination, and what we believe will really heal the dissensions of the party. And first let us say what we do not expect. We do not expect that Mr. Gladstone should declare his conversion to the principles of the League, or of the Liberation Society. The guarded manner in which Mr. Bright speaks of the great question of the Church, indicates that in his opinion the opportunity has not yet come for urging its solution upon the Government. We should suppose that he knows too well the opinions and leanings of his colleagues to place much reliance upon any solution of such a question, at which they would be likely to arrive in the present crude state of public opinion with respect to it. National education has gained little from the impetuosity of its promoters. We have had one more example of the unwisdom of trying to pluck fruit before it is ripe. Nor is the position of the Church question such as to cause the slightest apprehension, lest it should suffer through Ministerial neglect. No great question of modern times has progressed with equal rapidity, or has been more thoroughly exempt from the usual vicissitudes. Without one serious check it has passed through the first of the three stages which divide its journey towards solution, the stage of abstract proof. Even if Mr. Miall, contrary to the hopes of all his friends, should find himself compelled by failing health to retire from Parliament, he will have the satisfaction of feeling that he has brought his question to a point, at which the only effective resistance is based upon the dictum that 'the country is not governed by logic.' With extraordinary skill and pa-

tience he has developed an irrefragable argument, and driven back his opponents step by step, until at last they are compelled to take refuge in mere expediency. Presently this precarious defence will fail them, and their plea will be reduced to demurrers on the score of opportunity, and a cry for time. But we are told that the salvation of the State Church will be found in the support of a class not remarkable for its religious experience, nor conspicuous for its devotion to logic; we mean the universal ratepayer. He likes his religion cheap, and will never quarrel with an institution which Mr. Hughes tells him brings it to his door, just as a gratuitous system of water pipes brings water, for nothing. Under these inexpensive conditions he does not inquire too nicely into the quality of his water, and we are assured that he is not likely to analyse the religious overflow, with the view of ascertaining how much organic matter it may contain. Such an argument is itself a reservoir of the most pellucid fallacies. The universal ratepayer has his eye already upon the surplus revenues of the Church. He regards them as a bountiful provision for his school rate, his poor rate, and even for that nightmare of his financial dreams, his coming sanitary rate. The surplus revenues of the Church in Ireland are suffered to accumulate. Do but touch them, and show how very useful they can be made, and the universal ratepayer, whenever he sees a spire, will throw himself into an attitude of cheerful expectancy. Another fallacy which is frequently put forward by those State Churchmen who are still living in a fool's paradise, is that disestablishment is purely a Dissenter's question, and that it is one which is sure to go back now that the artizans have swamped the Dissenters in the constituencies. It may be quite true that the majority of the working classes are neither Churchmen nor Dissenters, and that they care comparatively little for the religious aspect of the question. What they do care for, however, is its political aspect. If the advocates of disestablishment have hitherto laid greater stress upon the injustice of religious inequality, and the injury which vital religion sustains through the patronage and control of the State, it is because they have spoken as Dissenters, rather than as politicians. For in dealing with the middle class constituencies with their Nonconformist complexion, they naturally appealed chiefly to Nonconformist principles. But now that the area of representation has been immensely extended, they will extend also the field of their argument. They will show that it is for the interest of the working

classes to put an end to a system which devotes vast natural resources to the maintenance of hostile opinions—a system which has resolutely set itself against the concession of every right which they have claimed, and which, entrenched in a fortress belonging to the nation, frowns down upon them at each step of their democratic progress with all the insolence of privilege.

Nor is the disposition of the future rural elector likely to prove more favourable to the Church and her pretensions than that of his urban ally. He objects to the horsepond, the episcopal remedy for his distress. He has seen the parson siding with the squire and the farmers in their opposition to his agitation for a better table and a happier home. He remembers that contentment has been the great doctrine preached. He knows that if his spiritual adviser had been listened to his existence would have remained 'a journey more or less circuitous to the poor-house.' It is not, therefore, from the rural elector, any more than from his cousin in towns, that the Church is likely to derive that sympathy and support which will enable her to fight her battles in the time to come. Since then, with regard to this question, as well as with regard to so many others, 'time is on our side,' we can safely afford to exercise forbearance towards Mr. Gladstone, and his 'cabinet of Churchmen.' But what we have a right to expect is, that when the House is asked to discuss disestablishment with the view of ripening opinion out of doors, the debate shall not be overlaid by the Premier, and stifled before dinner; we have a right to expect that the question itself shall be regarded as an open one by an administration in which Mr. Bright occupies a distinguished place, and that neither he nor any other minister who may share his opinion shall be compelled to give the lie by their votes to the convictions of their lives. But this is not all. In asking forbearance at the hands of Nonconformists, we must be careful to fix the limits, beyond which that forbearance must not stretch. It cannot be extended to retrogressive legislation; it cannot be extended to any attempt, directly or indirectly, to bolster up the State Church; and from all efforts to soothe the opposition, Forster-fashion, by farther compromise in this direction, it must at all cost and hazards be withheld.

How necessary it is to draw the line with rigid precision will appear when we remind our readers that the next session of Parliament must witness the revival of the whole controversy with regard to the management of endowed schools. The Endowed Schools

Act Amendment Bill, introduced and passed by Mr. Forster at the close of last session, was not of a character to restore our confidence in the Vice-President of the Committee of Council. It contained no single concession to Nonconformists; but was full of concessions to the Church party, and in all important respects presented a very marked declension from the principles of the Act which it was supposed to amend. It withdrew a number of elementary schools from beneath the purview of the Commissioners, materially widened the definition of denominational schools under Clause 19, and enabled the Commissioners to reintroduce clerical *ex officio* governors into their schemes. Our readers will remember that Nonconformists had taken their stand upon the Act itself, and denied the legality of such appointments. Their contention was crowned with success. Mr. Forster supported their view of the case, and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council declared in their favour. It was no longer possible to make clergymen of the Church of England governors by virtue of their office. Yet in order to gratify the Church party, and disarm their opposition, Mr. Forster introduced this obnoxious provision into his bill. When a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to investigate the working of the old Act Nonconformists were sanguine that they were in a position to show how completely the intentions of the Act, with regard to the constitution of governing bodies, had been set aside through the action of the Commissioners. They proved, by reference to a table of published schemes, that nine-tenths of the new co-optative trustees were members of the Church of England, that the co-optative element so constituted was frequently made to embrace more than half of the governing body, and that even when they were dealing with the election of that portion of the boards which profess to represent the popular choice, the Commissioners had substituted some more or less exclusive corporation, wherever possible, for the popular constituency. They proved that the practical result of this policy had been to hand over undenominational endowed schools, almost all over the kingdom, to Church management in perpetuity; but that its adoption was flagrantly at variance with the recommendations of the Schools Inquiry Commissioners and the spirit of the Act itself. When the Committee came to deliberate upon their report, the following paragraph was proposed by Mr. Leatham:—

'The attention of the Committee has been called, through the evidence of several wit-

nesses, to the extensive use which has been made by the Commissioners of the co-optative principle in the nomination of members of the governing bodies of schools under Section 17, and to the fact that a large majority of these co-optative governors belong to one religious community. While fully recognising the motives of the Commissioners in giving this wide development to the co-optative principle—viz., the desire to conciliate opposition on the part of old trustees, and to preserve some degree of continuity in the management of the schools, we are of opinion that caution should be exercised lest by an undue recourse to such appointments, the impression be produced that predominance is indirectly sought for any particular church or denomination in the management of such schools.

This paragraph, which was intended to act as a check upon the abuse of the co-optative principle, and which appears to have been framed studiously with the view of avoiding a single phrase which could be considered offensive either to the Church or the Commissioners, received the assent of Mr. Forster and of every Liberal member of the Committee with one exception. It was rejected by the casting vote of Sir Thomas Dyke Acland; and, as a necessary result, there was no reference whatever to the Nonconformist evidence in the report. By separating himself from his party on that occasion Sir Thomas has exposed himself to severe criticism at the hands of his constituents. We should suppose that even under the most favourable circumstances a Nonconformist elector would experience some difficulty in adopting as his political representative an ecclesiastical commissioner, and we are not surprised that in view of this signal disservice the Dissenters of Devonshire should have engaged Sir Thomas in an exceedingly brisk correspondence. When the bill, which was founded upon this report, was brought in, whether it was that Mr. Forster, aided by long experience, gauged to a nicety the amount of compromise which was necessary to float it, or whether, as rumour has it, conferences were held at which the Church party dictated their own terms, we do not know, and we do not care to inquire. This we know, that the measure passed the House without formidable opposition, except from the advanced Liberals, and that the House of Lords, having observed how squeezable the Ministry had become, and with the view, no doubt, of exacting still further concessions, limited the operation of the Act to a single year, and thus provided us with the means of testing how far the reconstruction of the Ministry has tended towards the inauguration of a sounder policy. We shall watch, therefore,

with the utmost anxiety the posture of Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues when they come to deal with this question. If we perceive an honest desire to revert to the free principles of the original Act, and a determination to brave Tory displeasure by restoring Nonconformists to that position in the governing bodies of undenominational schools which, as citizens, they have a right to occupy, but which has been snatched from them by the manipulation of the Commissioners—we shall conclude that the policy of compromise has been abandoned, and that the Government has at length resolved to carry through this great controversy in a manner worthy of their position as the official representatives of Liberal opinion. It is very possible that this deliberate change of front may involve a struggle with the House of Lords, and eventually an appeal to the people; but we can recall no question upon which that appeal could be made with a fuller certainty of the response. Let Mr. Gladstone adopt the policy advocated by Mr. Roby and Mr. Hobhouse; let him shake himself loose from the superstition of the dead hand; let him place at least one Nonconformist on the commission, since one of the Vice-Presidents of the Church Defence Association is there already; let him strengthen the hands of the Commissioners in their dealings with the old trustees; let him entrust the management of the schools without reserve to representatives appointed by the ratepayers themselves, and he will have placed our whole system of secondary education upon a basis which will endure for ever.

But this is not the only question with regard to which the intentions of the Government will be narrowly watched. Finance will demand no such attentive observation. With Mr. Gladstone at the Exchequer we may rely upon a creditable budget. Nor is it likely that anything will arise in our relations with foreign countries to arrest the reconciliation between the Radicals and the Government. In the foreign policy of Lord Granville they have reposed just confidence from the beginning. Even the miserable squabble upon the Gold Coast is scarcely likely, with Mr. Bright in the Cabinet, to reach dimensions so serious as to rouse the indignation of the men of peace; especially if at the termination of bloodshed effective measures be taken to prevent the possibility of its recurrence. We hear rumours that the Cabinet is applying itself to the consideration of the labour question, and we do not doubt that means will be devised by which to reconcile the just claims of master and servant. We do not share the vague

terrors of the *Quarterly* reviewer. The policy of the working classes is not 'a wild and bloody dream.' It is not true that 'in every country, through strikes or through revolutionary outbreaks every opportunity has been used during the last twenty years with unremitting vigilance to accomplish the wild visions of triumph over capital.' The man who speaks thus of the industrious millions upon whose skill and labour the prosperity of England is founded, is guilty either of vile slander or of unpardonable ignorance. Dark indeed would be our future if there were one word of truth in these expressions. But it was thought necessary, we presume, to hazard them in order that the theory of an 'essential antagonism between the interests and aspirations of the middle and lower classes' might be set up. There is no such antagonism. The vast mass of the middle class consists of retail traders whose prosperity is bound up with everything which tends to put money into the workman's pockets, whence it trickles into their tills. The great employers of labour themselves (absurdly styled by this writer the middle class) have no reason to complain of the share which the workman has claimed and has obtained in the stupendous profits of the last few years. We earnestly desire that the discussion of the questions which still exist between capital and labour may not be embittered and embarrassed by the misrepresentations of reckless calumniators. We have reason to hope that Mr. Bright, who is himself a large employer of labour, but one who probably enjoys, more than any other living statesman, the confidence of the class whom he employs, will exert his vast influence with a view to the solution of problems which he evidently regards without apprehension.

There remains the question of the county franchise. We hope that the subject of local taxation will not be suffered to usurp the place of the last instalment of suffrage reform. The failure of the Ministerial measures of the past session constitutes a sufficient reason why ministers should decline to pursue through the last days of an expiring Parliament a question which excites so little enthusiasm in the country, which appears to be far from ripe, and which the Tories would now be glad enough to leave alone. On the other hand, the franchise question is one which all experience proves can never sleep when it has once been mooted. The extension of the franchise to the householder in counties is the logical sequence of the Reform Bill of 1867, and the proposal has already received the support of leaders upon both sides of the House. It is the

proper work for the last year in the life of a Parliament; for when you enfranchise, you ought to put the enfranchised as speedily as possible in active possession of their privileges. There is not an argument against it which was not rejected when we were legislating for the extension of the franchise in boroughs. The personal unfitness of individuals was a consideration which was utterly disregarded when we took 'the leap in the dark.' We are now living under the rule of 'poverty and passion;' we have not yet 'taught our masters to read,' but things go on very much as they used to do. It will never again be possible to array the fears and prejudices of society against household suffrage. Mr. Disraeli's love of paradox is such, that he selects the most practical city in the kingdom as the proper place for the display of his triumphant contempt for truth, and the Scotch, as the people who will most readily believe him, when he asserts that he loves his enemies. His alacrity to protect the 'backbone of Liberalism' from the assaults of that 'irresponsible individual' who will 'jump up in the House of Commons' and propose the equalization of the borough and county franchise, ought perhaps to convince us with what touching tenderness he regards the Whigs whom he has 'dished.' The small boroughs, it appears, are the backbone of Liberalism; the small boroughs must go, if you reduce the county franchise, and what will Liberalism do then, poor thing? It did not occur to Mr. Disraeli that the small boroughs may yet be saved by judicious grouping, or that, unless we are prepared to go the length of instituting equal electoral districts, we are not logically bound 'entirely to break up the borough representation of the country.' But it does occur to us that the counties are the backbone of Toryism, and that the introduction of an element of gigantic strength may go far to rob this backbone of its spinal marrow. If so, the alarm of the Conservative leader admits of a natural explanation. That this is really the view of the party of resistance, and that as party men we may hope to see the Tories combining to oppose this necessary change is probable, if we compare the tone of the *Quarterly* reviewer (standing, as he does, at quite another pole of Toryism) with that of his chief. Though they appear to differ in so many other particulars, they agree at least in this, a suspicious and ill-disguised anxiety to persuade us that it is for the interest of our party to let things alone.

Speculation has been rife as to the authorship of an article, which, with the Bath Letter, must be regarded as the Tory gospel and epistle for the day. It has evidently

descended to us from 'another place.' No one who was not 'up in a balloon' could have written it—it betrays so much unconscious aërostation. The reasoning moves in a region which is far above the level of facts. The man who has once persuaded himself that the great uprising of Liberalism which tossed Charles I. from his throne is to be attributed to something which the Emperor of Germany was doing in Bohemia, has no difficulty in persuading himself that the ministerial reverses of the last three years were due to the fall of the Commune—has no difficulty in persuading himself of anything. The tone in which he speaks of property, and the perils which await it, is certainly not that of a man who has been accustomed to its possession. Is he labouring under a sudden access of opulence, and suffering from acres on the brain? Is he some *parvenu* of the Peerage—some younger son who has vaulted into the enjoyment of millions and titles to which he was not born? But if so, what right has he to lecture the Grosvenors on their duties, and to teach the Cavendishes what is expected of them? The finesse with which he approaches the Whigs is worthy of a writer who begins his article by the assertion 'that an absurd importance has been attached to peculiarities of manner.' He compares them to 'the voters who vote towards four o'clock.' 'It has constantly happened to them,' he says, 'to vote for that which they have denounced;' 'when the minister eats his principles, they go through the same meal as gracefully as is compatible with the necessary speed;' 'they accept the support of revolutionists, seek to conciliate their votes, and on a point use their help for purposes of agitation.' And why? 'For the sole purpose of resisting the Conservatives.' In fact, they are a pack of knaves or fools, or both, and having delicately told them so, this writer winds up by expecting them to act with dignity and honour! His object apparently is to soothe and woo; so he soothes with a blister, and woos with a rod. Can such a politician aspire to be regarded as a statesman? But what is it that these much-enduring Whigs are to do? Upon this point the writer is as obscure as the clouds from the midst of which he launches his rickety parachute. They are to break with the party of progress, but the party of resistance they are on no account to join. They are to belong to no party. They are to vacate the House of Commons, for there is no constituency in the kingdom which would tolerate a candidate who came to it in neutral clothes. They are to renounce all hope of place, patronage, and pay. The ob-

servation of the man in the balloon has led him to the conclusion that 'the happy despatch' is the only operation through which the Whigs are likely to arrive at dignity and honour; and their well-known predilection for self-sacrifice no doubt encourages him in the hope that when they have perused his article, they will begin to disembowel themselves on the spot.

Pilate in the presence of Omniscience asked—What is truth? The *Quarterly* Reviewer confronts the century and asks—What is progress? Progress is everything which he, and such as he, spend their lives in attempting to resist. Catholic, and Hebrew Emancipation, the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, the Reform Acts of 1832 and 1867, the Abolition of the Corn Laws, the opening of the Universities and Endowed Schools, the Disestablishment and Disendowment of a national Church, the Irish Land Act, the Extinction of Purchase in the Army; all this is progress. And future progress is inexorably linked to progress in the past. It will follow the same lines, experience the same resistance, and triumph over the same obstacles. 'And is there no such thing as finality?' perhaps exclaims the reviewer. Yes; but we decline to draw the line in conformity with the notions of a politician who thinks that it ought to have been drawn fifty years ago. The man who is always travelling forwards, assured by the results of each step which he takes, that it is forwards, is perpetually changing his horizon. The century itself as it proceeds does so. The horizon of some politicians is much broader than that of others. The Whigs of the present generation have never been remarkable for the breadth of theirs. But if the range of their forecast has been limited, they have at least known how to take one step at a time; and, when it has once been taken, they have cheerfully acknowledged its wisdom. The *Quarterly* reviewer and the Conservatives are, in his opinion, separated from the Whigs by 'an almost invisible line.' The Whigs differ from him at least in this—they have a glorious past, and they believe in it. They have played their part manfully in every conflict of opinion in which the Conservatives have been worsted. This is why the very Radicals, who chide their wariness, regard them as valuable coadjutors, erring indeed on the side of prudence, but always in the end amenable to reason. A horse is no less a good horse across country because he has to be ridden with spurs; and nothing can be more untrue than to describe the Radical feeling towards the Whigs as one of hostility or

contempt. No doubt the faculty which, through long usage, the Whigs have developed, of appropriating the results of Radical agitation, has sometimes afforded the younger members of the party material for pleasantries and banters; but no one knows better than the latter how much we owe to Whig generalship when once the whole ground has been explored by Radical pioneers, and the advance which has been so long talked about has really to be made. The two arms of our great force have not acted so long in concert without arriving at a definition of the special service to be performed by each. The Radical pickets are always on the alert, always skirmishing at the outposts, always scouring the country in advance: the solid Whig battalions march steadily behind them; and in the story of their united victories is to be found the cause why in no other country of the world property is so safe, order so secure, and liberty so strong.

ART. VIII.—*Henry Thoreau, the Poet-Naturalist*. By W. H. CHANNING, D.D. Osgood and Co.

MR. H. A. PAGE, in his little Memoir of Nathaniel Hawthorne, has made an incidental reference to Thoreau, which *might* be misleading. He is, of course, merely illustrating there the relations of his subject to the other men with whom he came in contact, and cannot be dealt with so severely as if he had left openings for his readers to receive wrong impressions as to his proper theme. Still, it is a vital error to lead in any way to the idea that Thoreau was a hermit, or that he permanently banished himself to Walden Wood to study trees, and beasts, and fishes, and to map out the land like a surveyor. He built a hut, it is true, with his own hands, and lived there for a time—fully two years it was—but the escapade, as some would call it, of Walden, was never meant by Thoreau to be other than an interlude. And yet with us in England he is too much conceived of in this light, as a sort of semi-wild man of the woods, and, in our idea, is saved from being a wild man altogether only by a dash of finer *instinct*, which made him influential with the lower creatures, but divorced him totally from human society. Now, this is a wrong account of Thoreau altogether, and with a very acute and interesting volume in our hand, which is half biography and half criticism, from the pen of Dr. W. H. Channing, and of which we have been favoured with an

early copy, we are fain to believe that we may be able to make various points respecting Thoreau somewhat plainer to English minds.

First of all, consider how singular it was that just as American character was getting a new impulse towards worldly acuteness, and the surrender of strictly personal and spiritual traits, with the remarkable extension of peopled territory that gave the acuteness a new sphere to exercise itself in, there should come a fresh and powerful wave of transcendentalism that sought to assert individuality, and build it on a true basis. Thoreau was the representative of this on one side, just as Emerson and Hawthorne were representatives of it on other sides; and, instead of being divorced from the highest form of American development, he was, perhaps, its most faithful and consistent exponent. For the teeming wealth of a new and illimitable country must ever, in the outset, oppose itself to the assertion of the individual genius, and essay (if we may speak so) to break it down to its own level, as the trees, growing freely yet closely together in the forest, preserve and foster each other, but rise very much of one size and all alike in form. Society in such conditions lives by the very reaction it breeds, for it is quite impossible to calculate the benefit to American life of the inconsistent deference practically paid by its professed republican members to royalty and aristocracy in every form.

Hawthorne's works are, in essence, a protest against every kind of republican leveling down. He sought, in the Puritan sentiment which was supplied to American history with its relations to old English life, for traditions that recalled the inherited mysteries and dooms of life—breeding distinctions—and from that root what a tree grew up in the atmosphere of his quaint genius! Emerson, again, found compensating forces in the solitude and the occupations possible only in a country which is new, and not yet pressed for breathing space; and Thoreau, perhaps, more than either in the testimony which a real retirement from society could render to the highest idea of individuality, as the foundation-stone of a truly cultured society. Goethe said that when he needed to recruit himself for serious thought, he must retire into solitude; and so it was with Thoreau. But it was the opposite idea to that of Rousseau, for instance, which led Thoreau to Walden. He went there not to escape men, but to prepare himself for them; not to brood, but to act—only to act in lines that would enable him to stand forever after—free, vigorous, independent. There is a strange, close-packed realism in his writing, thoroughly symptomatic of the man and his character, as

though he specially followed Nature in her economy of seed-packing; and it should be observed that you never get hint of the recluse, who speedily falls to dreaming and vain pitying of himself. There is no self-pity in Thoreau, rather a robust self-sufficiency that could claim the privilege of rendering manly help, though never seeking or accepting any, and that loves to administer readily what Emerson calls 'shocks of effort.' But there was in him nothing of the rebel proper; he delighted above all things to be at home, and to reverence, only you must allow him something of his own way. When he refused to pay taxes after Government followed him to the forest, it was out of no abstract opposition or dislike to society,—he was the last man to act from sentiments; he asserted that there was still a sphere where Government had no right to follow if a man could only find and fix it, and where it did despite to itself by the assertion of its power. Now, only in a country like America could such an idea be put fairly to the test, however much it may be opposed to the democratic idea in itself. A rapid glance at the leading facts of Thoreau's life will, perhaps, all the better enable us to bring this out.

Henry David Thoreau, who was born in 1817, was the youngest son of a French immigrant, who was by trade a lead-pencil maker, and had achieved such a measure of success in his adopted country as to enable him to aim at giving his sons a thoroughly good education. Henry was sent to Harvard University while still young, and graduated in 1837; but he achieved little or no distinction either at school or college. He had his own ways of looking at and doing things, and, as is not seldom the case with genius, he was somewhat slow at working his way to the end of a set problem, though once having done so, it was more than mastered. He would not fall into regular studies, and did not attract the masters, nor make friends of fellow-students, but lived a solitary life. On leaving college, he and an elder brother kept an academy at Concord for a year or two; and then he was noticeable for his love of rambling abroad in his spare hours, collecting specimens of natural history. He was unlike the sentimentalist, especially in his capacity of attachment to locality, for at no place but Concord did he ever make a permanent home, however much he loved to wander. The most important event of this period was a journey to the White Mountains with his brother John, which seemed to awaken in him new capacities of knowledge and pleasure.

Of the school-teaching he at length got wearied, and then applied himself to his fa-

ther's craft, obtaining certificates for having made a better pencil than any then in use; and there is a characteristic story told, that he and his father, to show the excellence of their work, resolved to make as good a pencil out of paste as those sawed from black-lead in London. The result was accomplished and the certificate obtained; Thoreau himself claiming a good share of the success, as he found the means to cut the plates. But more characteristic than all, perhaps, is the fact that, when he was congratulated on fortune's door being thus thrown wide open to him, he declared that he would not make another pencil, as he did not wish to do again what he had done once. At this his friends were, of course, greatly disappointed; but he stood firm and adventured on other industries—making boats, building fences, and surveying, by which he made his own living—doing also a considerable amount of travel and observation during the next few years. His first book, written during this time, grew out of a voyage on the Concord and Merrimac rivers, which he made in 1839, with his brother John, who sympathised with him in many of his tastes, but who died early, and whose death Thoreau deeply lamented. Of his 'Walk to Wachusett in 1843,' he made interesting record in his article under that title in the 'Boston Miscellany.' But all his studies only drew him to seek opportunities to carry them out yet more consistently and steadily. So he took a great resolve, and in March of 1845 began the building of his hut at Walden Wood, which, as often happens, because it has somewhat of an *outré* look, has occupied a wholly disproportionate place in the general notion of Thoreau. 'By the middle of April it was framed and ready for raising,' and by the 4th of July—not without significance either, being Independence Day—he went into occupation. He had purchased the boards of an Irishman's shanty, and exults as he looks on his finished work, that 'there is some of the same fitness in a man's building his own house that there is in a bird's building its own nest.'

And a right trim firm little abode it was, with its one cheerful window and detached offices, if we may at all credit the frontispiece of his first work, 'Walden.' He can exult in the fact that, by habit, men can do with but little shelter, and vastly admires the Penobscot Indians, who have nothing but a thin tent between them and the snow, and do not suffer by it. Thus he finds that savage life attains in one primitive principle the equality which modern societies vainly yearn for—the poorest having as good a shelter as the highest! Yet his hatred of waste and shiftlessness was as notable as these other

traits. He says in one place:—"There is none so poor that he need sit on a pumpkin. That is shiftlessness. There are plenty of such chairs as I like best, to be had for the taking them away." And it is very odd to observe, amid his apparent indifference to wealth and self-interest, the really Yankee way in which he exults in being able to provide for himself with his own hands, so check-mating Nature as to have a balance over. His statement of accounts of the cost of the Walden hut is full of unconscious humour. He recalls, with natural complacency, that at Cambridge College the student pays for his room one dollar eighty-seven and a-half cents each year more than his house had cost him, and has thereupon some quaint reflections on true education. He congratulates himself on the absence of all 'baggage,'—"traps," as he says, the popular slang well calls it, and avows his conviction that 'to maintain oneself on this earth is not a hardship, but a pastime, if we live simply and wisely,'—as the pursuits of the 'simple nations are still the sports of the artificial.'

And now he set himself to the practical application of his own theories. Having no human companions save occasional visitors—Emerson, one of his nearest neighbours, amongst them—he honestly tried what the lower creatures could do for him. And soon he and they were on most intimate terms. The fishes came, as it seemed, into his hand if he but dipped it in the stream; the mice would come and playfully eat out of his fingers, and the very mole paid him friendly visits; sparrows alighted on his shoulder at his call; phœbes built in his shed; and the partridge with her brood came and fed quietly beneath his window as he sat and looked at them. And the more intimate he grows with his brute friends, the more his respect and love for them rises. He writes:—"If we take the age into account, may there not be a civilization going on among brutes as well as men? They seem to me to be rudimental, burrowing men, still standing on their defence, awaiting their transformation." His writings in 'Walden' are like a discourse on the text, 'The whole creation groaneth.'

The fine sympathy of this man, his poetic life, deep love and yearning kindredship met and drew forth the inmost and the best in the brutes, and led them on to the transformation for which they were awaiting. Notice how different is Thoreau's feeling for the dumb creatures from that which animates the common pet-keeper, who almost seems to aim at destroying the true brute nature, and the dim rudimentary humanity along with it, in order to make them little else than 'snobs.' Thoreau, far from being in reac-

tionary divorce from man, loves the animals because they are manlike, and seem to yearn towards human forms. And to him even inanimate nature looks manward in its constancies, if in nothing else. What a glimpse this passage from Dr. Channing gives us of the man:—

'Thoreau named all the birds without a gun, a weapon he never used in mature years. He neither killed nor imprisoned any animal, unless driven by acute needs. He brought home a flying squirrel, to study its mode of flight, but quickly carried it back to the wood. He possessed true instincts of topography, and could conceal choice things in the bush and find them again; unlike Gall, who commonly lost his locality and himself, as he tells us, when in the wood, master as he was in playing on the organ. If Thoreau needed a box in his walk, he would strip a piece of birch bark off the tree, fold it, when cut straightly, together, and put his tender lichen or brittle creature therein.'

And, naturally, nothing afforded him more delight than to observe the graceful prudence of animals. The shifts to which he had often to put himself to achieve this knowledge without cruelty, perhaps did more than aught else to develop in him his wonderful, half-animal sagacities. Mr. Emerson tells us that when once at Walden he visited Thoreau

'The naturalist waded into the pool for the water plants, and his strong legs were no insignificant part of his armour. On this day he looked for the menyanthes and detected it across the wide pool; and, on examination of the floret, declared that it had been in flower five days. He drew out of his breast-pocket a diary, and read the names of all the plants that should bloom that day, whereof he kept account as a banker does when his notes are due.'

'He could pace rods more accurately than another man could measure them with rod and chain. He could find his way in the woods at night better by his feet than by his eyes. He knew every track in the snow and on the ground, and what creature had taken the path in the snow before him.'

And Dr. Channing thus aptly supplements Mr. Emerson:—

'Alpine and sea-plants he admired, besides those of his own village: of the latter he mostly attended willows, golden-rods, asters, polygons, sedges, and grasses; fungi and lichens he somewhat affected. He was accustomed to date the day of the month by the appearance of certain flowers, and thus visited special plants for a series of years, in order to form an average; as his whitethorn by Tarbell's Spring, "Good for to-morrow, if not for to-day." The bigness of noted trees, the number of rings, the degree of branching by which their age may be drawn; the larger forests, such as that princely "Inches Oak-Wood," in West Acton, or Wetherbee's patch, he paid attention to.'

Thoreau's main purpose was to exhibit the points where animal instinct and resources meet human affection and virtue, and illustrate each other. The following is certainly well worth quoting in this light:—

'Man conceitedly names the intelligence and industry of animals, instinct, and overlooks their wisdom and fitness of behaviour. I saw where the squirrels had carried off the ears of corn, more than twenty rods from the corn-field, to the woods. A little further on, beyond Hubbard's brook, I saw a grey squirrel, with an ear of yellow corn, a foot long, sitting on a fence, fifteen rods from the field. He dropped the corn, but continued to sit on the rail, where I could hardly see him, it being of the same colour as himself, which I have no doubt he was well aware of. He next went to a red maple, where his policy was to conceal himself behind the stem, hanging perfectly still there till I passed, his fur being exactly the colour of the bark. When I struck the tree, and tried to frighten him, he knew better than to run to the next tree, there being no continuous row by which he might escape; but he merely fled higher up, and put so many leaves between us that it was difficult to discover him. When I threw up a stick to frighten him, he disappeared entirely, though I kept the best watch I could, and stood close to the foot of the tree.

'They are wonderfully cunning!'

Busy men and women—dwellers in cities, people of society, who make the lower creatures practically serviceable—do undoubtedly, in their passion for discipline and order in horses, dogs, and the rest, come to regard animal life as something so dependent on human character and effort as to deprive it of all real individual interest. Against this tendency Thoreau testified, just as he testified unremittingly to the sacredness of human individuality. Science itself—as generally understood—does not help us here, but rather comes in to confirm the artificial notion by absorbing the individual in the class—the species, the genus, the order. An over-pressed and over-cultivated social life, leaning on science, thus finally inflicts injury on itself by narrowing its sources of true interest; and owes its gratitude to the men who honestly recall it to Nature—to the Wordsworths, the Bewicks, the Thoreaus, the Blackburns. A face to face and daily intercourse with her, in seeking traces of the dim human instincts which she seems to shroud so strangely even in her most worthless productions, is a supremely healthy occupation or pastime; since it develops sympathy, in enforcing the idea that some ordinances of nature that man deems harsh may, after all, have a reference to wise and beautiful races other than human. And this has the best concurrence of Scrip-

ture. 'Not a sparrow falls to the ground without his permission.' With Thoreau animals were rudimentary men; and their human aspect was that pre-eminently in which their individuality stood revealed. On this ground it was that he based their rights to freedom, to toleration, and to a healthier regard in their domesticated condition. Very significant in this light is a noble passage on the horse—the reader will see that the whole soul of Thoreau speaks in it:—

'I saw a man a few days since, working by the river, with a horse, carting dirt; and the horse and his relations to him struck me as very remarkable. There was the horse, a mere animated machine, though his tail was brushing off the flies, his whole condition subordinated to the man's, with no tradition (perhaps no instinct) in him of a time when he was wild and free,—completely humanized. No contract had been made with him that he should have the Saturday afternoons, or the Sundays, or any holidays, his independence never being recognized; it being now quite forgotten both by man and horse, that the horse was ever free. For I am not aware that there are any wild horses known surely not to be descended from tame ones. He was assisting that man to pull down that bank, and spread it over the meadow, only keeping off the flies with his tail, and stamping, and catching a mouthful of grass or leaves from time to time on his own account; all the rest for man. It seemed hardly worth while that he should be animated for this. *It was plain that the man was not educating the horse, not trying to develop his nature, but merely getting work out of him,—*

"Extremes are counted worst of all."

That mass of animated matter seemed more completely the servant of man than any inanimate. For slaves have their holidays; a heaven is conceded to them (such as it is); but to the horse, none. Now and for ever, he is man's slave. *The more I considered, the more the man seemed akin to the horse, only his will was the stronger of the two; for a little further on I saw an Irishman shoveling, who evidently was as much tamed as the horse. He had stipulated that a certain amount of his independence be recognised; and yet he was really but a little more independent. What is a horse but an animal that has lost its liberty; and has man got any more liberty for having robbed the horse; or has he just lost as much of his own, and become more like the horse he has robbed? Is not the other end of the bridle, too, coiled around his neck? Hence stable-boys, jockeys, and all that class that are daily transported by fast horses. There he stood with his oblong, square figure (his tail mostly sawed off), seen against the water, brushing off the flies with his stump braced back, while the man was filling the cart.*

"The ill that's wisely feared is half withstood,
He will redeem our deadly drooping state."

'I regard the horse as a human being in a humble state of existence. Virtue is not left to stand alone. He who practises it will have neighbours.'

Never, perhaps, were the claims of the horse, and indirectly of all the domestic animals, more powerfully put; and here we have disclosed to us clearly the point at which, with Thoreau, the mystery of animal life touched that of man and raises it up to nearly equal interest, only, however, to increase tenfold the meaning and wonder of that to which his was allied.

Some time after Thoreau's return from Walden his father died, and then, in spite of the protest he had made, he returned to the lead-pencil making, at the call of duty, devoting himself to it with wonderful assiduity. He had his own mill, and discovered remarkable punctuality and prudence. All his spare time was spent in following up his own bent in excursions here and there—the most notable of which was perhaps his great tour to Minnesota and the West, in 1860, when he exulted in finding the crab-apple, and in making friends with the Indians, who interested him vastly. In November of 1860 he took a severe cold, through exposing himself while counting the rings on trees, and when there was snow on the ground. He never got over the shock, though he lingered till the spring, and he died on the morning of the 8th of May, 1861.

Thoreau was a naturalist, because he was primarily a poet—and hence the fitness of Dr. Channing's title 'Poet-Naturalist.' He held things by inner affinities, rather than by hard classifications. Instincts and habits were ever of more account with him than the mere organs and functions, whose expressions he held that these were, and nothing more. Yet he was observant of these also, and was seldom out in a matter of fact or calculation. Correctness in details, surprising patience, and a will that nothing could defeat or embarrass, held in closest union with fine imagination, without sense of contradiction—this was his first characteristic. His grand quality was sympathy. He came to everything with the poet's feeling, the poet's heart, the poet's eye. To observe was his joy. What pictures he can draw of wholly uninteresting places and things! What loving rapture he falls into over the commonest appearances! What new metaphors he finds lurking in ordinary sylvan occurrences! The common ongoing of nature were to him a mighty parable, and he set some part of it to adequate music, to which we may listen with delight and learn wisdom. And as he brought sympathy with him towards every person he met and every object he examined,

so he demanded it in those he encountered, though he had an utter horror of false professions of it. Therefore, like a Scotchman in this, he was prone to hide it under brusqueness till you *knew* him. But, as flowers expand in the sun, his soul expanded in the glow of innocent delights, till even his senses seemed transfigured and benignantly endowed with special sensibilities and attractions. He was fond of children, and had unusual tact with them, as every one who ever attended any of his parties attest. 'Hermit and stoic as he was,' says Emerson, 'he was really fond of sympathy, and threw himself heartily and childlike into the company of young people whom he loved, and whom he delighted to entertain, as he only could, with the varied and endless anecdotes of his experience in field and river. And he was always ready to lead a huckleberry party or a search for chestnuts and grapes.' Yet he is always wonderfully self-restrained and self-respecting. He makes a poem out of the most ordinary object, event, or incident; but he will be the last to celebrate it as such; and, while some men seek a climax, he despised rhetoric and all conscious aims at effect. This passage on telegraph posts may be taken as a specimen of his finest vein, showing his keen interest in all that concerned human progress:—

'What a recipe for preserving wood, to fill its pores with music! How this wild tree from the forest, stripped of its bark and set up here, rejoices to transmit this music. When no melody proceeds from the wire, I hear the hum within the entrails of the wood, the oracular tree, rejoicing, accumulating the prophetic fury. The resounding wood,—how much the ancients would have made of it! To have had a harp on so great a scale, girdling the very earth, and played on by the winds of every latitude and longitude, and that harp were (so to speak) the manifest blessing of heaven on a work of man's. Shall we not now add a tenth Muse to those immortal Nine, and consider that this invention was most divinely honoured and distinguished, upon which the Muse has thus condescended to smile,—this magic medium of communication to mankind? To read that the ancients stretched a wire round the earth, attaching it to trees of the forest, on which they sent messages by one named Electricity, father of Lightning and Magnetism, swifter far than Mercury,—the stern commands of war and news of peace; and that the winds caused this wire to vibrate so that it emitted harp-like and Æolian music in all the lands through which it passed, as if to express the satisfaction of God in the invention! And this is fact, and yet we have attributed the instrument to no God. I hear the sound of the wood working terribly within. When I put my ear to it, anon it swells into a clear tone, which seems to concentrate in the core of the tree, for all the sound seems to pro-

ceed from the wood. It is as if you had entered some world-cathedral, resounding to some vast organ. The fibres of all things have their tension and are strained like the strings of a lyre. I feel the very ground tremble underneath my feet as I stand near the post. The wire vibrates with great force as if it would strain and rend the wood. What an awful and fateful music it must be to the worms in the wood. No better vermifuge were needed. As the wood of an old Cremona, its every fibre, perchance, harmoniously tempered, and educated to resound melody, has brought a great price; so, methinks, these telegraph posts should bear a great price with musical-instrument makers. It is prepared to be the material of harps for ages to come; *as it were, put a-soak, a-seasoning, in music.*

And again :—

'As the woodchuck dines chiefly on crickets, he will not be at much expense in seats for his winter-quarters. Since the anatomical discovery that the *thymoid* gland, whose use in man is *nil*, is for the purpose of promoting digestion during the hibernating jollifications of the woodchuck, we sympathize less at the retreat. Darwin, who hibernates in science, cannot yet have heard of this use of the above gland, or he would have derived the human race from our woodchuck, instead of landing him flat on the *Simiada*, or monkey.'

As a piece of elevated noble description, with lights of true poetry transfusing it, nothing could be finer than this description of a snow-fall :—

'Did you ever admire the steady, silent, windless fall of the snow, in some lead-coloured sky, silent save the little ticking of the flakes as they touched the twigs? It is chased silver, moulded over the pines and oak leaves. Soft shades hang like curtains along the closely-draped wood-paths. Frozen apples become little cider-vats. The old, crooked apple-trees, frozen stiff in the pale, shivering sunlight, that appears to be dying of consumption, gleam forth like the heroes of one of Dante's cold hells; we would mind any change in the mercury of the dream. The snow crunches under the feet; the chopper's axe rings funereally through the tragic air. At early morn the frost on button-bushes and willows was silvery, and every stem and minutest twig and filamentary weed came up a silver thing, while the cottage smoke rose salmon-coloured into that oblique day. At the base of ditches were shooting crystals, like the blades of an ivory-handled penknife, and rosettes and favours fretted of silver on the flat ice. The little cascades in the brook were ornamented with transparent shields, and long candelabums and spermaceti-coloured fools' caps and plated jellies and white globes, with the black water whirling along transparently underneath. The sun comes out, and all at a glance, rubies, sapphires,

diamonds, and emeralds start into intense life on the angles of the snow crystals.'

With Thoreau, in one word, everything is seen in relation to human sentiment and fitness. He is a reconciler. His great aim is to recommend Nature to Man—to prove her worthy of the recommendation, and so induce and enhance the idea of individuality—which, in the midst of all her masses and mighty generalities, she everywhere faithfully celebrates. Thoreau went to Nature an individualist, and came back the prophet of society, as truly reconstructed, with liberty as its groundwork—but liberty which would give no quarter to licence of any kind. Sobriety, severity, and self-respect, foundation of all true sociality, are his motto. He himself says :—

'I think I love society as much as most, and am ready enough to fasten myself like a blood-sucker for the time to any full-blooded man that comes in my way. *I am naturally no hermit*, but might possibly sit out the sturdiest frequenter of the bar-room if my business called me thither.'

It was quite consistent with this that he should hate slavery—should speak nobly and unceasingly for the valiant John Brown, of Harper's Ferry. His heart beat true for human rights, though he was wont to speak depreciatingly of professed philanthropists, who were apt to ignore broad distinctions where he maintained them—distinctions, too, which he held were essential to be recognised in view at once of social well-being and true individuality. In fact Thoreau was a man of high and ready public spirit, though he declined to be interested in the petty machinery of forced and over-heated local politics, just as Emerson tells us that he listened impatiently to news or *bon-mots* gleaned from London circles; and that though he tried to be civil, these anecdotes fatigued him. Wrapt up with his apparent disregard of elegancies, he had with him a marked air of elegance which could consist without accessories. 'He was short of stature, firmly built, of light complexion, serious blue eyes (right well opened), and a grave aspect.' So says Emerson, and the portrait given at the opening of the 'Excursions' justifies the words. The expression is at once so shrewd, so spiritual—the Yankee traits really there, yet refined away in earnest thought and wise foresight. The eyes so soft and thoughtful, yet so wondrously penetrating, so expressive of sharp mother-wit and kindness and generosity without stint; the nose so full, yet so sensitive in the nostril; the mouth so expressive of resolution and self-respecting calmness; and the

forehead a round, rising arch, bespeaking fervid imagination. Such was Thoreau—one of the most vigorous, independent, and true-hearted of Americans, who would easily have been turned into a martyr, notwithstanding that he held so lightly by formulas. His cutting brusqueness, of which even his dearest friends sometimes made mention, arose out of the seriousness and severity of his nature, which abhorred all triviality and vain conversation, and which, combined with such keen imagination and fiery hatred of wrong as characterized him, is always a main ingredient in heroism. What could be finer than his own account of himself, when he was cast into the State prison, because of that quarrel over the taxes, which he would not pay:—

‘I saw that if there was a stone wall between me and my townsmen, there was a still more difficult one to climb or break through before they could get to be as free as I was. I did not for a moment feel confined, and the walls seemed a great waste of stone and mortar. I felt as if I alone of all my townsmen had paid my tax. They plainly did not know how to treat me, but behaved like persons who are underbred. In every threat and in every compliment there was a blunder, for they thought that my chief desire was to stand on the other side of that stone wall. I could not but smile to see how industriously they locked the door on my meditations, which followed them out again without let or hindrance, and they were really all that was dangerous. As they could not reach me, they had resolved to punish my body; just as boys, if they cannot come at any person at whom they have a grudge, will abuse his dog.’

Never was the Puritan idea of freedom of soul better illustrated—unless perhaps by John Bunyan, in Bedford Jail. Thoreau, on a point of right, would have fought, and borne all indignity. In this case his friends came to his rescue, and he went free.

Probably it was this quality of self-sufficiency, associated as it was with such wonderful clearness of aim and skill in finding easy means to attain the end in view, which made Mr. Emerson signalize his practical ability in this regretful strain:—

‘With his energy and practical ability he seemed born for a great enterprise and for command; and I so much regret the loss of his rare powers of action that I cannot help counting it a fault in him that he had no ambition. Wanting this, instead of engineering for all America, he was the captain of a huckleberry party. Pounding beans is good to the end of pounding empires one of these days; but if at the end of the years it is still only beans! . . .’

Of fine sayings his books are full. No more dainty fancy, or power of exactly presenting the image of what lay in his own mind, has any recent writer possessed in greater measure. And a sudden humour, like summer lightning, plays over his pages. We could easily fill many pages; let these few sentences suffice:—

‘The keeping of bees is like the directing of sunbeams.’ (‘Paradise [to be] Regained.’)

‘I say beware of all enterprises that require new clothes, and not rather a new wearer of clothes.’

‘You must have stout legs to get noticed at all by Carlyle He indicates a depth which he neglects to fathom.’

In the essay on walking, he says:—

‘We are but faint-hearted crusaders; even the walkers nowadays undertake no persevering world’s-end enterprises. Our expeditions are but tours, and come round again at evening to the old hearth-side from which we set out. Half of the walk is but retracing our steps. We should go forth on the shortest walks, perchance, in the spirit of stirring adventure, never to return,—prepared to send back our embalmed hearts only as relics to our desolate kingdoms. . . . If you have paid your debts and made your will, and settled all your affairs, and are a free man, then you are ready for a walk.’

And in his poems there is often a rarity and chastity of expression, and a quality such as we seldom meet with, as these few specimens will show:—

‘The little violet
Pencilled with purple on one snowy leaf.’

‘The golden-rod and aster stain the scene
With hue of earth and sky.’

‘The gossamer motionless hung from the spray,
Where the weight of the dewdrops had torn it
away;
And the seed of the thistle, that whisper could
swing,
Aloft on his wheel, as tho’ borne on the wing,
When the yellow-bird severed it, dipping across
Its soft plumes unruffled fell down on the moss.’

‘The last butterfly
Like a wing’d violet floating in the meek
Pink-coloured sunshine, sinks his velvet feet,
Within the pillared mulleins’ delicate down.’

We take leave of Thoreau with lingering regret, conscious that to have unfolded his character and aims fully would have required an abler pen than ours, and also far larger space than is allotted to us. His cha-

racter was like those seaside flowers which smell the sweeter and grow the purer in that they are touched by the rough sea-salt.

ART. IX. — *Autobiography.* By JOHN STUART MILL. London: Longmans and Green.

JOHN STUART MILL was born in London on the 25th of May, 1806. He entered the world at a stirring time. England was in the thick of the conflict with Napoleon. The country had just lost two of her greatest men. Nelson had fallen at Trafalgar. The voice of Pitt was no longer heard in the meeting of the senate, in the council chamber of the king; and yet the fight was growing more deadly, and the time more critical. The excitement of home affairs gathered round the efforts of the abolitionists to destroy for ever the traffic in slaves. How little the world thought that the infant child of a then unknown Scotch adventurer would have so much to say to which England would give good heed, alike on behalf of the Republic which men were hating, and the liberty against which they fought.

He was the eldest son of James Mill, the well-known Indian historian, and the author of the 'Analysis of the Human Mind.' Born north of the Tweed, James Mill, like so many of his fellow-countrymen who give signs of remarkable power, was intended for the ministry of the Church of Scotland. His son informs us that he was licensed as a preacher. It is probable, therefore, that he had 'exercised his gifts.' But as the youthful licentiate early made the discovery that all religion was an intellectual blunder, and that God himself was a moral absurdity, not to say a serious mischief, it was clear that he could not pursue the course of a Christian minister in the Scotch Kirk. He became a private tutor for some years, and then passing southward, as under all circumstances, national and individual, was very natural, found his resting-place in London, and his living in writing for the press.

Some of the contradictions found in the history of the two Mills are very entertaining. For philosophers, they certainly present lives of strangely unphilosophic inconsistency. It is remarkable that the very patent want of harmony between doctrines and life which in several instances is indicated by the autobiography, did not lead the acute mind of the writer either to question the theory or to reform the life. Mr. James

Mill 'married and had a large family.' What vials of wrath have not been outpoured upon the stupid people who commit such sins against the laws of human life by the masters and disciples in the school of the Mills. It would seem, indeed, that the signpost which points, but goes not, is a symbol of the sage as well as of the preacher. It is not every wicked transgressor of the ordinances of political economy who finds a providence so tender and so beneficent as the once flourishing East India Company.

James Mill was a man of remarkable natural power, and altogether wonderful energy. The son is betrayed into adjectives unusual in his style when he describes his father's devotion to work. To his honour let it be recorded that though 'he broke the law of Malthus,' he supported his family without ever incurring debt. After all, perhaps the real sin is not the formation of those pressing ties and multitudinous claims, but the self-indulgence and sloth which neglect the provision which every man ought to make for his own household. The 'Superstitions of the Nursery,' spite of the denunciations of James Mill, may still be the true law of human life. The vagaries of the economist are only the precepts of a truer morality taken with a twist.

The usual clearness of Mr. Mill's style is lost when he speaks of his father's honesty of conviction, and its strong expression as increasing the difficulty of his position. His words are:—

'It would have been no small thing had he done no more than support himself and his family during so many years without ever being in debt or any pecuniary difficulty, holding as he did opinions both in politics and in religion, which were more odious to all persons of influence, and to the common run of prosperous Englishmen in that generation, than either before or since; and being not only a man whom nothing would have induced to write against his convictions, but one who invariably threw into everything he wrote as much of his convictions as he thought the circumstances would in any way permit.'

The line we have italicised certainly displays caution worthy of a son of one who was at once a philosopher and a Scot; and we find a little farther on that 'in giving' his son 'an opinion' (upon the subject of religion) 'contrary to that of the world,' the 'father thought it necessary to give it as one which could not prudently be avowed.'

It is clear, then, that with all his conviction, the elder Mill had not the courage of his convictions; and even if he had, 'the persons of influence' to whom his views

were so odious were found quite ready to reward his undoubted power and industry with a very comfortable post in the India House, securing for himself and for his son after him that happy combination of good pay and easy work, which has always enabled the destructive philosophy to ride a tilt against every arrangement of society with the pleasant conviction, should the attack be successful, that revolutions, in this country at all events, are reforms, and that English reforms always generously regard and indemnify all vested interests. We are quite ready to recognise and admire the heroism of unbelief, but we could find many pictures of conscientious fidelity to convictions in lowly parsonage and impoverished manse which would outvie in the character of courage and truthfulness the negative opinions of philosophers who, on the whole, have found even atheistic philosophy no bad trade.

James Mill appears to have early discovered the intellectual capabilities of his eldest son. He determined at once upon a course of rigorous mental discipline. Perhaps he looked forward to the education of one who should be the interpreter of his opinions to the coming generation, for the ex-licentiate of the Scotch Church never lost the sense of a mission such as burns in the bosom of the preacher. James Mill was an apostle as well as a thinker, and he resolved that his son should be an apostle likewise, but with a training free from the old superstitions which had gathered about his own youth. The age was rolling into the domain of mind. Pure intellect was to govern, to regenerate. Logic and the principles of a moral arithmetic should dominate the new era. If it were possible, his son should be the king in this new world, another Messiah for the age of Reason.

Here commences one of the saddest stories which literature contains—the education of the mind of John Stuart Mill by his father. We turn eagerly and seek for a word that indicates affection, tenderness, the culture of the finer sensibilities, the deeper instincts of the soul. We seek for reference to a mother's almighty grace of love, to the general play of home fancies, the intercourse of brother, sister, friend. Not a word. The sacred name of mother is never mentioned in the book, and had the autobiographer not told us that he was the eldest son in a large family, we should have supposed that the mother had died when he was born, and so deeply did the father feel his unutterable loss, that the name was enshrined in a sacred silence. Brothers and sisters, indeed, are mentioned, but only as unwilling pupils

of the little prodigy, who evidently himself cared little about the teaching which he had to give them under his father's eye. That John Stuart Mill was a man of tenderest feeling and most exquisite sympathies, no one who knew him, even in the far-off distance of his works, can for a moment doubt. But that he preserved a heart at all, after the training which his father gave him, is only more convincing proof of the natural sweetness and moral beauty of the man. Indeed, had we not his own word for it, we should strongly doubt alike the multitudinousness of the studies and the inhumanity of the teacher. Not that James Mill was cruel and harsh. He was simply unlovely. The picture drawn by his son apparently, indeed, quite unconscious of the effect that would be produced in the reader's estimate of his father, is that of a teaching machine—grinding, driving, planing, trimming, and at last turning out a keen, sharp, polished instrument, as much a distortion of what the real John Stuart Mill would have become under a generous, human education, as if he had been allowed to run wild in the green lanes of Newington, or consort with the silliest boys in the grammar schools of the city.

At the age of three Mr. Mill was learning Greek. By the time he was seven he had read as much as many a graduate has gone through when he has taken his degree. At twelve he had mastered the best known writers in Latin and Greek, and could boast an acquaintance with those authors which would not disgrace a scholar who made pretensions to extensive classical attainments. Besides these, he gives a long list of English works. Most of this was accomplished at his father's study table, while the 'History of British India' was being composed, or in walks along the green lanes of Stoke Newington, which were agreeably enlivened by the small student's discourses on what he had learned the day before, while the more laborious hours were diversified by excursions into Roman history, and practice in the composition of English verse.

It is quite impossible to pursue the story of this remarkable, probably unique education, or rather instruction and rigorous discipline, into all its parts, and along its entire course. At the age of twelve (we are thankful the little urchin was allowed even that mercy) he commenced the study of logic, and was thoroughly drilled in the forms and exercises of the schools; his Latin and Greek were kept up by the constant perusal of authors in those languages; attention was paid to elocution and composition; and special stress is laid upon the admirable results which flowed from the perusal of the 'His-

tory of India,' which was published in the year 1818. Its historic worth, its powerful argumentation, its fine treatment of political and social questions, all combined to render it very influential in the discipline of Mill's youthful powers and the formation of his opinions. Too much stress seems to be placed upon the very plain-spoken character of the work as prejudicial to the interest of the author. It is certain that in the year following its publication the elder Mill was chosen one of the assistants of the examiners of Indian correspondence. If the work is of so stringent and severe a complexion, it is clear that the East India directors were influenced in their choice only by the worthiness of the candidate, and in this case the implication is not just that English officials are unwilling to hear and stern to avenge any criticism upon their conduct and aims. But one of the defects of Mill's character, as brought out in the autobiography, and probably produced by the education which his father gave him, was a somewhat petulant impatience with the manners of his nation, and a certainly unjust depreciation of the worth and wholesomeness of English thought and society. His lessons had been learned in a school which, indeed, disciplined the mind and evolved theories most industriously, but did little or nothing to teach him what his fellow-men were, and how they felt, and what they required. The East India Company's office, and the work of writing despatches, were in after life not much better preparation for one who wished to be a critic, and reformer of English customs and institutions.

When Mill was about fourteen years of age, he had the advantage of a year's residence on the Continent. A visit to Bentham's brother at Pompignan introduced him to the beautiful scenery of the South of France and the Pyrenees. This aided in the cultivation of the æsthetic side of his nature, while, during this stay of a twelve-month, he was enabled to master the language, and read much of French literature. He attended lectures on science, metaphysics, and logic, and studied the higher mathematics. But according to his own estimate, the greatest advantage which he derived from this episode was having breathed the free and genial atmosphere of Continental life.

One of the most remarkable Englishmen of the last generation was Jeremy Bentham. A precocious child, he belied the usual law of such childhoods by growing into a still more wonderful man. At seven years of age the principle of utility dawned upon his mind when reading *Telemachus*. For twenty-three years he was engaged in forming opi-

nions, with this great ruling principle as the centre around which all might cluster. The remaining fifty he spent in promulgating this doctrine, in reforming all institutions, in manufacturing codes and constitutions for any people who were in want of such useful articles of life, and in gathering about him a party or a sect who disbelieved in everybody but themselves and Bentham, and were sworn to apply Benthamism to all social and national problems. Bentham's father would have made him a lawyer. Bentham's disciples have almost made him a god. Spite of the queer English which he wrote, the almost buffoonery in which he sometimes indulged, the excessive conceit of the teacher and the abject submission of the taught, there is not the slightest doubt that Jeremy Bentham has exercised a most beneficial influence upon the thought of this generation, especially in quickening action in relation to great moral and legislative reforms.

One of the earliest of Bentham's English disciples was Mr. James Mill. They were very friendly, and in this intercourse the younger Mill largely shared. The reading of the '*Traité de Legislation*' was an epoch in his life, as it has been in the intellectual history of many a student of that noteworthy book. 'The greatest happiness' principle had already become the standard by which the clever youth was taught to test all things. The freedom from sentiment, 'law of nature,' 'right reason,' 'moral sense,' which had been partially given by the teaching of his father, was more completely attained in the influences of Bentham and his writings. In the estimation of Mill their destructive force was a deluge, so far as all former moralities were concerned. Their constructive power was the ark which was to save him and all other philosophic beings who might serve to multiply and replenish the coming new order. Classification was now applied to the most complex forms of moral worth or delinquency. There was opened a wide prospect not only of intellectual achievement but also of practical good. The young Benthamist was an enthusiast in the hope that general utility would be the magic power to convert the world, to cast out the evil spirits, and to bring in the new and glorious time. He was already a man, or rather boy of learned acquirements, many theories, much speculation. The structure of his mental being had been most rapidly and most completely raised, and it only needed Bentham's maxim clearly apprehended and fully accepted to be the 'key-stone' of the arch 'which held together the detached and fragmentary component parts of his knowledge and beliefs.' It was more

than an opinion—it became a creed. It might have received the high sounding name of a philosophy. Mill himself calls it a religion, in one among the best senses of the word, that is to say, it was a principle to inculcate and diffuse which a whole life might be well spent.

Mill was especially influenced at this time by a work published under the name of Philip Beauchamp, called 'Analysis of the Influence of Natural Religion on the Temporal Happiness of Mankind.' This book was an examination of religious belief in the light of the newly-found principle of utility. It did not treat of any special revelation, but had simply to deal with the smallest fragment of faith which might still linger in the mind of a natural deist. Mill does not explicitly state the effect of the work upon him, but apparently it must have tended to confirm him in that absolute unreligious state of mind which his father had taken such pains to cultivate. It is indeed a striking picture. The lad of sixteen, who has almost exhausted the stores of learning, who is perfectly practised in analysis and thought, who has found a philosophy which brings all his opinions and beliefs into a well-rounded sphere, and has finally decided to do without any religion, to live altogether without a faith!

Among the friends with whom he was most familiar at this period of his life two deserve special and prominent regard, the one from his world-wide fame and justly-earned renown, the other from the profound and far-reaching influence which he has exerted. The first of these was Mr. George Grote. He was the son of a London banker, who did all in his power to bind him to the monotonous and unphilosophic tasks of the bank house counter. Though he ably discharged the duties of the office, Mr. Grote never ceased the studies which had commenced in the Charterhouse, and which at length placed him in the very first rank of English historians. He had been introduced to James Mill by Ricardo, and was at once entranced by the philosopher's splendid powers. He enrolled himself almost immediately as one of James Mill's ardent admirers and disciples. Quite alive to the faults of manner and spirit which detracted from the perfectness of Mill's intellectual companionship, he yet could not fail highly to regard the wisdom and acuteness of this remarkable man. He imbibed Mill's antipathies as well as his opinions. There was a peculiar scorn and hatred of the ruling classes in the heart of the Indian official, and, together with this, he entertained a lively prejudice against the Established Church. If he had not the po-

sitive faith, he had at least the negative detestation of the most fanatical dissenter. These two hatreds Mr. Grote most successfully caught, and although his opinions were greatly modified and his spirit much softened as he passed through middle age and approached the close of his life, to the last he retained traces of the influence which fifty years before he had first experienced from intercourse with James Mill. He was at this period busily engaged at the bank, but spent much of his leisure time in the company of his new teacher. The Toryism of his father and the Evangelical sentiments of his mother, were of little avail against the white hot logic and radical fervour of Mill. Though some years the senior of the son, he enjoyed his company and conversation, and Mill very properly and gracefully makes an acknowledgment of the obligations under which he lay to the fine intellectual and moral influence of Mr. Grote.

The other person to whom reference is made above was John Austin, late Professor of Jurisprudence in University College, who, after serving in the army, until the establishment of peace, sold his commission and entered as a student for the bar, in the studies of which he laid the foundation for that work which he afterwards performed as a teacher and writer on jurisprudence. Like Coleridge, Austin was gifted with remarkable powers of speech. He had peculiar mental force, and this was combined with an intensity of feeling and an appearance of reserved force of will which rendered personal intercourse with him of the very highest intellectual and moral worth. His books are unhappy examples of unfinished work. But his occasional conversations were amongst the finest educational influences which his contemporaries enjoyed. The effect of his teaching and personal character upon John Stuart Mill is quite incalculable. By his own showing it was evidently quite unique, and perhaps second only to that of his father and Mr. Bentham.

Amongst others in the intellectual circle into which he was introduced, were Charles Austin, Macaulay, Hyde, Charles Villiers, Lord Belper, Romilly, Eyton Tooke, Ellis, George Graham, and John Arthur Roebuck. In May, 1823, he obtained an appointment in the office of Examiners of Indian Correspondence, where he advanced by the usual steps of seniority until, the year before the dissolution of the old Company, he reached the highest post in his office, and was made examiner. How far the writing of despatches for the East India Company would help a man to become a reformer in England may be a very fair question for debate.

It is quite certain that Mr. Mill at least considered his official position to have been of considerable value to him as a theoretical reformer of the opinions and institutions of his time.

Twenty years before this time some young spirits in the northern capital had conceived, matured, and executed a project which had resulted in no small gain to their masters—the English Whigs. That party of politics, as well as general literature, had not a little profited by the *Edinburgh Review*—followed by its equally able and influential contemporary the *Quarterly* in the interest of the Tories. These *Reviews* had done much to give intelligence and vigour to the conflict of parties, whilst they wrought high service in the cause of English letters. But a new era was dawning. Bentham had thought, had written, and aided by the able interpretations of Dumont and the elder Mill, had been even understood. But Bentham was hardly an oracle in the *Edinburgh*, and certainly was no high pontiff to the *Quarterly*. Whiggery and Toryism were not now the only political parties. There was a liberalism that astonished Jeffrey, and might have thrown even Sydney Smith into a paroxysm of alarm. The party who called themselves, or were called 'Radicals,' felt the need of some literary organ which should cope in form and character even with the already established periodicals. Thus arose the idea of the *Westminster Review*, which was first talked of by Bentham and James Mill, though it did not become an actual project, until the voice of the younger Mill was heard in the councils of the rising party. Bentham at length determined to start the *Review* upon his own risks, and was very anxious that James Mill should accept the post of editor. This was thought incompatible with the appointment at the India House, whether from lack of time or from the pronounced opinion which the *Review* might have to express upon questions related to the Company, does not appear from the son's words.

Here we are introduced to a personage who has figured very largely in the annals of the Bentham school. Mr. John Bowring, better known to this age as Sir John, was a merchant in the city of London. He was a man of ardent temperament and multifarious learning, who obtained a mastery over a large number of languages, and became finally the editor of Bentham's works, and the compiler of Bentham's life. His labours in connection with British affairs in China are well known, but it is probable that he will live longest in the recollection of posterity, not as a zealous reformer, a vigorous scholar,

and a passionate admirer of the philosophy of utility, but from one or two hymns which he wrote, that have found their way into the religious services of the almost universal Church. There is a strange irony in the history of human renown. Bowring's party would perhaps think it small praise that he should gain some little of that kind of fame of which Dr. Watts is the immortal type, while all his fine spun theories and splendid achievements in reformative measures should be held for little worth. Posterity has odd standards of glory.

Whatever may have been the cause, it is clear that there was little sympathy between the Mills and Mr. Bowring. Whether each wished to monopolise the idol for himself, we cannot say, but the picture of the elder Mill drawn by Bowring in his memoirs of Bentham, and which received countenance in the article that appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* upon that work, was by no means flattering to the memory of the historian of British India, and elicited from his son, in a memorable letter to the editor, which had the extraordinary and exceptional honour of an insertion in the next number, a defence of his father which was alike just to the reputation of the dead, and honourable to the affection of the living. The references to Bowring in the autobiography show a continued sentiment of evident dislike.

In one whose language was not generally severe, these words are remarkable. He tells us that his father 'had seen little of Bowring but knew enough of him to form a strong opinion' (we may conjecture in what terms James Mill would express himself when he had formed a strong opinion) 'that he was a man of an entirely different type from what my father considered suitable for conducting a political and philosophical *Review*; and he augured so ill of the enterprise, that he regretted it altogether, feeling persuaded not only that Mr. Bentham would lose his money, but that discredit would probably be brought upon Radical principles.' It is not unrefreshing to some who may be compelled to breathe the atmosphere of an occasional religious squabble, to find that even in the airy heights of philosophical radicalism, where religion is quite out of court, and even the existence of God is ignored on principles of utility, human nature asserts itself, and displays the spirit which leads to misunderstanding and strife. The petty jealousies which the sects, alas, display, are surely alien to the sublime society of pure intelligence and right reason. The philosophical Ephraim never envies the philosophical Judah. Judah the Utilitarian never

vexes Ephraim the Benthamite. And yet it is so; and the strife does not cease after the death of the striving ones. We need here, as surely as for the religionists, the spirit of a 'sweet reasonableness.'

At all events, the *Review* was started, and Mr. Bowring became its editor. To the first number James Mill contributed what has always been a *rara avis* in review articles—namely, a criticism upon another review. He examined the course of the *Edinburgh* from its commencement, and created no little stir by what was probably regarded as at once a breach of good literary etiquette, and a very able performance. But James Mill's article on the *Edinburgh* was like the sermon of a hot controversialist. It included a good deal more than the mere review of the *Review*. The stern democrat very easily passed from the *Edinburgh* to a vigorous denunciation of the entire British constitution. It was *deglenda est Carthago* in the mouth of the English Radical. Party leaders were not spared. The Whigs found that they had a new foe, more uncompromising than any who had before attacked them, and giving signs of an ability which even the pages of their natural opponents had not displayed. The blow fell with prodigious force. It was at once the war cry and the sword sweep of fighting Radicalism. There is little doubt that it formed a party and launched the *Westminster*.

John Stuart Mill followed up the subject in the second number. James Mill continued his labours for some time. Mr. Bingham, afterwards the magistrate, looked after the literary and artistic portions. Austin and Grote wrote an article a-piece. Charles Austin, Fonblanque, Ellis, Eyton Tooke, Graham, and Roebuck were more regular contributors. Mill himself was the most prolific writer, but nobody seemed to be quite pleased with the *Review* as a whole. 'It is worth noting as a fact,' says Mr. Mill, 'in the history of Benthamism that the periodical organ by which it was best known was from the first extremely unsatisfactory to those whose opinions on all subjects it was supposed specially to represent.' We may faintly picture the life that poor Bowring must have led between the conflicting claims and somewhat vigorous criticism of these young Benthamites. Daniel in the den of lions would be a poor comparison. In the office of the *Westminster* the unhappy editor had no kind Providence which interested itself in his behalf, and closed the young lions' mouths. It is clear, however, that the *Review* must have done good work for the school which it represented, and it is only

fair that Sir John Bowring should be credited with some of that success.

Mill was now brought into closer connection with the leading men of the time, not only in literature, but also in the more public sphere of politics, and his opinions having become established and systematized, they were soon converted by him into a propaganda. In a word, Benthamism, as taught and promulgated by James Mill, became a religion. There was no God but Bentham, and John Stuart was his prophet. The father had three channels by which he hoped to convert the world. The first was his son, whom he had trained with the special object of his becoming the interpreter and apostle of his own principle. The second was the small but influential party who gathered round Charles Austin, and numbered among its members such names as Strutt, afterwards Lord Belper, and Romilly, the son of the well-known Sir Samuel. The third was a still younger race of Cambridge men, companions of Tooke and Butler, together with a more promiscuous crowd of persons, chiefly connected with the press, such as Black and Fonblanque. These formed the 'Philosophic Radicals,' who combined the philosophy of Hartley—which Mill earnestly adopted—with the political and legislative principles of Bentham. This school consisted chiefly of young men. Bentham was a somewhat far-off divinity. James Mill was the expounder and teacher round whose feet they delightedly gathered. Their enthusiasm grew as their principles were developed. They hoped to rival the *philosophers* of the last century. Young Mill was perhaps the most enthusiastic of them all. Without much sense of true benevolence, the principle of the greatest good was yet a magical power. He lived almost entirely in the region of speculative opinion. Feeling was the red rag against which they all ran wildly. From the side which they attacked there came plenty of invective and good hearty abuse. The philosophers and Radicals do not seem to have failed in vigorous reply. They hoped to regenerate mankind, but it was to be by the education of the intellect and the enlightenment of the selfish feelings. It is satisfactory to learn from so high an authority as Mr. Mill himself that 'not any one of the survivors of the Benthamites and Utilitarians of that day now relies mainly upon it for the general amendment of human conduct.' The acknowledgment does honour to the truthfulness of the great philosopher's nature, and will be accepted as a strong argument for the position of those who believe that

man can be regenerated only by the excitement and culture of the love of justice, and the unselfish sentiments of his nature.

Space permits only of a brief reference to the class which was formed at Mr. Grote's house in Threadneedle-street, for the perusal and discussion of works bearing upon the more abstract questions of the constitution of the human mind, and the relationship of society. Ellis, Graham, Prescott, Roebuck, Grote, and Mill met for an hour once a week, and thus went through James Mill's 'Political Economy,' Ricardo, Bailey, a course of logic, and especially Mill's 'Analysis of the Human Mind.' The exercise was a most useful one, and the thoroughness with which the work was done, and the complete sifting of every subject, proved not only a discipline to their minds, but was a fertile source of after achievements. Some of Mr. Mill's chief works owe their origin to these meetings.

They also took part in a series of public discussions in Chancery-lane with the Owenites, and out of this grew a debating society, attended by many whose names have since become almost household words.

It was at this time that Mill went through a remarkable transformation, important in its immediate effects, and perhaps still more important in its ultimate issues. The strain of constant work at last told upon him. He was evidently broken down in nervous power, and there set in a tide of profound melancholy which threatened utterly to overwhelm him. After embracing Benthamism and joining in the starting of the *Westminster*, he seems to have gained an object in life—he determined to become a reformer. There were abuses in abundance, and plenty of dragons to guard the way; to be the destroyer of the dragons, and to rectify the wrongs of the social state was an end worthy of a philosopher's son and the almost adopted heir of Bentham's system. All went well for a time. The young reformers made noise enough; and the dragons whom they smote roared loudly, and endeavoured with sufficient madness to crush the bold aggressors. Mill was now twenty years old—an old age for one who read Greek at three and studied Aristotle and Plato at seven. A sudden thought occurred to him, and that when he was in a mood which he describes as a dull state of nerves, when what is pleasure at other times becomes insipid and indifferent, the state in which he supposes converts to Methodism are when smitten by the first 'conviction of sin.' Probably Mr. Mill never conversed with a person under such 'conviction of sin.' He may have found that something very diffe-

rent from 'nerves' has to do with that spiritual experience. Indeed, the entire phraseology of the passage in the autobiography shows such utter ignorance of the spheres of life to which he refers, that the qualifying expression 'I should think' scarcely covers its gratuitous, and, to a large and worthy section of his fellow-men almost insulting, impertinence. In this frame of mind it occurred to him to ask himself, 'Suppose that all of your objects in life were realized, that all the changes in institutions and opinions which you are looking forward to could be completely effected at this very instant; would this be a great joy and happiness to you?' To this his heart answered, No! and life became a blank; his spirit sank within him; all the fair edifice of thought and hope and high purpose, which had been erected at such cost and care, vanished like a dream. His happiness was to be found in a certain pursuit. When the end was attained, the pursuit was over, and there was no more joy in living.

Time brought no alleviation to the sadness. He says that Coleridge's lines expressed exactly his condition,—

'A grief without a pang, void dark and drear,
A dreary, stifled, unimpassioned grief,
Which finds no natural outlet or relief
In word, or sigh, or tear.'

All exertion now was difficult. Books gave him no enjoyment. He loved no companion sufficiently to confide his sorrow to a sympathetic heart. He feared to tell his grief lest it should seem too trifling a distress. His father was the very last man to whom he would have appealed. It was his firm conviction that James Mill had no knowledge of such a mental state as his son was suffering from. The education he had given him had no outlook for such a crisis as this; and so alone and without a ray of light the young man bore his bitter misery. It is strange that he did not now question the wisdom of the teaching which resulting in this condition had yet no healing for its own ill; indeed, the teacher seemed absolutely unconscious that such a thing could be. True, he began to doubt some of the applications of his father's principles, but it was only to take refuge in the opinion that he had been too strictly trained in the analytic habit. His doubt did not compel him to seek a sphere of human sympathy and action altogether neglected by the school in which he had grown up to manhood. His was, in fact, a life without an ideal, a religion without a God, and awaking to a sense of certain ignored and forgotten powers within him he found that they met with

no response to their cry ; but he was alone in the wilderness, with no answer but the echo of his own wretchedness. What might the man not have become for himself and for his age, if some Ananias could have found him in his blindness, and given him sight !

A mind of the character and culture of Mr. Mill was not likely to remain for ever in this gloom. A faint response of sensibility to a passage in the 'Memoirs of Marmontel' revealed to himself the fact that the springs of his affections had not been altogether dried up. The flinty rock was smitten, and a stream, though only a trickling one, flowed in the desert and refreshed his soul. The engagements and enjoyments of life regained their influence over him. He found that life was worth living for ; and, though he had occasional returns of the fits of melancholy, they were never of long duration, and not of such utter hopelessness as the first.

The result of this experience was twofold. He began to regard as of importance the culture of the inner life, and he formed a theory altogether different from that which had hitherto guided him. Happiness was still received as the 'test of rules of conduct, the proper end of life.' But it was not to be gained by keeping it ever before the mind. Men seemed to him to be happy not in so far as they sought happiness, but in so far as they sought something else. 'The enjoyments of life are sufficient to make it a pleasant thing when they are taken *en passant*, without being made a principal object. Once make them so and they are immediately felt to be insufficient. They will not bear a scrutinising examination.' These words are remarkable as coming from the pen of England's modern teacher of logic and morals. The object of this article is not to discuss the doctrines of Mr. J. S. Mill, but this observation appears to exhibit all the faults of bad reasoning and but slight acquaintance with the real nature of man. The idea of happiness here expounded is woefully incomplete. Some very simple people, who have no notion of either logical or ethical systems, could teach Mr. Mill and his school very much of which they seem not even to dream. If that, too, which is the test of conduct must not be present to the mind as a rule of conduct, may we not suspect it as the sole and thorough-going solvent for all the perplexed problems of good and evil ? It is strange that the philosopher should not have suspected his theory of happiness as the end of life, when it proved itself such only by indirect means. The narrowness of outlook which cannot fail to impress the mind of every student of the philosophy of

James Mill, seems then to have clung to the thinking of the son. Man's mind and heart, his nature and life are of far wider extent than either of these sharp and peculiarly subtle thinkers ever seem to have conceived. Perhaps if Mr. Mill had not been in the remarkable condition of 'one who has even not had a religion' to give up, his view of men and conduct would not have lost in fulness and in truth.

When Mill was twenty-five years of age, he met the lady who afterwards became his wife, between whom and himself there sprang up a friendship which, when it deepened into the closer relationship of marriage, presented one of the most beautiful examples of perfect union which biography has ever related. She was the wife of a Mr. Taylor, a man of high character and liberal opinions, but who does not seem to have possessed those mental and æsthetic tastes which would make his union with his wife in every way complete. He was very fortunate to win the hand of such a woman ; and her regard for her husband remained unbroken until his death, when she deeply and truly lamented his loss. But her marriage with Mr. Mill was altogether of a different order. Their tastes blended, their views of life were one, their ambition turned towards a common object. Indeed, if much that he says of his wife is not to be put down to the romance of affection, it is to her that he owes the inspiration of his best works. She became to him the supreme object of regard. Mill had no great faith in a God. He had unbounded confidence in a goddess, and it is clear that the instincts of worship and religion which he undoubtedly possessed found some object of adoration in the noble woman who was honoured to bear his name.

She was of beautiful person and highly-cultivated mind, able to pour forth the treasures of her nature in admirable words. Those who knew her in the common intercourse of society, recognised her as a wit and a woman of peculiar distinction. She possessed a warm and kindly soul, that was stirred to its depths by feelings of liberty and humanity. She was remarkably clear, accurate, and swift in the powers of her intuitions, and added to all her mental characteristics the charm which arises from a poetic and glowing temperament. She seems to have been saved from the coarseness and strenuous tone of the typical strong-minded woman, although probably some of her opinions might shock staid people, who are innocent alike of philosophy and the doctrines of the new era. A true womanliness redeemed her from the corrupting influences of these so-called advanced opinions. Her

presence in her husband's life was like the song of the lark as he rises in the morning and floods the clear air from which the shadows of the night have only just withdrawn, with a melody pure as the dewdrop that is falling from his wing. There is something æthereal and spiritual in the tone which animates Mill's words as he speaks of his wife, while at the same time the union of the thoughtful and the practical which was found in her nature, served to direct her husband's speculations towards the immediate and the actual. The history of letters scarcely furnishes another example of so complete a blending of tastes, objects, and pursuits, and at the same time the open confession on the man's part of the vast obligation under which he rested to his wife.

With the introduction and friendship of Mrs. Taylor, the formative influences which combined to educate John Stuart Mill may be said to have ceased. Up to thirty years of age we may consider him as engaged in forming his opinions and gaining material for the work of life. At first, the strict mental discipline of his father's study; then the influence of Bentham and the school which gathered round James Mill; next, the personal experiences through which he passed away from Benthamism and philosophical Radicalism into a somewhat wider aspect of life, and a more generous estimate of man and society; and finally the inspiration derived from his friendship with Mrs. Taylor—all these phases of his history produced their natural effect, and made him to be, perhaps, the foremost Englishman of his time in the region of speculative philosophy.

He became a regular writer in magazines and reviews, and made preparation for his works of greater weight. He laboured hard to give Radicalism more force in the reformed House of Commons, but found that the expectations of what the Radical members would achieve, was little better than a dream. In 1833 he was associated with Fonblanque on the *Examiner*. In 1834 he published comments on passing events, under the title of 'Notes on the Newspapers,' in the *Monthly Repository*, which was then edited by Fox, the Unitarian minister, afterwards member for Oldham. In this journal appeared his theory of poetry, afterwards published in the 'Dissertations;' and among other writings of this date, special reference ought to be made to a critical account of Bentham's philosophy, which he contributed to Bulwer's 'England and the English.' Part of it was incorporated in the text, and the rest in an appendix. Mill seems at this time to have been escaping from the shackles of his father's powerful

mind. Though defending the doctrines of Hartley and the principles of Utilitarianism from a severe attack made upon them by Sedgwick in his 'Discourses on the Studies of Cambridge,' he continued to 'insert a number of the opinions which constituted his view of these subjects as distinguished from that of his old associates.' The opposition of the elder Mill was probably tempered by a corresponding advance in his own position and the debility produced by declining health. He was suffering from consumption, and died on the 23rd of June, 1835.

Mill was now left alone to carry out the great mission for which he had been prepared by Bentham and his father. His chief employment was the preparation of the 'Logic,' and writing for the *Westminster*, which had passed entirely into his hands. He opened its pages to a far wider school of writers than had hitherto contributed to it. Amongst these were Sterling, whose name will be preserved in his 'Life,' written by Carlyle, and Carlyle himself, the references to whom in the autobiography are very touching and generous. The 'Logic' was published in the spring of 1843, and was at once received with very general acclamation. The work soon became a text-book in the schools, and quite a standard authority on the side of those who held that all knowledge is derived from experience, and all moral and intellectual qualities principally from the direction given to the associations.' The effect produced by this work during the present generation in completing the revival of a true system of logical study, which was commenced by Whately, can never be overrated. Quite apart from any question as to the truth of the doctrines set forth by Mill, it cannot be doubted that by far the greatest book in the English language upon that subject is the now universally known and studied 'System of Logic.' The point on which Mill seems most disposed to base the worth of his book is its endeavour to combat the philosophy of intuition, as to the real value of mathematical and physical truths, and the true character of necessary truths; but it is very probable that by the majority of readers the 'Logic' is chiefly prized for its masterly discussion of the scientific forms of physical research. It has given to logic a wider reach, and saved it from the charge of mere trifling with names and figures without any faithful dealing with the facts and laws of nature.

Mill had passed out of the school of Bentham and his father, only to enter that of Mrs. Taylor. He retired from society, of which he speaks in terms of unqualified con-

tempt, and cultivated the friendship of only a limited circle. He became more 'heretical,' and believed that his heresies were the most essential part of his opinions in relation to the regeneration of mankind. As a Benthamite he seems to have been only Democratic. Now he became a Socialist, but with strong qualifying convictions in the direction of individual liberty. How far his socialism took a practical form we are not told. It is probable, however, that it was only a speculative principle, not carried out to the utmost extent of possible application, although Mill was always generous and self-sacrificing.

The 'Political Economy,' which contained these advanced views, was now in hand. It was published early in 1848, and commanded a success greater even than that of the 'Logic,' and has in its turn become a standard work. He continued to write occasionally in papers and magazines, and commenced and finished many essays which appear never to have seen the light. In 1851 he was married to Mrs. Taylor, who had lost her first husband two years previously. In 1856 he was promoted to the position of Examiner of Indian Correspondence, the highest post in the office where he had laboured for more than thirty years. He was strongly opposed to the action of Parliament which terminated the existence of the East India Company, and the remonstrance which he wrote in defence of the company was said by a leading politician to be the very best State paper he had ever seen. He was offered a seat in the Council by Lord Stanley, the first Secretary of State for India. This, as well as a subsequent offer from the Council itself, he persistently declined.

His 'Liberty,' perhaps his greatest work, appeared soon after the loss of his wife, which melancholy event occurred in the winter of 1858. The words with which he refers to its publication breathe the tenderest sentiment. 'After my irreparable loss, one of my earliest cares was to print and publish the treatise, so much of which was the work of her whom I had lost, and consecrate it to her memory. I have made no alteration or addition to it, nor shall I ever. Though it wants the last touch of her hand, a substitute for that touch shall never be attempted by mine.' He also published the first two volumes of 'Dissertations and Discussions.' In 1860 and 1861 he wrote 'Considerations on Representative Government,' and 'The Subjection of Women,' the latter of which was not published until 1869. This was followed by 'Utilitarianism,' the 'Examination of Sir

William Hamilton's Philosophy,' the volume on 'Auguste Comte and Positivism,' shorter articles upon various subjects, and an edition of James Mill's 'Analysis of the Human Mind,' with notes. In the preparation of the last Mill was assisted by Mr. Grote, Dr. Findlater, and Mr. Alexander Bain.

These make up a tolerably large collection of works which in their class deservedly hold a first-rate position. The laboriousness of Mr. Mill's authorship was very noteworthy. He published nothing which had not been the result of long and patient thinking. He paid much attention to the style of his works, and though rather diffuse and at times prolix, on the whole he is one of the most interesting of writers on subjects which are proverbially dry and barren of topics likely to catch the attention of any but those who make them an especial study.

Mr. Mill's parliamentary career does not call for particular notice. It was creditable to him alike in his candidature, his speeches, and in the defeat which attended his effort at re-election. The spirit which he threw into his words raised the tone of parliamentary debate, and although he did not achieve any great success whilst in the House of Commons, he has left behind him a record of noble and far-reaching utterances, of which his admirers may very justly be proud. After this, he spent most of his time upon the Continent, and was engaged in his favourite studies and pursuits until the end of life. He died on the 8th of May, 1873, at his residence near Avignon, close to the sacred spot where the remains of his beloved wife repose, and where he himself was laid beside her, perhaps rightly denied to that English ground from which he does not seem to have departed with many signs of affection or regret.

It is probable that we are much too near to the time of this great writer fairly to estimate his character and work. The life of John Stuart Mill still remains to be written, although we can never receive a more complete and truthful account of the influences which combined to make him what he was, than that furnished by himself. And yet perhaps it would have been well had the autobiography never been written. It is one of the saddest books ever published. It reveals a childhood out of which all brightness and cheer were driven in an inexorable manufactory of mind. It seems to tell the story of a youth without passion, without rapture, without victory. Its manhood has no love in it, and were it not for the few years of apparently unutterable happiness in married life, the story of John

Stuart Mill's career would be told from beginning to end alike without smiles or tears. That he possessed a mind of peculiar energy, thoroughly disciplined and richly stored, it would be folly to question. Mill's sensibilities were also delicate and quick. But these were checked, almost crushed out in the terrible education through which he passed. That he possessed them, is sufficiently clear from the fact that those who came into personal contact with him felt in a moment the almost feminine tenderness of his nature, and were conscious of receiving from him a quick and sympathetic response. He was courageous in the highest degree. His soul burned with indignation at wrong done to the slave, the poor, the helpless. There was a kind of chivalry in the way in which he espoused the cause of women in their subjection to men. Some have thought that in this and other points his feelings swayed his judgment, and the author of the 'System of Logic' became a striking example of the all-mastering force of an emotional nature. Spite of all this, the life gives us no sign of happiness. A tinge of melancholy runs through all. From the severity of his father to the sweet intellectual inspirings of his wife a sadness seems ever to dwell upon his career. It was not that he was unfortunate. Few men have achieved greater success in life than John Stuart Mill. His was no struggle with poverty, obloquy, and reproach. Blessed with competence, in excellent health, surrounded by admirers, Mill learned but few of the bitter lessons by which some men are schooled. It was not that he was intensely earnest. He certainly was earnest, and meant all he said and did. But many men have been as earnest, and the gladness which never fell around him has brightened all their path. His way went ever in the dim twilight of a pensive melancholy.

Some explanation may, perhaps, be found in his own words, that he had not thrown off religious belief; but that he never had it. Was this the miss in life? Was this the true explanation of the unrest, the sense of emptiness which the book suggests? Perhaps it would have been better for him to have lost a religion. Then a consciousness of need might have driven him to seek for one, and this quest has often been the fulness of a life. To be sure he found at length a supreme object of regard. Strange Nemesis of outraged nature! Men must worship. Perhaps as Mill would not, or could not worship God, it may be matter of devout satisfaction that he made as the idol of his soul no worse object than the graceful and gifted woman by whose side he

sleeps in the little French cemetery. But that he failed to find in theory or in practice the ultimate and true laws of human life, it only needs the autobiography to place beyond a doubt. Long ago did the great preacher declare *cor nostrum inquietum est donec requiescat in te*. We need not wonder that Bentham's heir and James Mill's son, one of the profoundest thinkers, one of the most virtuous men, one of the most gifted philosophers of the present century, completely failed to find that perfect rest, that 'peace which passeth understanding.'

Note to the Article on Herbert Spencer,
No. VI., October, 1873.

IN the notice of Mr. Spencer's works that appeared in the last number of this *Review* we had occasion to point out that he held mistaken notions of the most fundamental generalizations of dynamics; that he had shown an ignorance of the nature of proof in his treatment of the Newtonian Law; that he had used phrases such as the Persistence of Force in various and inconsistent significations; and more especially that he had put forth proofs logically faulty in his endeavour to demonstrate certain physical propositions by *a priori* methods, and to show that such proofs must exist. To this article Mr. Spencer has replied in the December number of the *Fortnightly Review*. His reply leaves every one of the above positions unassailed. With the exception of two minor points to be presently dealt with, he has contented himself with joining issue with us on the existence of *a priori* physical truths. It will be noticed that nowhere in our article do we attempt to prove that such cannot exist, though we fully believe it, and are not afraid of asserting it. The attitude of physicists towards this question is identical with that of mathematicians towards the Geometrical Quadrature of the Circle. This has never been shown to be impossible, though the experience of repeated failures has made them believe it to be so, and even to see good reason why this should be. They therefore freely express this their conviction that they may discourage useless endeavours; and they content themselves with exposing the fallacies of all alleged solutions instead of wasting their time in seeking to prove that it is actually impossible. Similarly we decline to argue the abstract question of the possible existence of *a priori* physical truths; but inasmuch as Mr. Spen-

cer has proceeded to show that such must exist, and that the Three Laws of Motion are of this nature, we shall, here as before, indicate the fallacies that underlie his proposed demonstrations.

So certain is he that the *a priori* character of the Laws of Motion is an unchallenged fact, that he hints that he is magnanimous in not retorting on us some of our severe language in consequence of our oversight of it. But inasmuch as he feels that it is unlikely that Professor Tait should deny the existence of *a priori* physical truths with such instances before him, he thinks it advisable to prove the point, which he proceeds to do by citing a passage from the great work on 'Natural Philosophy' by Professors Thomson and Tait to balance the dictum of Professor Tait himself, and also by adducing abstract and other arguments in support of his positions. And first as to this rival quotation. It sounds strongly in his favour. 'Physical axioms are axiomatic to those only who have sufficient knowledge of the action of physical causes to enable them to see at once their necessary truth.' Had Mr. Spencer, however, read the sentence that follows it we doubt whether we should have heard aught of this quotation. It is 'Without further remark we shall give Newton's Three Laws; it being remembered that as the properties of matter might have been such as to render a totally different set of laws axiomatic, *these laws must be considered as resting on convictions drawn from observation and experiment and not on intuitive perception.*' This not only shows that the term 'axiomatic' is used in the previous sentence in a sense that does not exclude an inductive origin, but it leaves us indebted to Mr. Spencer for the discovery of the clearest and most authoritative expression of disapproval of his views respecting the nature of the Laws of Motion.

Secondly, he states that 'every physical question probed to the bottom ends in a metaphysical one,' and that our doctrine illustrates the error 'that we can go on for ever, asking the proof of the proof, without finally coming to any deepest cognition which is unproved and unprovable.' But the 'unproved' thing at which a scientific investigator arrives is not 'unprovable' in consequence of being an *a priori* truth, but in consequence of its being a fundamental hypothesis, and the warrant of its truth to him is not its being a 'datum of consciousness,' but its power to account for phenomena. It is clear throughout the reply, that Mr. Spencer confounds the nature and status of an *a priori* truth with that of a *fundamental scientific hypothesis*, and no mistake could

be more fatal to his claim to be trusted as a philosopher capable of unifying all science. The latter is always liable to be qualified or altered in accordance with the results of new and more accurate experiments, while the former, however it be defined, must differ widely from this.

Thirdly, he tries to show that these laws of motion *could admit of no a posteriori* proof. His argument is briefly as follows:—The first law of motion cannot be proved inductively, for we have no case of absolutely unobstructed motion, and to assume that retardation will vanish when friction and resistance cease, because it grows less when they grow less, is to assume (1) that the diminution of motion produced in a moving body is proportionate to the energy abstracted from it in producing other motion; (2) that no variation has occurred save in giving motion to other matter; (3) that the law of inertia holds in the obstructing matter; and that this is to *assume the truth of the very law we are trying to prove*. On the utterly erroneous character of these statements we do not care to dwell, we wish simply to call our readers' attention to the conclusion arrived at. Is that a disproof of the possibility of an inductive proof? We thought that every tolerably educated man was aware that the proof of a scientific law *consisted in showing that by assuming its truth, we could explain the observed phenomena*.

He passes on to show that if we substitute accurate for rough observations, our very measurements of equal times, &c., depend on the truth of dynamical principles. 'That is to say, the proposed experimental proof of the first law assumes not only the truth of the first law, but of that which Professor Tait agrees with Newton in regarding as a second law.' Of course it does, and also that of the third law, if not that of others. Does not Mr. Spencer know that the proof on which physicists mainly rely in establishing the accuracy of the fundamental hypotheses of any branch of science is that, *when taken as a system*, they account for complex phenomena which are the result of their concurrent action. We may illustrate, or even roughly demonstrate the several laws separately by experiments, which give instances of their approximately isolated working, but no one considers such experiments as doing more than establishing a *primâ facie* case on behalf of the laws they severally illustrate. Mr. Spencer asserts that Newton gave no proof of the Laws of Motion. The whole of the *Principia* was the proof, and the fact that, taken as a system, these laws account for the lunar and plane-

ary motions, is the warrant on which they chiefly rest to this day.

The two minor points to which we have referred are these. Mr. Spencer made a statement which we knew the present state of science could not justify. From the context we concluded that he had fallen into one error. His reply shows that he had fallen into two others. Mathematical readers will find that he concludes that friction must ultimately transform *all* the energy of a sound into heat, because it continually is transforming some of it, forgetting that the validity of this conclusion depends on the laws of gaseous friction for very small velocities, of which we know but little. Moreover, he thinks that this final transformation of the whole of the energy into heat is affected by Laplace's discovery of the generation of heat by the compression accompanying the sound. The discovery in question might as well be described as the *diminution* of heat by the *expansion* of the air produced by the sound; it has nothing to do with the final transformation, as its effect is merely momentary, and in fact it amounts to nothing more than our using in our calculations the coefficient of adiabatic instead of isothermal elasticity. With respect to his distinction between Persistence of Force and Conservation of Energy, we can only repeat the words of the article, 'He formally identifies it on its first appearance with the Conservation of Force, which is the old name for the principles now known as the Conservation of Energy,' secure that our reference will bear them out. Mr. Spencer cannot shelter himself under any difference of meaning between the last two phrases. Conservation of Force was changed into Conservation of Energy, not because there was any doubleness of meaning in it, but because outsiders might think so. The change came too late to save Mr. Spencer.

There is one further point on which we must ask our readers to judge between Mr. Spencer and ourselves. He feels it advisable at the end of his reply to encourage his disciples by assuring them that were our conclusions valid they would have done but little. Speaking of his reviewer, he says, 'Against the general doctrine of Evolution, considered as an induction from all concrete phenomena, he utters not a word;' and he points out that we have merely found fault with two illustrations in all the chapters that treat of the laws by which he maintains that it is guided. Our words in introducing the only part of our essay that refers to these subjects, were—'It must be understood that we are not attacking his induction. He has a right to claim that it should be taken as

a whole; and we should be the last to deny his claim. We shall therefore only give these specimens, in order to set the reader of Mr. Spencer's work on his guard, and shall therefore content ourselves with giving two.' Is it a fit reward for the care with which we assigned and kept the above limits to the field of our criticisms that Mr. Spencer should point triumphantly to what we have not included therein, and have therefore not noticed? Anyone who considers the length of the article will see good reason why we thus restricted ourselves, but we hope at a future time to have an opportunity of examining such of the excluded parts as belong to the domain of the physicist.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TRAVELS.

Holland House. By PRINCESS MARIE LIECHTENSTEIN, with numerous Illustrations. Two Vols. Macmillan and Co.

The Princess Liechtenstein, as some of our readers are aware, is the adopted daughter of Holland House—whose marriage, as chronicled in the newspapers, was celebrated with almost royal pomp a few months ago. It says much for her qualities of both head and heart, that a lady so young should have produced a work so able and sympathetic as this. Of course its literary characteristics are not to be measured by the standards that we should apply to literary masters like Macaulay and Sir James Mackintosh—either of whom, if he had completed his intention of writing a history of Holland House, would have made a permanent and brilliant contribution to the highest class of political, social, and historic literature. Only a pedant or a cynic, however, would suggest such a comparison. The book before us, although somewhat juvenile in some of its moralizings and judgments, is worthy of its theme, and is full of interest. It indicates considerable literary and artistic culture, a patient research into the rich manuscript treasures of Holland House, and an utter absence of pretension, which gives the book one of its great charms. It is a book that has grown out of the soil made of the material of Holland House itself, moulded by the fair hand of one of its residents. The writer arranges her work in three sections—first, the history of the manor and house; next, biographical and social notices of eminent personages connected with it, as owners, members of the family, or guests; and next, a description of the house and grounds, with a *catalogue raisonné* of the principal pictures, books, art treasures, souvenirs, &c., which the rooms contain. Holland House is almost the last of the great historic mansions of London. It is one of the half-dozen most

interesting in England. It is still a palace sequestered in its own grounds, its pinnacles and gables mingling with rich green foliage; although the steady tide of urban population is wrapping it round like a rock on the sea-shore. Holland House has from various causes gathered a literary reputation that is almost unique, and that is not very easy to define; it presents the nearest approach to the French *salon* that English society has attained. But the tact and genius of the imperious Lady Holland, who succeeded in making her house the social æthe-næum of literary and artistic England, although she laid her royal behests on patient John Allen and good-humoured Sydney Smith so unceremoniously that the former bade her carve for herself, and the latter asked if he should sweep the room as well as ring the bell—only put the crown upon an illustrious reputation. More great names have been associated with Holland House than perhaps with any other mansion in England. The generation that Macaulay so brilliantly describes in his 'Essay on Lord Holland' has almost passed away—some few yet remain, however, to whom it is the most brilliant memory of modern English life. The names of illustrious personages who assembled in the famous Gilt-room, at the bidding of Lady Holland, and who might have been heard discussing the literature or politics of the day, fill six or seven pages. Wilkie and Mackintosh, Talleyrand and Sydney Smith, Charles James Fox, Sheridan, Sir Philip Francis, Romilly, Windham, Horner, Grenville, Curran, Grattan, Monk Lewis, Jerome Buonaparte, Tierney, Dr. Parr, Blanco White, Wollaston, Payne Knight, Sir Humphry Davy, Jeffrey, Byron, Moore, Rogers, Macaulay, Eldon, Lyndhurst, Melbourne, Brougham, Washington Irving, the Humboldts, John Allen, Hookham Frere, Canova, Chantrey, Molè, Guizot, Palmerston, Lansdowne, Jeremy Bentham, Dumont, Madame de Staël, the Princess Lieven, Metternich, and Kemble are among them.

With great tact and animation the authoress acts as *cicerone* among these illustrious guests, points to souvenirs, and connects anecdotes with them; detains us for a moment to tell a good story, and then passes on. She has had free access to family papers, and no doubt she would have contributed more to literary and political knowledge had she used these more largely; but she would have marred her design, which was simply to give an account of Holland House,—to perfect which, she lays under contribution all available sources of information, whether published or not—biographies and histories, as well as manuscripts. Some of her stories, therefore, have been frequently told before—but they could not have been left out.

Henry Rich, the great grandson of an opulent mercer, was the first Lord Holland, created Earl of Holland in 1624. He came into possession of Holland House, previously called Cope Castle, through his wife Isabel, the daughter of Sir Walter Cope. He proved disloyal to Charles I., and a meeting between the disaffected members of Parliament and Fairfax was

held at Holland House, August 6th, 1647. In 1648, he returned to the Royalists, was captured at St. Neot's, and beheaded in Palace-yard, Westminster. Henry Rich was a Meccenas in his way, and made Holland House the resort of talent and fashion. He was a brave man, although very handsome, and a fop. He appeared on the scaffold dressed in a white satin waistcoat and a white satin cap with silver lace. After his death General Fairfax inhabited Holland House, and Lambert fixed his headquarters there. In a field belonging to it Cromwell is said to have discussed affairs with Ireton, to avoid being overheard through Ireton's deafness. Lady Holland regained her mansion, and had plays acted there when the theatres were shut by the Puritans. The second Lord Holland succeeding his cousin, became Earl of Warwick; and the wife of his son and successor was the Countess of Warwick, whom Addison married, when she became a widow. The story is of course told again, and Addison's matrimonial happiness is discussed. Notwithstanding the severe epigrammatic verdict of Johnson, founded on 'Spence's Anecdotes,' let us hope that things were not so bad, inasmuch as Addison left his fortune to Lady Warwick, and Lady Warwick left £10 a year to the poor of Bilton, out of respect for her husband; also a legacy of £50 to Mrs. Dorothy Combes, 'sister of my late dear husband, Mr. Addison.' Addison died in what is now the dining-room, but whether, as Tickell says, bidding the young Earl of Warwick 'see in what peace a Christian can die,' or, as Walpole says, 'Unluckily he died of brandy,' is not certain. It is said that he used to pace the long library with a 'bottle of port at one end, a bottle of sherry at the other,' in which he tried to drown dull care. Addison is said to have sent for Milton's daughter to Holland House, requesting her to bring with her some evidences of her birth; but so soon as he saw her he exclaimed 'Madam, you need no other voucher!—Your face is a sufficient testimonial of whose daughter you are.'

In 1749 Holland House was let on lease to Henry Fox, 'the first Lord Holland' of the present family, who bought it in 1767. It was occasionally let. William Penn was one of its occupiers; Sir John Chardin, the Persian traveller, another; Atterbury's daughter, Mrs. Maurice, another. Atterbury's Library, indicating his own frequent residence, was kept there. In 1689 William III. thought of making it his palace, but ultimately preferred the house of the Earl of Nottingham. An interesting account is given of Sir Stephen Fox, founder of the Fox family, and father of the first Baron Holland. He was a choir boy in Salisbury Cathedral, and officiated as parish clerk. He gradually rose, and was the first to announce to Charles II., when playing at tennis, the death of Cromwell. After this his advancement was rapid. He was one of the prime favourites of fortune. Evelyn says he amassed a great fortune, 'honestly got, and unenvied; which is next to a miracle; and he bore his prosperity uninjured in character.' He was one of the earliest promoters of Chelsea Hospital, and was altogether a noble char-

acter, worthy of his great fortunes. He married his second wife when he was seventy-six, and two of the children by this marriage were respectively created Earl of Ilchester and Baron Holland. The latter, Henry, was born in 1705, and was the schoolfellow of Pitt (Earl of Chatham), afterwards his great rival—a rivalry which descended to the next generation. His morality was not very exemplary, and his love of money amounted to avarice. He was charged with gratifying the latter passion at the cost of his country. He died in 1768. Lord Bute had promised him an earldom, in reward for political services—only a barony was given him. 'It was only a pious fraud,' said Lord Bute. 'I perceive the fraud, my lord,' Fox rejoined, 'but not the piety.' His romantic marriage with Lady Caroline Lennox, eldest daughter of the Duke of Richmond, and their treatment by the bride's father and his courtly friends, are related in detail: how Lady Caroline was bidden by her father to prepare to receive another suitor, and obeyed by cutting off her eyebrows, afterwards eloping with Fox. Her father's letter, after some years of banishment, is a singular exhibition of pride and pathos—the heart of the father beating down the pride of the Duke, and welcoming his child. It was a love-match to the end. Lady Caroline survived her husband only twenty-one days; Stephen, the second Lord Holland, survived his father only six months. It is to his brother, Charles James Fox, that the family owes its chief lustre. More than fifty pages are given to reminiscences and anecdotes of this great orator and statesman, who spent much of his life at Holland House, where he was a spoilt child. 'A wall was condemned, and Lord Holland had promised young Charles James that he should witness its demolition. By some accident, however, the boy was not present when the wall was knocked down; but Lord Holland, acting up to the principle of keeping faith even with a child, had the wall built up again, in order that it might be demolished before his eyes.' Once the *enfant terrible* wished to break a watch. 'Well,' said the father, 'if you must I suppose you must.' It is sad to read that he acquired his taste for gambling before he was fourteen, under the auspices of his foolish father, who took him to Paris and Spa. He died at Chiswick, and his wife, as eccentric as she was really affectionate, intimated to anxious waiters that all was over, by passing through the ante-room with her apron thrown over her head. It is difficult to refrain from quoting the rich anecdotes and characterisations with which the account of this great orator is inlaid.

We can but refer our readers to the love-passages between George III. and Lady Sarah Lennox, in 1761, when it would appear that a single word of affected indifference hindered the latter of a throne. Captain Napier tells the story, and we regret that his manuscript has not been printed entire. It is as pretty a romance as that of Henry Fox. It seemed cruel, however, that poor Lady Sarah had to officiate as bridesmaid at the King's marriage. We must also forego the temptation to cite from the incidents of the remarkable social reign of the late

Lady Holland. The anecdotes of her imperiousness and rudeness are endless. Some of them indicate a coarseness of nature which mere eccentricity is not enough to account for, and which makes it difficult to understand her success. Only a very few of the anecdotes, scattered through the literature of the last half century, are given in these volumes. She told Poodle Byng 'to remove farther off, for the smell of his blacking offended her.' Tapping on the table with her fan, she would stop Macaulay, 'Now we have had enough of this; give us something else.' On one occasion she sent her page to him to tell him to stop talking, because she wanted to hear some one else. To Lord Porchester she said, 'I am sorry you are going to publish a poem; can't you suppress it?' At a dinner-party, when Lord Duncan was leaving, she had him called back, and sung out to him in the doorway, 'The Duchess of Sutherland can't dine here to-morrow, and I want another woman; bring one of your girls.' She certainly could say disagreeable things cleverly. She called John Allen her 'pet Atheist,' and is said to have had the burial service read by a clergyman over the body of a kid—he supposing it to have been a daughter of her first husband. We take our leave of what will probably be the fashionable book of the season—a distinction which its various interest, literary, historical, social and chatty, well merits; and it would seem also as if with the Holland House gatherings the *salon* had disappeared in London, as it has disappeared in Paris.

Congregational History (English and American) 1567-1700; The Conflict for Freedom, Purity, and Independence. By JOHN WADDINGTON, D.D. London: Printed by Simmons and Botten, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street.

Those of our readers who know Dr. Waddington's 'Congregational History, 1200-1567,' published in 1869, will hail the appearance of this volume with deep interest. Nor will a careful perusal disappoint the expectations with which they will open it. It displays the same unwearied industry, the same rare enthusiasm for the subject, and the same extensive research which so remarkably distinguished its predecessor, and can hardly fail to be very gratefully appreciated, not by the historical student only, but also by the general reader.

In his former volume, Dr. Waddington 'traced the restoration of Congregational principles after the eclipse caused by the Papacy, and their gradual development in the time of the Reformation.' In this, 'continuing this historical investigation,' he 'proceeds to exhibit the origin, growth, and influence of Congregational Churches, from the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the Revolution of 1688.' We congratulate him on the success with which he has accomplished the second part of his great task.

'These witnessing churches, called by different names, "Brownists," "Barrowists," "Separatists," "Independents," and "Congregationalists," opposed a steady, consistent, and invincible resistance to the corrupting and intolerant designs of the Papacy, whether of a secret and insinuating character, or in the more

open and formidable advances aided by the last of the Stuarts. In the seventeenth century they held a position of unparalleled difficulty, and of supreme importance in relation to the freedom and stability of the country. Their entire history, indeed, from the first movement in 1567 to the Revolution of 1688, is that of a continuous and well-sustained conflict for the freedom of religious association, and of independence of external control. That prolonged and well-sustained struggle well deserves the attention of statesmen and of all religious parties at the present hour.' Dr. Waddington's volume has the great merit of relating the history of that struggle with a fulness of detail and a wealth of incident which we shall look for in vain in those of any of his predecessors in the same field. 'Until the last few years the original documents essential to form the basis of this history were either unknown or inaccessible. . . . English historians repeated, without contradiction, the misstatements of Heylin and Collier, so that men were surprised and delighted by the condescension of the historical writer who, in passages of splendid rhetoric, sketched the character and genius of Milton, Bunyan, and Baxter. Things are now somewhat changed.' Apart from denominational interests, it would be a great gain to 'English historians,' and we may also add an almost greater gain to 'Bampton lecturers' on 'Dissent' to make 'a correct acquaintance with the facts now brought to light.' Dr. Waddington has supplied ample evidence of this; and there are treasures yet to be exhumed in the Record Office and elsewhere, especially in the Episcopal and Archidiaconal Registries of the country, which we hope that some one may be stimulated by his success to diligently search for us. We entirely sympathize in the following remarks of Dr. Waddington, though we hardly think that the apology which they contain is required:—'An attempt might have been made to present the narrative in a more correct and popular form, and to reduce the antiquated diction of the papers quoted to that of our own time. The immediate success of the work probably would have been greater by such a transformation, but the most captivating story is often the least trustworthy, and its interest is, in consequence, evanescent. It is better in the present case to convince one patient and thoughtful reader than to amuse a thousand. If, therefore, the complaint should be made that the documents are cited in their original form, at too great length, it must be understood that they are so exhibited for the sake of exact truth, and to avoid a colouring that would be deceptive. . . . The witnesses are allowed to appear in regular succession in their proper garb, and to speak for themselves in their own manner.' In our judgment this is as it should be. The student, certainly, will regard it as one of the chief merits of the volume.

We can quite understand that 'in collecting materials for this history' Dr. Waddington should have 'had many weary journeys,' and 'for years' should have 'spent days and nights in consuming toil.' Such researches are not to be made at any less expense than that which

he has thus described. May he richly enjoy the compensation for which he works;—'the Congregational Churches of England and America being made acquainted with the principles, the character, and example of the men into whose labours they have entered, and because of whose sacrifices they now enjoy freedom and security and peace.'

We trust such volumes will not be long before they reach a second edition. Should our confidence be justified, we hope that Dr. Waddington will, in the meanwhile, have reconsidered his whole system of references. Where there is so much to provoke further inquiry, it is of especial moment that everything should be done, so far as possible, to facilitate and encourage it. Indications of the sources whence he has derived his materials that may be quite clear to one who is so familiar with them as Dr. Waddington, may be quite as provokingly vague to the ordinary or less experienced inquirer. Should not the titles of all printed books be given in full? and should not all MSS. be so described that the student who is disposed to consult them may be able to do so without any further aid than that which is supplied by the reference? We also observe that while, as a rule, all extracts are given in small print, they are sometimes printed in the same type as the text. Several are given without any indication of the source from which they have been taken. Such volumes, too, require a very copious index. Dr. Waddington is not the man to shrink from the labour which such a desideratum would involve, and his are not the class of readers to grudge the increased price that would be needful to cover the expense. As it is, however, this volume well deserves a place in every well-furnished library; and we not only very thankfully recommend it, but finding 'in these pages a substantial and more complete historical testimony than has been furnished since RICHARD FITZ breathed his last in the prison of the Bridewell,' we as cordially echo Dr. Waddington's 'appeal,' 'to those who have wealth and influence to give that testimony its full effect by a circulation that shall reach the smallest church and the humblest minister in the denomination.'

The Huguenots in France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, with a Visit to the Country of the Vaudois. By SAMUEL SMILES, Author of 'Self Help,' &c., &c. Strahan and Co.

Mr. Smiles in his former work gave us a very clear and graceful account of the Huguenots, who, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, came and settled in England, enriching this nation with their noble manners, rare industry and inventiveness, and aptness of mind in many ways. That work led us to feel the irony of Providence, as Mr. Smiles meant that it should do, for it led us to think of the other multitudes who migrated to other countries, and who became afterwards some of the strong and trusted instruments whereby France was crushed. And now Mr. Smiles makes record of the fate of those who remained in France

after the Revocation of the Edict. He touches the main lines of the history clearly, lightly, but effectively, ever following his own bent and grouping his illustrations of great principles round central and typical men. The first portion of the book is thus properly a series of biographies, just touched with the enthusiasm which Mr. Smiles knows so well how to master. The sketches of Claude Brousson, Cavalier and Antoine Court, no less than those of Calas and Fabre, are deeply interesting episodes; and in Mr. Smiles's volume many will become acquainted with the heroism of a people whom no power could crush and no policy draw from their stern adherence to their convictions. The latter portion of the volume is not of so much permanent value; but, nevertheless, like everything Mr. Smiles writes, it is readable and interesting, and conveys a good idea of the country where some of these noble Huguenots were bred.

The Minor Works of George Grote, with Critical Remarks on his Intellectual Character, Writings, and Speeches. By ALEXANDER BAIN. John Murray.

This, we presume, is the complement to Mrs. Grote's 'Personal Biography' which we were in that work led to expect. We do not see, indeed, what more can be added, although it might have been better to have published the minor works simply as such, and to have included a formal critical estimate in the biography.

In the present volume the critical remarks are given in the form of summaries of such of Mr. Grote's works as are not here reproduced in their entirety. Those which are so reproduced are 'The Essentials of Parliamentary Reform,'—Mr. Grote's earliest work published in 1831; a review from the *Spectator* newspaper, 1839, of Sir William Molesworth's edition of the works of Hobbes; an article on 'Grecian Legends and Early History,' published in the *Westminster Review* in 1843—a preparatory study for the sixteenth and seventeenth chapters of the 'History of Greece'; a remarkable article on 'Boeckh's Metrology,' published in the 'Classical Museum' in 1844; the 'Presidential Address to the City of London Scientific Institution in 1846'; an 'Address on Delivering the Prizes at University College in 1846'; a review of Sir G. C. Lewis on the 'Credibility of Early Roman History,' published in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1856; a pamphlet on 'Plato's Doctrine respecting the Rotation of the Earth and Aristotle's Comment upon that Doctrine, 1860'; a review of John Stuart Mill on the 'Philosophy of Sir William Hamilton,' published in the *Westminster Review*, 1866. The rest of the volume is made up of a *précis* of three or four short papers on Philosophy from Mr. Grote's MSS.; Abstracts of the 'Essay on Macintosh's Parliamentary Reform,' which appeared in No. 61 of the *Edinburgh Review*; of the 'Review of Mitford's Greece,' from the *Westminster Review*, 1826; of Mr. Grote's 'Speeches in Parliament'—the six speeches on the Ballot being given by themselves. These abstracts are followed by a lengthened critical

survey of the 'History of Greece,' the 'Plato' and the 'Aristotle.'

It is in the latter that the critical value of the volume chiefly consists. Mrs. Grote has sufficiently indicated the political opinions and course of her husband. Scholars will feel under a great obligation to Professor Bain for this very masterly abstract and criticism of the Grecian History and Philosophy. It sets forth Mr. Grote's almost unique qualifications as a historian. Not only had he a passion for history and biography, he was almost equally enamoured of political economy, especially in its practical developments. He was accomplished in almost every department of mental science, psychology, ethics, metaphysics, and logic; in this combination equalled only, perhaps, by Hume and James Mill. In early life he was a devourer of novels. Professor Bain tells us that he had a poetical imagination, which we should hardly have supposed. He had practical experience of commercial life, and was for years an active member of Parliament. There can be no doubt that in these manifold qualifications as a historian Mr. Grote is almost unique; and there can be as little doubt that as the result his history is one of the few great histories of literature, profoundly learned, equally philosophical, and eminently independent, candid, and fearless. One has only to read his scathing review of the political polemic of Mitford to feel how impossible it was for Grote to subordinate history to either political passion or prejudice. Long as literature lasts and whoever may be his successor in the exhaustless field of Grecian History, Mr. Grote's work must always hold an eminent place. There are few points in the wonderful drama of this people's life upon which he has not thrown fresh light, and that the pure white light of truth.

Professor Bain's critique is interesting further in his comparative estimates of the differing views on important points of Mr. Gladstone, Mr. M'Lennan, Mr. Tyler, Sir John Lubbock, Professor Jowett, and others. In the instances in which Mr. Grote himself gave judgment, as upon Mr. Gladstone's 'Homer,' in which Mr. Gladstone maintains the unity of the *Iliad* against Mr. Grote's theory of its double structure; and upon many other points of history, ethnology, and religion, where he differs from Mr. Grote, Professor Bain tells us how far Mr. Grote was convinced. Especially is it interesting to compare Mr. Gladstone's views of the three great constituent elements of the State, the king, the senate, and the agora, in which he maintains that the assembly had considerable influence over the king—against Mr. Grote's view that the people had no status or power but to obey. In like manner Professor Bain in his critique on the 'Plato' compares Mr. Grote's views with those of Professor Jowett, especially on the Epistles, the genuineness of which Mr. Grote maintains, and on the Alexandrian Canon.

This volume completes, we suppose, the noble series of volumes which we owe to the genius and industry of this great scholar. Mr. Grote is one of the men of whom English lit-

erature may well be proud. In his 'Greece' and Gibbon's 'Rome' it can boast two great works, which in varied learning and intellectual genius are without rivals in the literature of Europe. It is the mark of the true scholar that in the minor compositions of this volume the minute care and scholarly finish are as great as in the history; the sober, practical, regulating sense of his English mind, too, is as manifest as his great learning and philosophical power. A perfectly impartial history or criticism the world will never see, but, as every line of his writings shows, Mr. Grote has perhaps attained to this as nearly as any man can who is capable of strong convictions at all.

Personal Recollections from early Life to old Age, of Mary Somerville, with Selections from her Correspondence. By her daughter, MARTHA SOMERVILLE. John Murray.

Among the remarkable biographies of the year this autobiographical memoir of Mary Somerville will be not the least interesting. Her scientific intellect was probably greater than that of any of her sex; and it is interesting to learn from the memoir that her womanly gentleness and delicacy were equally remarkable. Those who may have anticipated a hard masculine woman, whose sex was a mistake of nature, will be agreeably disappointed. The charm of true womanhood is in every page. Women with not a hundredth part of her intellectual strength or scientific requirements have a hundred times more hardness. Of rare and delicate beauty of person, she was diffident and retiring in social habit, 'startled at the sound of her own voice in conversation'; she was gentle and affectionate in feeling, and cultivated feminine graces as much as more masculine studies. She was an accomplished painter, a good musician, and had a great love of dramatic representation; she had moreover a keen appreciation of natural beauty, was an affectionate wife and mother, and a woman of deep and unaffected piety. Her chief claim upon public respect is of course her great scientific and mathematical powers. And this not only as the exceptional attainment of a woman, but relatively even to the most distinguished of the opposite sex. One whose 'Mechanism of the Heavens' became a Cambridge text-book, and which M. Poisson declared 'there were not twenty men in France who could read'; whom La Place, Biot, Arago, Sir John Herschel, Brewster, Whewell, Sedgwick, Airy, Faraday, and scores of others, almost as illustrious, honoured as their equal, and from whom they professed to have learned; and who was made a member of half the learned societies in Europe, could not have been merely complimented as a learned woman. She was recognised as an original contributor to science. Her genius for mathematics is evinced the more remarkably, inasmuch as, until mature years, she was not only ignorant of Algebra, but had to discover it for herself. 'I was surprised to see' in a magazine of fashion, 'strange looking lines mixed with letters, chiefly X's and Y's, and asked "What is that?" "Oh," said Miss Ogilvie, "it is a kind of arithmetic—they call it

Algebra—but I can tell you nothing about it," and we talked about other things; but on going home I thought I would look if any of our books could tell me what was meant by Algebra.' It was, however, not until Mr. Craw came to be tutor to her brother Henry, some time afterwards, that she got any information, and was introduced to 'Euclid,' and Bonycastle's 'Algebra.' She had, however, to begin her arithmetic again, having forgotten much of it. 'I never was expert at addition, for in summing up a long column of pounds, shillings, and pence, in the family account book, it seldom came out twice the same way.' From this time her progress was rapid, and her knowledge was self-acquired. She was thirty-three years of age before, at the recommendation of Professor Wallace, of Edinburgh, she went through any regular course of mathematical and astronomical reading, or possessed any works on the subjects. 'I could hardly believe that I possessed such a treasure when I looked back on the day that I first saw the mysterious word "Algebra," and the long course of years in which I had persevered almost without hope. It taught me never to despair. I had now the means, and pursued my studies with increased assiduity. Concealment was no longer possible, nor was it attempted. I was considered eccentric and foolish, and my conduct was highly disapproved of by many, especially by some members of my own family.' Her first husband, Mr. Greg, did not prevent her from studying, but she says, 'I met with no sympathy whatever from him, as he had a very low opinion of the capacity of my sex, and had neither knowledge of, nor interest in, science of any kind.' After three years she was left a widow with two little boys. Dr. Somerville, her second husband, was a man of very different sympathies; he was a fine scholar, and distinguished in several branches of natural science, and was justly proud of the genius of his wife. Her married life with him was singularly affectionate and happy; he was never happier than in helping her, searching libraries for her, and copying her manuscripts, to save her time and strength. One of his sisters, however, unmarried, and younger than she, wrote an impertinent letter to her on her marriage, 'hoping I would give up my foolish manner of life and studies, and make a respectable and useful wife to her brother.'

The volume is by no means a scientific one. Indeed there is very little in it that is in any sense scientific. It is full of human interest for the general reader. Mrs. Somerville's family connexions, as well as her scientific attainments, brought her into contact with most of the notable persons of her day in almost every branch of science, literature, and art; and her 'Recollections' are full of interesting anecdotes and reminiscences. Mrs. Somerville tells of her own mother, who was crossing the Firth of Forth in a boat, the well-known anecdote: "George, this is an awful storm, I am sure we are in great danger. Mind how you steer, remember I trust in you." He laughed and said, "Dinna trust in me, leddy, trust in God Almighty." Our mother in perfect terror

called out, "Dear me! is it come to that?" We burst out laughing, skipper and all.'

Talking one day at Abbotsford about one of the then anonymous Waverley Novels which had just appeared, Mrs. Somerville's son said, 'I knew all these stories long ago, for Mr. Scott writes on the dinner table. When he has finished he puts the green-cloth with the papers in a corner of the dining-room; and when he goes out Charlie Scott and I read the stories.' Mrs. Somerville says that her son's tutor was the original of 'Dominie Sampson.' Mr. Adams told Mrs. Somerville that it was a sentence of 'The Connexion of the Physical Sciences,' which put it into his head to calculate the orbit of Neptune. Mrs. Somerville died at Sorrento in November, 1872, having been born in December, 1780. She was able to read books on the higher Algebra four or five hours every morning to the last day of her life. This is in every way one of the most fascinating books that we have lately read.

Life of William Ellis, Missionary to the South Seas and to Madagascar. By his Son JOHN EMMO ELLIS. With a Supplementary Chapter containing an estimate of his Character and Work, by HENRY ALLON, D.D. John Murray.

This volume recites the story of a holy life which is charged with fine enthusiasm and diversified with an exceeding variety of romantic adventure and thrilling incident. The student of natural history will be rewarded by many a fact gleaned from the world-wide travel of the heroic missionary. The artist will be fairly enchanted with some of the brilliant word-painting with which this truthful explorer depicts the glades of the tropical forests and the horrors of the simoom and the water-spout. The religious reader fascinated by the records of the supernatural powers of the kingdom of God will value this sketch of many fields of missionary enterprise. Those who wish their memory refreshed with the strange, tragic, sublime story of the Madagascar Mission must read the works of Mr. Ellis. The son has, however, drawn with firm and masterly hand the part his father took in the conflict with French diplomacy, heathen malice, and Jesuitical intrigue. Above all the religious enthusiasm of Mr. Ellis gleams forth from these pages, and his divine passion of philanthropy reminds the reader of the early Catholic missionaries and the noble army of self-sacrificing men who never paused in their eager work till death surprised them in the midst of their labours. We have in reading been frequently reminded of Las Casas, of Howard, of John Wesley, and of Henry Martyn. The record of this beautiful life, and of the principal events, discoveries, and successes that distinguished it, has long been accessible to those who care to read the memoirs of missionary enterprise; the 'Polynesian Researches' of William Ellis, his 'Tour in Hawaii,' his 'Three Visits to Madagascar,' his 'History of Madagascar,' 'Madagascar Revisited,' and 'Martyr-Church of Madagascar,'—to say nothing of many other works, articles in Ency-

clopædias, and stirring pamphlets bearing on missionary enthusiasm or policy—have made his name a household word wherever either 'natural history' or 'modern missions' excites the slightest interest. The volume before us supplies the living thread which connects these scenes and deeds of holy enthusiasm and childlike faith. It is another proof how independent and how unconscious of self real genius is. Another illustration is here given that when God requires a servant for his work he does not always summon an hereditary priest, or a pupil of the older prophets, or a pledged ascetic, or an educated scholar; He goes to the 'herdsmen,' to the shepherd boys, to the Galilean fishermen or carpenters, and finds the man that is to receive His word, to bear His message, and to do His work in the world. Another proof is supplied, of that which some are most unwilling to admit, that when God wants a workman He will often set all human rules, prescriptions, and expectations at defiance. Mr. Ellis was in the strictest sense self-educated. The training he received in domestic service, and in market gardening, and in one year of promiscuous preparation for the missionary's life, under the auspices of the London Missionary Society, are wholly insufficient to explain the success which characterized his labour in the South Sea Islands. He rapidly disclosed an almost universal faculty. Nothing came amiss to him, and he seemed to do many things equally well, from building a house or boat, to writing a description of the great volcanic crater of Hawaii worthy of Ruskin, to printing a grammar, or to revising the Tahitian or Malagasy translation of the sacred Scriptures. The simple heroism, boundless energy, and self-forgetting consecration of Mr. Ellis are very admirably exhibited by his son in these pages. Dr. Allon, in his comprehensive and appreciative estimate of Mr. Ellis's character, is able, from long and intimate acquaintance with him, to echo the exclamation of the noble-hearted, strong-minded, loving wife—'No one can know how good he is.'

Mr. Ellis had a task of extraordinary difficulty and complexity before him in each of his visits to Madagascar. With the shrewdness and coolness of the practised diplomatist, with the courage of the martyr, and a fine enthusiasm for the supreme object of his life, he weathered the storm which Jesuitical intrigue, rancorous French Catholic jealousy, heathen malignity, and missionary rivalries combined to raise around him, and he lived to see the results of his energy in the institutions he had constructed, and the laws and treaties he had assisted to make in powerful and promising hands.

The present volume is written in a charming, easy, unambitious style. It introduces the home life of Mr. Ellis, and supplies touching biographical sketches of the two remarkable women who were his companions and comforters. The first Mrs. Ellis was a miracle of endurance, of patient suffering, of quiet enthusiasm, and holy self-forgetting love. The second Mrs. Ellis, with deserved reputa-

tion of her own, is briefly introduced as an authoress, artist, and instructress of youth. Those who knew Mrs. Ellis well, will regret that more of her does not appear in the narrative. Her beautiful patience, her refined humour, her glorious sympathy with her husband during his long absences, her cheerful, large-hearted love, endeared her to all who came within the magic of her personal influence and her extraordinary conversational powers. The playful sketch of the household favourites, of the orchid house, and the beautiful domestic life of Rose-hill is a charming episode preceding the tangled, tragic, exciting scenes of the Madagascar Mission. Some biographers would with such ample materials have expanded the narrative into a work three times its present magnitude. We admire extremely the self-restraint, the conciseness, the sympathy, and reverence with which the present writer has discharged his task, and we thank him heartily for his portraiture of one of the most simple, noble, and single-hearted servants of Christ of whom we have ever read.

Autobiography of Thomas Guthrie, D.D., and Memoir. By his Sons, the Revs. D. K. GUTHRIE and CHARLES J. GUTHRIE, M.A. Volume I. W. Isbister and Co.

Here we have the first portion of a pleasant record of a well-spent life. Dr. Thomas Guthrie was a man of peculiar healthiness and breadth of character; and, if he lacked a little the delicacy that comes of intellectual distinction, his genuine manliness always saved him from mere rhetoric on the one hand, and from any share whatever in airy and ill-advised schemes on the other. He was a true Scotchman, in that he combined uncommon caution with uncommon intensity; wonderful reticence, self-control, and good sense with a restrained humour that lightened up and justified a peculiar egotism, and an imagination that always seemed on the point of exhausting itself, yet never did so; for, during these last days at St. Leonards he seems to have been in this respect as fresh and vigorous and child-like and playful and anecdotic as when he wandered about Arbirlot among the peasants of his first seaside parish listening to their stories and drawing them out further by other stories of his own. What better proof could be given of all this than the autobiography which we have in our hand? Here is no record of spiritual frames and feelings; over all this Dr. Guthrie significantly draws a veil, notwithstanding—and how could it be else?—that he indirectly conveys many hints of his spiritual life. But like his strong-minded grandmother—of whom he tells that she went into solitude and fasted one day a week, *none knew why*, and was yet so practical that she soon settled off her favourite son's love-affair, having to see any matter hanging unsettled when settlement off or on was possible—Dr. Guthrie prefers to deal with what is external, and may be of practical service; and this he does in the most lightsome manner. Even with the shadows of the grave creeping close around

him, he can look back on his past with a quiet honest smile, and rehearse its leading incidents heartily, no weakness nor fear betraying itself. Surely in this we have the highest testimony to the spirituality of the man, and the power of a life lived religiously not only to preserve the intellect but to stay the will. It is a sad reproach on the 'Moderates' of the day that for five or six years such a man as this should have been without a cure, during all that time earning only some five guineas by the exercise of ministerial functions; and though he drew practical wisdom, which was afterwards serviceable to him, from the bank-managing to which he betook himself for a considerable portion of that period, no credit for this can be given to the men who tried to crush him because he was open in telling them what his ecclesiastical views were. His mother had actually left the Established Church and joined the Seceders because of an 'intruded' minister, and the testimony she bore to principle seems to have had its influence upon the son; and though, perhaps, there never was a man less fitted to be a polemic, he did the anti-patronage cause all the more service on that account when once the time had come and others had led the way to the breach. He was by instinct an orator; and never was he more truly eloquent than on the platform during the 'Ten years' conflict,' and just after it. Even his speeches on behalf of the Ragged School which he founded, and with which his name is now so identified, were not more stirring than some of his disruption orations. But it will fall to his sons to tell of these matters in their second volume. Meanwhile we gladly call attention to this instalment, which has a certain sad completeness of its own; for, though the sons have added certain chapters to the father's most humorous, gossiping autobiography, these are strictly in the nature of supplements, and do not carry the narrative further down than it goes—to 1841, the eve of the Disruption. It is, of course, much to be regretted that Dr. Guthrie did not live to carry his own record past the great crisis; but, there is one consolation,—material then becomes abundant; and if we may judge from the intelligence, care, skill, and taste with which this volume is edited, the memoir will deserve all success, and take its place among the standard works of its class.

Recollections of the Emperor Napoleon on the Island of St. Helena: including the Time of his Residence at her Father's House, 'The Briars.' By Mrs. ABELL. Third edition. Revised and added to by her daughter, Mrs. Charles Johnstone. Sampson Low and Co.

Mrs. Abell's very charming 'Recollections' are well known to students of Napoleonic literature. She was a child of thirteen when Napoleon arrived at St. Helena and took up his residence at the house of her father Mr. Balcomb, purveyor for the Emperor, until Longwood was ready for him. She was beautiful and wild, and after the first strangeness was got over played all manner of madcap tricks with the Emperor, who had as much delight in

mutual teasings as she had. The book is a simple record of her personal intercourse with the Emperor; and is very interesting, as showing the kindness of Napoleon's nature. It is in this respect like Goethe's 'Correspondence with a Child.' Mrs. Johnstone adds an appendix containing anecdotes and reminiscences of Napoleon III. No wonder that both mother and daughter are fervent Imperialists.

John Bunyan: An Autobiography. With Illustrations by Mr. E. N. DOWNARD; engraved by Mr. EDWARD WHYMPER. Religious Tract Society.

Macaulay justly characterized 'Bunyan's *Grace Abounding*' as 'one of the most remarkable pieces of autobiography in the world.' It is here reproduced, with the omission of certain portions that are not strictly autobiographical. Bunyan's own 'relation' of his arrest and examination before the justices, first published in Mr. Offer's edition of Bunyan's works; and the 'Continuation of Mr. Bunyan's Life,' which Mr. Offer appends to the 'Relation,' are added; so that we have here a life of Bunyan almost entirely from his own pen. It is clearly printed and admirably illustrated, and is a cheap and elegant gift book for the season.

Life of the Rev. William Anderson, LL.D. By GEORGE GILFILLAN. Hodder and Stoughton.

Mr. Giffillan has found a congenial subject for biography in the sturdy, resolute, uncompromising, witty, and eloquent Dr. Anderson—a man who was greater than his works, and who has left behind him, in Glasgow, and we might add in Scotland itself, a name and a memory that will be revered for many a year to come. To Englishmen he is chiefly known as the author of one or two theological works, or volumes of theological sermons, which on their publication won for him no mean place as a vigorous thinker, a keen critic, and an earnest minister. There was in him that fascinating combination of gigantic strength and womanly tenderness which is so often discovered in the largest natures; and he was capable of exciting enthusiasm even in those who were compelled to controvert his theology. Scotchmen may well point to him as a noble representative specimen of the kind of men which their country and its education can produce. We are not surprised, therefore, that Mr. Giffillan has written this 'Life' in a sort of white heat of loving enthusiasm. It was impossible to come under the spell of Dr. Anderson's influence without being subdued and charmed, even against one's will; and we can perfectly understand that he should be a very hero among men to his intimate friends and to multitudes of admirers. This biography has just those defects which naturally arise when profound affection and reverence inspire the writer's mind. Judged alone by what Mr. Giffillan here says, we should suppose that a greater preacher and a nobler man had never existed in Scotland or out of it, and, even out of justice to the memory of Dr. Anderson him-

self, we are obliged to deduct something from his description. Yet we are thankful for the story of this earnest life, which deserves to be read by all ministers and students. It is full of suggestions, and will be very precious to all who had the privilege of knowing the doctor himself. Some extracts from his published and unpublished writings are given, which are valuable in themselves, and enable us the better to understand his power as a thinker and preacher.

The Oxford Methodists; Memoirs of the Revs. Messrs. Clayton, Ingham, Gambold, Hervey, and Broughton; with Biographical Notices of others. By Rev. L. TYERMAN, Author of the 'Life and Times of the Rev. S. Wesley, M.A.,' and the 'Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A., Founder of the Methodists.' Hodder and Stoughton.

Readers of Mr. Tyerman's previous volumes will be especially thankful for this 'companion.' It is distinguished by all the excellences of its predecessors, and completes a very valuable contribution to the history of the great revival of the last century. Many will hardly be prepared for much that Mr. Tyerman has brought to light with regard to the 'Oxford Methodists,' especially their early 'Ritualism.' 'They communicated at Christ Church once a week, and persuaded all they could to attend public prayers, sermons, and sacraments. . . . They also observed the discipline of the Church of England to the minutest point; and were scrupulously strict in practising the rubrics and canons. Every Wednesday and Friday they fasted, tasting no food whatever till three o'clock in the afternoon. Though perhaps they never held the doctrine of the human nature of the Divine Redeemer being present in the elements of the holy sacrament, they held something approaching this, and spoke of "an outward sacrifice offered therein." They more than approved of the mixture of water with the sacramental wine; and religiously observed saints' days, holidays, and Saturdays. They maintained the doctrine of apostolical succession, and believed no one had authority to administer the sacraments who was not *episcopally* ordained. Even in Georgia, Wesley excluded Dissenters from the holy communion, on the ground that they had not been properly baptized, and would himself baptize only by immersion, unless the child, or person, was in a weak state of health. He also enforced confession, penance, and mortification; and, as far as possible, carried into execution the apostolic constitutions. In short, with the exception of sacerdotal millinery, the burning of incense, the worship of the Virgin, prayers for the dead, and two or three other kindred superstitions, the Oxford Methodists were the predecessors of the present *Ritualistic* party in the Church of England.'—Pp. 6, 7. Remembering some other chapters in the religious history of our country, and notably that which records the annals of the later Puritans, we have great sympathy with Mr. Tyerman when he says—'May we not indulge the hope that what God did for the Oxford Methodists, He will do for

those at the present day, who, in most respects, resemble them? . . . The Church, the nation, and the world need their energy, earnestness, self-denial, and devotion. Let them lay aside their popish follies and proud pretensions, and embrace the truth of Christ in its simplicity and its purity, and, at least, some of them may, under God, accomplish a work as great and as blessed as was accomplished by Wesley and his "Holy Club." Mr. Tyerman tells us that his 'book is not a series of written portraits.' We are thankful that he set himself a far more useful task, to 'simply' do his 'best in collecting facts from every source within' his 'reach,' and to narrate them 'as truly and as lucidly as' he 'could.' His volume is a very seasonable one, and will be read by numbers with great interest, and not a little profit.

Recollections of My Own Life and Times. By THOMAS JACKSON. Edited by the Rev. B. FRANKLAND, B.A.; with an Introduction and a Postscript by G. OSBORN, D.D. Wesleyan Conference Office.

The autobiography of a public and able man, who has filled the highest positions in the religious body to which he belongs, and who had therefore special opportunities of knowing men and things, and who lived to see his ninetieth year, must necessarily be full of interest. The records of Methodism are rich in autobiographies, but probably it does not possess one of greater importance, both denominational and general, than this of the venerable Thomas Jackson. It abounds in reminiscences of the most celebrated Methodist preachers; it records interesting and important developments of Methodism itself. The contrasts between the internal life and external relations of Methodism seventy years ago and now are very picturesque and suggestive. Mr. Jackson gives us details of his own circuit experiences when he first became a Wesleyan preacher in 1804—of his arduous labours, his rough travelling and rougher lodging, his lack of literature, and the character of the Wesleyan societies—which are like a chapter out of antediluvian history. Is it possible that 1943 will present so great a contrast to 1873? Everywhere, the piety, spiritual aims, intense zeal, and cheerful self-sacrifice of the Wesleyan preachers are unconsciously brought into full relief. It is a fresh demonstration of what England owes to them religiously, and an overwhelming rebuke to the Pharisaic dogmatism that would disallow or brand as illicit their ministry. Mr. Jackson's own character was very simple and beautiful. The reverence and love which gathered around him in his last years were the legitimate fruit of his lofty character, his simple and glowing piety, and his abounding labours, both as a preacher and an author. We regret that we cannot cull from this interesting volume a few of its abounding sketches, anecdotes, and narratives, illustrative of both the man and his times. Our personal respect and reverence for the grand old patriarch almost disables our criticism; but we should not be just if we did not say that Mr. Jackson's love to Methodism, although not too fervent, was too exclusive and

jealous, and therefore blind and disabling; and made him unjust to those who ventured to differ from his estimates. He was one of the old Tories of Methodism. His reverence for the Establishment makes him pass harsh judgment upon Nonconformists, who were fighting battles for religious liberties, in which Methodism has had its full share of benefit. His intense Methodist feeling prompts him to say very sharp, not to say unjust words of Dr. Warren, Mr. Everett, and others, who doubtless, in many things to blame, were fighting for liberty, against what many of the wisest and most faithful adherents of Methodism regard very undesirable powers of Conference government. We have neither the inclination nor the means of pronouncing judgment concerning either of the schisms that have convulsed the Methodist body. We simply venture to think that Mr. Jackson's judgments are too unqualified and vindictive. This seems to have been characteristic. He condemns with severity Mr. Wilberforce's education of his children, inasmuch as the late Bishop of Winchester was a high Churchman, while one or two of his brothers became Roman Catholics. Such a judgment compels us to ask whether, if the principle of judgment be true, it is not also applicable to Methodist ministers, sons of whom have become clergymen of a very pronounced Ritualistic character. But these are only blemishes in a very fine character.

The Threshold of the Unknown Region. By CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, C.B. Sampson Low and Co.

Mr. Markham's book may be regarded as the manifesto of science against the puling sentimentality that denounces Arctic exploration on account of its perils, and against the penurious pettiness of the Government which refuses to aid it on account of its expense. In Mr. Markham's reprobation of both we most heartily concur, on the grounds of both our past glorious traditions of Arctic discovery, our present discipline of hardihood, bravery, and enterprise, and of future scientific acquisitions. Each of these reasons might be expanded into a strong argument. It would be humiliating were we who have led the van in Arctic exploration in bygone days, when appliances were scant, and our national wealth not a tithe of what it now is—who have done most, and approached nearest the grand achievement of reaching the Pole, to leave the last 600 miles to be done by Sweden, Russia, or Austria, all of whom are liberally devoting their energies to the enterprise. It would be a national humiliation, as great as Lord Palmerston's antagonism to the project of the Suez Canal, of which no Englishman can think without shame. That the spirit of enterprise and power of endurance have not diminished in Englishmen there are indications enough in African travel, Alpine climbing, and nautical adventure. That important results to science in most of its important branches will reward the discovery of the Pole, Mr. Markham, in his concluding chapter, has abundantly demonstrated. Perhaps he underrates both the peril and the cost;

but the former is comparatively small. Livingstone has undergone more and greater perils than the Arctic explorers of a century—the fate of the brave Franklin notwithstanding—and what is £20,000 to a nation like ours? We were ashamed when we read Mr. Lowe's letter to Sir H. Rawlinson, more worthy of a shopkeeper than of the Finance Minister of England, urging the expense of the *Challenger* as a reason why another such burden should not be laid upon English tax-payers. We trust the feeling of the nation will be unmistakably expressed, that while wasteful contracts, even for a thousand pounds, will not be tolerated, no reasonable expense for adequate scientific results will be grudged.

Mr. Markham traverses the border of the unknown circle round the North Pole, and narrates the history of discovery at each point; succinctly and clearly giving a complete synopsis of Arctic enterprise and achievement, down to the voyage of the *Polaris*. His work would have gained in interest had expansion been possible—especially in his biographical sketches—but of course he could not within reasonable limits have done more than he has done.

He differs from Captain Wells, whose well-written work we noticed in our last number. He thinks that 'the idea that the Polar Basin is composed of an open sea, only here and there covered with drift ice, is in itself so contrary to all experience, that it scarcely merits refutation.' He contends also, and with great force, in favour of Davis' Straits, as the most facile and remunerative route. Without denying Captain Wells' argument that there is more ice, he urges that sledges may be used; and that far more scientific results are to be realized by a coast or land journey than by a sea voyage. He likewise differs from Captain Wells, in strenuously urging a Government expedition. While he would leave the Spitzbergen route to private enterprise—such as that of the gallant Leigh Smith, he thinks that the other route should be attempted by Government, with all the appliances of steam and modern science, and that success would almost certainly, with our present knowledge of the condition of Arctic travel, reward such an enterprise. Arctic explorers speak with but one voice on this point; and the petty economy of a Chancellor of the Exchequer will not be able long to withstand the urgencies of science, pluck, and national pride. We cannot notice any of the details of Mr. Markham's book; one interesting point is that America was really discovered in the year 1001, by Lief, son of Eric the Red, but we heartily commend it, as a compendious account of all that has been done in Arctic exploration.

Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa. By CHARLES NEW. With Maps and Illustrations. Hodder and Stoughton.

Mr. New has for eleven years been a missionary of the United Methodist Free Churches, and has laboured on that part of the east coast of Africa, which is one or two degrees north of Zanzibar, near Mombasa. Dr. Krapf was the

pioneer of both missions and modern travel in this part of Africa. He established the Mombasa mission to the Wanika, and effected much for future Christian enterprise. Mr. New, incited by his statements, volunteered to follow up his labours, and fixed his station at Ribe, a few miles from the coast, a little north of Mombasa. Hence he made an excursion to the Galla country, in the north—the district lying near Formosa Bay; and another, due east to the famous equatorial snowy mountain of Kilima Njaro, 20,000 feet high, which he was the first to ascend. The very existence of it indeed had been questioned. 'Who are you' said the Chaga people, 'that you should ascend the mighty Kilima Njaro? Haven't our people tried it again and again without success?' The ascent was a very arduous one, especially on account of the ignorant chicken-hearted Wachaga and Wanika men, whom alone Mr. New could obtain. The first attempt failed, but the second was successful. The wonder of the Wachaga men at snow is amusingly told. Mr. New describes the inhabitants of the district, and renews the impression of missionary devotedness with which the religious history of the century is so full, and which is so easy a theme for cynical scorn in those who can neither imagine its constraint nor exercise its self-sacrifice. He gives an account of the language of the natives, the flora, geography, ethnology, temperature, &c., of this part of Africa. He makes some wise suggestions about the slave trade, briefly vindicates his part in the proceedings at Zanzibar in connection with the Livingstone expedition, with a forbearance towards Mr. Stanley, which, in connection with certain facts which he states, is very suggestive. It is enough here to remind our readers that the Royal Geographical Society fully exonerated him in their report. They say that 'having heard from him a full explanation of the circumstances under which he acted they acquit him of all blame, and place it on record that he has in no way forfeited their confidence.' Mr. New's book makes no pretensions to literary merit. He uses his personal pronouns very wildly. He is sometimes great in the editorial 'we,' and sometimes humble in the personal 'I.' His missionary life accounts for this, although it would not have been difficult to have got some one to read the proofs; but the book is one of sterling value and great interest.

Under a Tropical Sky. A Journal of First Impressions of the West Indies. By JOHN AMPLETT. Sampson Low and Co.

If the style and literary finish of this author were equal to his temper, amiability, and good fortune, his 'First Impressions of the West Indies' would be more readable. It would be difficult to mention any modern production where more feeble remark chased less vivid description over the page. The artlessness of the narrative in some measure redeems the common-place, but the information is of the most superficial character. Still, if any of our readers should meditate a trip to Barbadoes, Demerara, or Jamaica, they would find Mr.

Amphlett's chit-chat not unpleasant companionship, and would be prepared for a multitude of details that would, after such forewarning, lose their power to inflict serious annoyance. The long description of a mosquito bite is amusing, but it would be very misleading for ordinary flesh to suppose that a little red spot is all that needs to be feared from such a feast as our author describes. Butterflies were obviously a great point with him; if he had summed up his successes in their capture he might have added to the value of his book. The practical conclusion of the whole matter is, that persons afflicted with 'a tiresome cough' might most pleasantly avoid an English winter by a visit to the tropical islands, or to the mainland of Southern America. 'Living is cheap, provisions are good and abundant, and every European comfort and luxury is to be obtained in the principal hotels.'

An Historical Atlas of Ancient Geography, Biblical and Classical. Compiled under the superintendence of Dr. WILLIAM SMITH and Mr. GROVE. Part III. John Murray.

The first map in this part is a very finely executed one of the South of Palestine, in the construction of which it is to be presumed the latest results of the survey of Palestine have been used. Very much, yet, however, remains uncertain; and we should have been glad if the Palestine maps of the Atlas had been withheld for a few months, until the results of the survey now going on had been, to a greater extent, realized. We observe that contrary to the popular tradition that the brook Cherith of Elijah ran through the Wady Kelt, a little south of Jericho, according to the statement of Josephus, that Elijah went south; and, contrary to Mr. Grove's own conclusions in the 'Bible Dictionary,' that it ran into the Jordan from the east, it is in the map placed in the Wady Reshshash, running into the Jordan from the west as far north as Shiloh. The American explorations in Moab and Gilead will, doubtless, furnish rich materials for filling up the blanks on the east of the Jordan. The other maps in the part are part of Asia, as far south as lat. 28°, and east as long. 49°, including Egypt and the eastern end of the Mediterranean—to illustrate the Old Testament and classical authors; Northern Greece, including Hellas, Epirus, Thessalia, and Macedonia; Central Greece, including Attica, Bœotia, Locris, Phocis, Doris, Malis; Hispania; the World, as known to the ancients; and Asia Minor, at four different periods. We can only repeat the expression of our great admiration of this scholarly and sumptuous work.

Physical Geography. By ARNOLD GUYOT. Sampson Low and Co.

This new volume completes Professor Guyot's Geographical Series; and in his preface he takes graceful leave of the 'youth of our schools and their teachers;' not, however, without an intimation that if a manual for the mature student and the scientific public at large be demanded, it will be forthcoming. It is im-

possible to speak too highly of the admirably arranged and compressed information concerning the physical structure of the earth which Professor Guyot here gives. There is scarcely a needless word in the volume. It is information under hydraulic pressure, and yet so complete, that it is a sufficient manual for any schoolboy or ordinary student. A series of admirable maps illustrate the different sections, and present us with the laws and courses of winds, and tides, and rains, magnetic currents, and isothermal lines, and the distribution of vegetable, mineral, and animal life, respectively. The latest conclusions of science are given, and an accumulation of knowledge, the practical value of which to all classes of men, from the farm labourer to the statesman, cannot be exaggerated, is packed into an ordinary school atlas. Questions on each section are given, which will greatly help both teachers and pupils in the use of its contents. Professor Guyot has been careful to present each part of his subject in its true scientific relations. It is a text-book for every school, and an indispensable companion for every schoolboy.

A New Biographical Dictionary. Containing Concise Notes of Eminent Persons of all Ages and Countries, and more particularly of Distinguished Natives of Great Britain and Ireland. By THOMPSON COOPER, Esq., F.S.A., Author of 'Athenæ Cantabrigienses,' &c. George Bell and Sons.

Dictionary making under any conditions is one of the most stupendous of literary undertakings; every line is fundamental, and needs the most exact knowledge. Each compiler, however, has his task made more easy by his predecessors; no work like the present would be possible save as the final result of many previous endeavours. Mr. Cooper has necessarily profited by the labours of his predecessors. His portly volume of 1,200 closely printed pages, filled with concise biographical notices, surely approximates to all that we desire to know about anybody. Mr. Cooper tells us that the best authorities for both facts and dates, both printed and manuscript, have been consulted—among the latter the voluminous collections of the Rev. William Cole, of the Rev. Thomas Baker, B.D., 'Socius ejectus,' and of Mr. Davy, in the British Museum and the University Library at Cambridge; and the MS. treasures preserved in the library of the Vatican, and in various monasteries and colleges in Rome. The MS. materials gathered by himself and his father, and most of the memoirs of the third (unpublished) volume of the 'Athenæ Cantabrigienses,' have also been substantially reproduced. The work, therefore, is much more than that of a mere compiler. It is an important original contribution to the literature of its class, by a painstaking scholar. It professes to contain hundreds of names not to be found in any other biographical collection, and to be the most comprehensive work of its kind in the English language. The book, simply as a book, has been eight years in preparation. It is of course impossible to judge such a work, save by the test of

constant use; its value will consist largely in the degree of its minute accuracy. So far as turning over the pages and reading here and there enables us to form an opinion, it seems in every way admirable, and fully to justify the claims on its behalf put forth by its editor. We have tried to think of names which might, perhaps, without much credit, have been omitted. In every case but one we have found them. Nonconformists will find the names of Jay, Pye Smith, Raffles, Wardlaw, John Angell James, Vaughan, &c. Of course eminent persons die continually. The editor mentions Napoleon III. and Lord Lytton as having, with several other eminent persons, died since the last pages were delivered to the printer. We should hardly, however, have expected Dickens to come under this law of exclusion. The book is printed in a small but beautifully clear type.

The Empires and Cities of Asia. By A. GRUAR FORBES, with a Map. (Virtue and Co.) Few toils are more difficult than to compress the history of a continent in a small post-octavo volume, and few achievements are more difficult to submit to critical tests. Omitted things are not easy to remember. What can be done in this way, however, has been shown by Mr. Freeman in 'Introductory Sketch of European History,' and for educational purposes, it is essential that junior classes should have history reduced to a conspectus. Concerning Mr. Forbes' volume, we can say only that he seems to have consulted the best authorities—Malte Brun, Laurie, Ritter, Niebuhr, Botta, Layard, Kitto, Edkins, Legge, Atkinson, and the journals of the Asiatic Society. He omits from his list, however, perhaps the most valuable authority of all, Vambery's recently published 'History of Bokhara,' probably because it has appeared since this little book was in type. The topography, languages, and nations of Asia are severally treated, their boundaries determined, their annals condensed, and apparently with wisdom and adequate knowledge. The work is a valuable addition to the school library. It is the production of a scholarly and reverent man.—*History of England.* By ERIC THOMPSON; Historical Course for Schools. (Macmillan and Co.) The first of the volumes of Mr. Freeman's historical course. It is the History of England in a duodecimo of two hundred and fifty pages, necessarily, therefore, but an outline. Under such conditions history necessarily becomes a chronicle. But this is the excellency of this series, the scholarship and accuracy of which the editor's name sufficiently vouches for. Miss Thompson's book is the best of its class that has come under our notice.—*Letters to and from Rome in the Years A.D. 61, 62, and 63.* Selected and Translated by C. V. S. (Williams and Norgate.) These letters between Lucius Pastermius at Rome to Septimus Varo at Jerusalem, are intended to reproduce the impressions

made by Christ and early Christianity upon the Romans of the second generation. They are meagre, both in substance, thought, and sentiment. Thus a diary of Paulinus, secretary to Pilate, utterly misrepresents the nature of the Crucifixion given by the Evangelists—represents Jesus as utterly losing heart, and dying in despair. 'Poor fellow! his was a hard fate, disappointed in his hope, betrayed by his intimate friends, and dying without one word of kindness or sympathy'—and of course ignores every element of the supernatural. The attempt so to reproduce contemporary impressions of the origin of Christianity, the author has been ill-advised to repeat, after Mr. Ware's letters from Judea. He has neither the historical nor the imaginative qualities necessary for it.—*The Great Dutch Admirals.* By JACOB DE LIEFDE. (Henry S. King and Co.) Mr. de Liefde has written with great lucidity and spirit biographical sketches of seven of the great sea kings of the heroic age of Holland. Although Holland was our own great naval and commercial competitor, we cannot withhold our admiration for the heroism with which the brave little Republic held her own against Spain, and so nobly contested with Blake and Monk the sovereignty of the seas. They are not boys' hearts only that will throb at the great sea fights of the skilful Van Tromp, the impetuous De Witt, and the cautious and statesmanlike De Ruyter. Mr. de Liefde, in the inspirations of his exciting narrative, sometimes forgets the boys for whom he is writing; but he has done his work thoroughly well. The book will have a favourite place in the boy's library.—*The Higher Ministries of Heaven; Memories of Henry Maude Pearsall, B.A. B.Sc., Late Student of New College, London.* By the Author of 'Public Worship.' (Hodder and Stoughton.) Mr. Henry Pearsall was a young man of unusual acquirements and promise. He died just when ready to take his M.A. degree at the London University, and when near the completeness of his studies for the Christian ministry. His father's memoir of him, full of tenderness and earnestness, reveals a character of great religious sincerity and devoutness. Both intellectually and spiritually he bid fair to take a high position in the Church of Christ, but God saw otherwise. We could wish the little memoir in the hands of every student for the ministry. It is full of quickening influences of the best kind.—*Adamantia: the Truth about the South African Diamond Fields; or, a Vindication of the right of the Orange Free State to that Territory, and an Analysis of British Diplomacy and Aggression, which has resulted in the illegal seizure by the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope.* By Captain AUGUSTUS F. LINDLEY, author of 'Tai Ping Tien Krooh,' the 'History of the Taiping Revolution,' &c. (W. H. and L. Collingridge.) This volume is an impeachment of the English Government, on the ground of their countenancing the illegal seizure of territory belonging to the Orange Free State by the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope. Captain Lindley writes with great spirit and earnestness and from the documentary and other evi-

dence he adduces seems to make good his case. He expresses himself anxious for the honour of England, and regrets that whilst concessions are made to great and powerful states, the rights of the weak and defenceless should be invaded and trampled upon. He demands redress on behalf of the Orange Free State, and the purpose of his book is to inform the British Parliament and the British public how their Government has robbed that State—one of the two South African Republics—of its diamond fields. The case merits the consideration of the people of England.—*An Autumn Tour in the United States and Canada.* By JULIUS GEORGE MEDLEY, Lieutenant-Colonel Royal Engineers. (Henry S. King and Co.) Colonel Medley records the impressions of a passing traveller with fairness, intelligence, and sympathy. He has got up the necessary useful information, statistical and social, even to the three and a half millions of square miles comprehended in United States territory, and blends it with his own observations and impressions in a natural and sensible way. He vindicates the record of a mere tourist's impressions as giving a more just and vivid picture of peculiarities, and thinks that his Anglo-Indian experience enables peculiar dispassionateness of judgment. Like all travellers, he is impressed with the strong, earnest, resolute character of the people, and notes what is less often observed, but is no less true, their taciturnity and *tristesse*, which he attributes to manliness and absorbing occupation. There is no idle class in the States. While good society of well-to-do Americans is much the same as in our own country, it is inferior to the best English society. To the latter there is nothing in America to correspond, partly through inferiority in the highest kind of education, and the race of country gentlemen is unknown. In this business-like way—even Niagara is described after the manner of an inventory—two scraps of poetry excepted, Colonel Medley enumerates American characteristics, and passes judgments upon them always fairly and kindly, as even Americans who refuse to accept his verdicts will admit. As a military engineer, he pronounces judgments upon the principal bridges and other engineering achievements of the States, generally laudatory. The book may be commended as a useful handbook of suggestions concerning things to be noted, and judgments to be formed of them.—*A Tour with Cook through Spain; being a Series of Descriptive Letters of Ancient Cities and Scenery of Spain, &c., as Seen and Enjoyed in a Summer Holiday.* By J. B. STONE, F.G.S. (Sampson Low and Co.) These letters were sent by the author to the *Birmingham Daily Gazette*. They are observant and sensible. They describe in detail the incidents of the tour, and the impressions made by the scenery, people, customs, &c. Bull-fights, religious processions, 'foundlings,' gipsies, &c., are described, in addition to cathedrals, cities, and palaces. The book is simply what it professes to be—a record of passing impressions, not a *résumé* of history and social economy, and ecclesiastical policy, read up for the occasion. In a quiet, straightforward,

business way, the author tells us what he saw, and interests us in so doing.

POLITICS, SCIENCE, AND ART.

Comparative Politics. Six Lectures read before the Royal Institution in January and February, 1873. With the *Unity of History: The Rede Lecture* read before the University of Cambridge, May 29, 1872. By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A., Hon. D.C.L., &c. Macmillan and Co.

In the masterly lectures that compose this volume Mr. Freeman appears as a fellow-worker with Mr. Max Müller, Mr. Tylor, and Sir Henry Maine. But if he ploughs with their heifer, and applies principles of research which in their hands have yielded large results, he does so in his own domain. His special line of inquiry is political; politics in the widest sense of the term—the sense in which it was used by Aristotle—furnishing the materials with which he deals. The qualifying adjective, 'Comparative Politics,' suggests the nature of the task Mr. Freeman grapples with. He applies to another department of human knowledge the method which has already proved its value by the results yielded in the kindred spheres of philology and mythology. Whether or not the discovery of the comparative method will prove of such exceeding importance as Mr. Freeman believes, remains to be seen. The intellectual revolution it is fitted to bring about appears to him of such mighty moment to the human race that its discovery is likely to rank hereafter as equally great and memorable as the revival of Greek and Latin learning in the fifteenth century. It has already rendered notable service in the light it has thrown on the study of language. But it is fitted to prove equally serviceable in all departments of historical inquiry, and, indeed, in the whole range of human thought. It has opened up a new world by supplying a principle through which what have hitherto seemed isolated and disconnected phenomena may be connected together as parts of a mighty whole. In the Rede Lecture on the 'Unity of History,' the last in this volume, Mr. Freeman shows, with rare eloquence and power, what the comparative method has achieved in thus revealing to us the organic connection of the past with the present. The sustained eloquence of both the thought and language of this lecture marks it as a masterpiece; and no one can read it with thoughtfulness and care without having his intellectual horizon widened, and being put in possession of views of vast sweep and comprehension. The ideas expressed in this lecture are developed in a more strictly scientific fashion in the first of the series of six lectures on 'Comparative Politics.' It cannot be questioned that we have in them a substantive addition to our knowledge of politics and history. In lectures, of course, an author must deal with his subject suggestively

rather than exhaustively. His object must be to indicate the range and extent of the field to be compassed, rather than to attempt to exhibit it in all its fullness. 'All that he can hope to do,' Mr. Freeman says, 'is to choose a few of the many aspects of his subject, and to take care that his treatment of them, though necessarily imperfect, shall be accurate as far as it goes. Thus much I trust that I have done,' he adds; and the intelligent reader will gratefully admit the claim. The great truth is brought into clear light that all history is one, and that all its parts bear upon each other. The special department in which he finds illustrations is in the primitive institutions of the Aryan nations; and mainly in those of 'the three most illustrious branches of the common stock—the Greek, the Roman, and the Teuton. He traces the distinctive political functions of each of these races in the past, and the share each of them has had in 'the one great heritage of political institutions, which they have handed down and developed, each in its own separate way.' These three have in turn held the foremost place among civilized men, and each, in developing its own special institutions, is seen to be handing on 'a heritage which has descended from unrecorded times, as the still abiding work of the fathers and elder brethren of our common blood.' We have not space to exhibit how effectively Mr. Freeman's ample scholarship enables him to illustrate this principle. But it is impossible not to welcome the evidence which the comparative method is thus laying before us of the essential unity of the human race, of the fact that it is an organism whose roots are planted in the far past antiquity, and that its most distinctively human, and its noblest fruits are part of an original possession of mankind. More and more as such inquiries proceed does the truth open before us that man was made in the 'image of God,' that his intellectual and spiritual lineaments are not a development from animalism, but were his primal constitution. Mr. Freeman has nobly broken ground in the great field of comparative politics, which promises to go far to confirm these great truths. May he go on, and carry still further his deeply valuable researches.

The Borderland of Science. A Series of Familiar Dissertations on Stars, Planets, Meteors, Sun and Moon, Earthquakes, Flying Machines, Coal, Gambling, Coincidences, Ghosts, &c. By RICHARD A. PROCTOR, B.A. Smith, Elder, & Co.

This volume is a reprint of articles that have appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine*. As the title of the work indicates, they range over a considerable variety of subjects. There is a mixture of fact and fiction, but the fiction is in the mode of treatment, the scientific inferences and results belong to the region of fact. Mr. Proctor writes with care, and though he has here made no contributions to Science which are likely to be of permanent value, he has produced a readable volume, in which the amount of information regarding subjects on 'the bor-

derland of science' is considerable. It will doubtless find numerous readers.

National Education in Greece in the Fourth Century Before Christ. By AUGUSTUS S. WILKINS, M.A. Strahan and Co.

Professor Wilkins has obtained the prize founded in the University of Cambridge by the friends of the late Julius Hare for the best English dissertation on a theme annually proposed by the Vice-Chancellor. The subject of 'National Education in Greece in the Fourth Century Before Christ' is not so attractive as the theme of either of the previous essays of this accomplished scholar, which have come to us with the lofty approval of distinguished adjudicators. 'The Light of the World,' and 'The Relations of Phœnicia and Israel,' appealed at once for partial sympathy to a larger group of readers than can be expected to appreciate the purely classical region into which they are now invited. Though education is one of the great questions of the day, and we look far and wide for models and stimulus, and for a way out of our difficulties religious and political, we are not sure that either statesmen or school boards will obtain much light from the present discussion.

It is far from being devoid of interest. Mr. Wilkins takes us into the nursery and the playground, into the lower and higher forms of the national schools of Sparta and Athens during the fourth century B.C. He contrasts the motives and qualities of Spartan and Athenian education for boys and girls, defends every statement by careful quotation, holds the balance on scores of minute details between the rival interpretations of modern scholars, and then proceeds to discuss with admirable mastery of material the theory of education advocated by Plato in the 'Republic' and the 'Laws,' and that by Aristotle in various portions of the 'Politics.'

While showing the enormous importance attributed by Spartans to music and gymnastics, he does not think, with Mr. Grote, that 'the elements of letters' were utterly neglected by them. He calls attention to the peculiar moral training to which they were submitted, and to the extraordinary results of what, to us, were the hateful relations between the sexes, the obliteration of the parental bond, and the inversion of nature in the love and worship of ideal physical beauty. He sums up the approval and the criticisms which both Aristotle and Plato passed upon Spartan education.

The Athenians branded as contemptible the endeavour to govern the education of children with a view to their ultimate profession. Reading, writing, calculation, the poetry of their nation, instrumental music, formed the main stay and chief element of the national education. As 'the whole life of man, according to Plato, was in need of rhythm, grace, and harmony,' the souls of boys were continually, systematically submitted to these influences. Mr. Grote's celebrated chapter on the Sophists, and his discovery of their true character, is virtually endorsed by Professor Wilkins in his exposition of the higher education. We have not space to

discuss the numerous and tempting themes suggested by this elaborate but fascinating essay. It is a brilliant contribution to the history of education.

The Coal Regions of America: their Topography, Geology, and Development. With a Coloured Geological Map of Pennsylvania, a Railroad Map of all the Coal Regions, and numerous other Maps and Illustrations. By JAMES MACFARLANE, A.M. New York: D. Appleton and Co.

The scope of Mr. Macfarlane's work is sufficiently indicated by its title page. The author has carefully collected all that has been made known concerning the vast coal fields of the United States. The separate States, as well as the supreme Government, have given every possible encouragement to scientific investigation of the subject. Geological surveys have been made, and their results published. These Mr. Macfarlane has made the basis of his volume. He has condensed and most admirably arranged for reference a vast mass of information into a bulky but yet compact and lucid hand-book. It cannot be supposed that all is known that will be known. The mineral and carboniferous treasures of the States are developed and known only in part, as every other class of their illimitable resources are known, but all that has been discovered is here tabulated. Mr. Macfarlane is a practical coal inspector, and for many years he has assiduously gathered from all reliable sources the information which he gives in his book. Its character is commercial rather than scientific. One cannot but admire the great future which the coal formations of North America alone insure it. They extend over 192,000 square miles, while those of Great Britain are only 11,900, and those of Nova Scotia 18,000; and are not only very varied—bituminous and anthracite, cretaceous and triassic being alike abundant, but they are widely distributed, and generally the coal is near the surface. As yet three times as much coal is produced in Great Britain as in the States. Practical suggestions and comparative statistics are given. Mr. Macfarlane writes sensibly, lucidly, and modestly, and contents himself with the statement and exposition of facts. His work is many 'Blue Books' in one.

Protoplasm; or, Matter and Life. With some Remarks on the 'Confession' of Strauss. By LIONEL S. BEALE, M.B., F.R.S.

The third edition of this remarkable work reiterates and confirms the fundamental position with which Dr. Beale's name will be henceforth associated. The earlier editions under slightly differing titles, as well as the essay entitled 'The Mystery of Life,' in reply to Dr. Gull's strictures, and the volume entitled, 'Life Theories and Religious Thought,' have all set forth the result of elaborate, prolonged, and minute investigation of physiological structures and the mode of their origination. Dr. Beale is perhaps one of the most eminent microscopists of his age, and has an undoubted right to enforce attention to the demonstrable proof he

gives of the essential and fundamental difference between (a) matter that is living, and (b) matter that is formed or organized by living processes but is no longer living, and (c) matter again that is non-living. This right he has claimed, frequently exhibiting in most carefully drawn engravings the marvellous contrast between the living matter, which he calls bioplasm, and the *formed* material of tissue, both muscular and nervous, of papillæ, of cilia, of cartilage, and bone, and the mode in which the bioplasts effectuate these results; and he has called attention to the absolute freedom from *structural* peculiarities in this same bioplasm; nay, its apparent sameness in all living beings, its destitution of colour, of definite form, or, in fact, of any peculiarity whatever that can be expressed in terms of physical force or molecular property. He has shown in various works the enormous part which nevertheless this bioplasm plays in the constitution of every living being, from a mollusc to an elephant, and how this living matter differs from all non-living matter. He utterly repudiates the use of the word *protoplasm* in the sense in which it has been used by Professor Huxley and others, covering as it does the whole of the material, the organized *pabulum* of living beings as well as the living tissue of which they are composed, such as the eye of a beautiful girl, the roast mutton on which she may feed, and the nettle which may sting her hand. Dr. Beale draws what we think is a most important distinction between the living and the dead, between the ultimate but infinitely active substance which has the faculty of growth and expansion and subdivision into particles exactly like itself, which is in continual activity, more or less demonstrable, and the *results* of this activity in either living tissue or dead bones. To call all the material of organism, whether living or dead, 'protoplasm' sheds no light whatever on the question, What is life? or on the relation of the life force to the physical forces. It may mislead because it confounds the physico-chemical results of living and of dying, in all the organisms of the universe.

It is, however, in this enlarged edition of the work before us—still called, however, 'Protoplasm'—that Dr. Beale does what we think is brilliant service in maintaining, and demonstrating that life-force is not correlated with the physical forces. He appears to us to prove that neither observation nor experiment by any manipulation of any known physical forces or treatment of non-living matter can originate or reveal one particle of *bioplasm*, can produce in the laboratory or point out in nature as the result of physico-chemical agencies the activity and peculiarities which are the essential differentia of living matter or living beings. The whole of the argument of the volume as against Messrs. Huxley, Tyndall, H. Spencer, and the defenders of the physical theory of life, revolves on this proposition. The volume is divided into three parts, entitled, Demonstrative, Dissident, and Speculative. The burden of the 'demonstrative' portion we have attempted to indicate. Grant-

ing the accuracy of the delineations, the revelations of the microscope to be safe and reliable, then the enthusiasm, the vehemence, and the controversial indignation of the general dissentience from many modern physical philosophers and evolutionists are abundantly justified. We think, seeing the extraordinary stir produced by Dr. Bastian's arguments and experiments, that it would have been somewhat to the purpose if Dr. Beale had informed his readers of the method by which the conclusions of Dr. Bastian have been refuted. If those experiments had succeeded, the whole of Dr. Beale's argument based on his observations of the behaviour of bioplasm would fall to the ground. Our author is, however, content to dismiss Bastian in a contemptuous note, and to refer to Virchow and hosts of other physicists as sufficient vouchers for the absurdity of spontaneous generation. He does, however, give quotation enough to show that nothing can be more reckless and dogmatic than the method in which a clique of scientific materialists are forcing their theories upon credulous readers by dint of audacious assertion and scientific prophecy of what the physicists who are yet to be will prove. It is refreshing in the last degree to see a man of European reputation in a certain department of careful scientific investigation grapple with this theory of the correlation of physical forces with life-force, and then with wit, satire, humour, and eloquence fairly worry it. He calls for a pause before we accept a theory of life, which he does not hesitate to stigmatize as well as refute. He boldly cries out for the LIVING GOD as the only adequate explanation of the phenomena. He is not 'intimidated' by the prophecy that in the future there may be as well accredited a 'mechanical equivalent of consciousness as there is now of heat,' and with amazing vivacity attacks the psychology of both Spencer and Bain. On physiological grounds he disputes their main positions, and deals some thrusts, which he imagines will be treated with only silent contempt in these days, when, according to him, it is the fashion to believe on authority in any unsupported generalization that comes with long names from certain approved sources of scientific dogmatism. But he maintains that these doctrines and all the magnificent theories founded on them, the prophecies and strongest asseverations of the school will be ultimately sifted, discarded, and forgotten.

Our author, in the speculative portion of the work, propounds the only rational hypothesis to account for the phenomena of life. He appears to us to have done more to bring one face to face with the eternal and infinite life of the universe than any modern writer. This life is not the mere hypothesis of the *primum mobile*, the God still required by one school of evolutionists to bridge over the original chasm between the non-living and the living, and set the mighty machine in motion; nor is it the mere activity of universal force, with its endless actions and reactions, it is the purpose of a supreme intelligence, the specific and the individual working of His

will. The chapters on the nature of life, the nature of mind, and the new presentation of the design argument, are far too elaborate to touch, in this short notice of a book of immense importance. The boundless and complicate and infinitely varied purposes subserved, forms elaborated, organs fashioned, species determined, by the apparently homogeneous, formless speck of living substance, is the deepest mystery of the universe.

Nothing short of infinite intelligence is needed for the marshalling and ordination of these powers, while the speculations of *pan-genesis* and the 'survival of the fittest,' and the so-called law of 'evolution' are utterly powerless to account for the facts.

The postscript on Strauss's 'Confession' is a spirited and indignant demonstration of the reckless haste with which this notorious critic has accepted as physical fact what is the most crude and ill-digested speculation. He has jumped into the abyss, and is loudly hallooing to all intelligent and sensible men to follow his example. We think Dr. Beale hardly takes sufficient notice of the pantheistic hypothesis. Those who have embraced it will be unable to understand the eagerness with which he resolves to separate the physical and the life-forces, recognising both as Divine. It is true that pantheism must be approached at another point and by another process. The pantheist must conceive that he approaches his own highest ideal when he loses all consciousness and is deprived at once of individuality, of intellectual purpose, and moral feeling. Pantheism may prove a refuge for religious men who are crushed by the authoritative dogmatism of modern scepticism, and they may clothe the kosmos, the sum total of all forces good and evil, with a vague sentiment of awe and reverence, and even love; but they must be content to lose the highest ideal, the great stimulus of righteousness, the only blending power for moral natures.

Mind and Body : the Theories of their Relation. By ALEXANDER BAIN, LL.D. Henry S. King and Co.

The Conservation of Energy. Being an Elementary Treatise on Energy and its Laws. By BALFOUR STEWART, LL.D. Henry S. King and Co.

The first of these books is likely to be one of the most acceptable volumes of the 'International Scientific Series.' The subject is one of unfailing, and just now, perhaps of special interest, and the author is in high repute as a writer on mind. The shortness of the treatise and its avowedly popular character, forbid anything like a complete treatment of its wide, deep, and much-debated subject; but the reader is put in possession of the fuller knowledge of the nervous organism which has lately been obtained, and its bearing on the facts of mind is discussed. The difficulty of the subject is much lessened by a copious use of happily-chosen illustrations, which make this an admirable text-book for teachers, as well as interesting and suggestive to general readers.

A superficial treatment of important problems is, to some extent, unavoidable in a work of this kind, but here it seems due in part to a characteristic of the school of philosophy to which Dr. Bain belongs, viz., the tendency to rest satisfied with insufficient explanations of phenomena. Dr. Bain, and the two Mr. Mills, among others, have shown wonderful ingenuity in accounting inadequately for our moral and intellectual qualities by the direction given to the associations as against the opposite doctrines, which maintained that innate tendencies exist in the mind antecedent to associations formed by experience.

The new facts accumulated, and the new lines of inquiry opened up by Mr. Darwin and Mr. Herbert Spencer appear likely to harmonize these divergent doctrines by an intermediate view, which bears the aspect of truth. By showing the enormous influence which *inheritance* exerts on mental as well as on bodily character, they virtually teach that mental tendencies are innate in the *individual*, but not in the race. This implies the insufficiency and shallowness of the experience philosophy has held before.

In the volume before us Dr. Bain makes some use of these new views, but does not define his position in regard to them. But in 'a Postscript' lately added to 'The Senses and the Intellect,' he says, 'In the present volume I have not made use of the principle of evolution to explain either the complex feelings or the complex intellectual powers. I believe, however, that there is much to be said in behalf of the principle for both applications. In the third edition of "The Emotions and the Will," now in preparation, I intend to discuss it at full length.'

Is not the same disposition to rest in insufficient explanations shown by the representations of the relation between mind and body as now beginning to be inadequately understood? The following language, which finds more than one parallel in this book, would come naturally enough from some superficial thinkers of a past age, but it is surprising from an advanced philosopher of the nineteenth century.

'Let us generalize the connections of thought or intellect with nervous and other processes, find out what physical basis specifically belongs to memory, to reason, to imagination, and what are the most general statements of the relationship, we shall then fully, sufficiently, finally explain the alliance of mind and body in the sphere of intellect. There is no other explanation needful, no other competent, no other that would be explanation. Instead of our being unfortunate, as is sometimes said, in not being able to know the essence of either mind or matter, in not rendering an account of their union, our misfortune would be to have to know anything different from what we do or may know.'—pp. 128, 9.

The second of these two volumes sustains the high reputation which other treatises of the 'International Scientific Series' have obtained. Dr. Stewart speaks with authority on

a subject he has made his own, and in presenting it here in outline to general readers, he shows that power of clear, accurate, and attractive exposition for which so many English teachers of science are distinguished. The spread of scientific information among readers who are not students, will be greatly promoted by the writers and publishers of volumes like this. Yet Dr. Stewart does not seem always to have hit the difficult mean of not too little nor too much in this account of energy. Sometimes he has hardly avoided the danger besetting popular expositions of science, of giving descriptions too full for adepts, but almost useless to others because not full enough. The meaning of a paragraph occasionally depends on that of a sentence obscure to anyone not versed in current scientific phraseology.

It may be allowable to suggest to scientific writers a caution of another kind. In seeking to give their explanations in the most familiar language they often use expressions at variance with the very views they are inculcating. No doubt it is difficult, and sometimes impossible to avoid this; but it is a great hindrance, and a source of confusion to a reader who is endeavouring to seize a novel scientific theory, when the language in which it is conveyed supposes an account of the facts which is being shown to be untenable. Mr. Grove's book on the 'Correlation of the Physical Forces' contains many examples of this, and the present volume furnishes a few. For example, since the modern doctrine of energy is at variance with the idea that the forces of nature, like electricity, are material emanations, it is embarrassing to read, 'when two bodies charged with opposite electricities are brought near each other, the two electricities rush together, forming a current, and the ultimate result is a spark' (Pp. 68, 9). So, it is said that, in a voltaic current we have 'a continuous coming together' of opposite electricities. And further on, life is called 'a mysterious thing,' and compared to the commander of an army. 'Life,' it is said, 'is always associated with machinery of a certain kind' (p. 163). But surely physical life, which alone is in question here, *is* machinery of a certain kind.

The deeper questions as to the nature of force are not raised in this treatise, except that Dr. Stewart's phraseology suggests inquiries on which no information is, or perhaps could be given. 'All energy,' he says, 'consists of two kinds—that of *position* and that of *actual motion*. . . . Now, energy of position implies a body in a position of advantage with respect to some force' (p. 48). Is any essential distinction between *energy* and *force* intended here? What is energy, which now consists of actual motion, but which, when the motion ceases, does not itself cease, but then consists of something else? Such problems confirm what Dr. Stewart says, more or less explicitly, more than once, 'the universe has more than one point of view, and there are possibly regions which will not yield their treasures to the most determined physi-

cists armed only with kilogrammes and metres and standard clocks' (p. 136).

Reference should be made to the many admirable illustrations which this book contains, as when the conversion of visible motion into heat, or molecular motion, by a concussion, is compared to the shaking together of railway passengers when a collision occurs, or the sun likened to a man whose expenditure exceeds his income, unless the solar energies are being recruited as fast as they are being dissipated.

The Theory of Evolution of Living Things, and the Application of the Principles of Evolution to Religion, Considered as Illustrative of the 'Wisdom and Beneficence of the Almighty.' By the Rev. GEORGE HENSLAW, M.A., &c. Macmillan and Co.

This is one of the Actonian Prizes for 1872. It is characterized by no great power, and produces the impression of a man who has gathered more scientific knowledge than he has adequate ability to use. Mr. Henslow takes hold of his theme feebly and is not always consistent with himself. Thus while he distinguishes very justly between the facts of evolution which are scientifically demonstrable and the theories of evolution which Lamarck, Mr. Darwin, and others have maintained, and which are speculative hypotheses, he entitles his own book a 'Theory,' which it scarcely is. It is simply the assertion of evolution as a law of nature within the limits of individual species, which, so far as we know, no well-informed person questions. Every horticulturist, farmer, and cattle breeder knows that evolution is thus a law of nature. The real question is whether all varieties of being in creation are developed by natural law from one common protoplasm; which, with the theologians, Mr. Henslow denies. The number of primitive types is merely a question of degree. Mr. Henslow, again, has severe things to say about theologians for not readily enough accepting the discoveries of science; and then at once exonerates them from the comparative reproach by adducing instances of even greater conservatism on the part of men of science themselves:—the way, for example, in which Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood was received by the scientific men of his day, and he might have added the way in which Sir J. Simpson's discovery of the anæsthetic use of chloroform was received by his medical brethren, as narrated in his memoir just published. Such slowness of belief is not peculiar to theologians, it is part of the natural conservatism of human thought—intensified in the case of men of science by professional jealousy, in the case of the theologians by ignorant fears for sacred things. Mr. Darwin's theories are as much resisted by many of his scientific brethren—Professor Owen, Mr. Wallace, Mr. Huxley, and others, as they are by theologians. Mr. Henslow thinks there are already symptoms of decay in their acceptance, to say nothing of the changes in Mr. Darwin's own views. Surely theologians may be forgiven for refusing to surrender the Bible to the un-

verified proposition of ever fluctuating scientific hypothesis.

Mr. Henslow says nothing about the origin of life, nor about the theory of the development of man from the lower animals. He believes in the Divine Creation, and in the distinctive creation of man. Mr. Henslow admits that 'the theory of evolution never countenances the idea of any two species of the same relative generation in descent passing the one into the other.' Indeed his views would be generally accepted by all intelligent theologians. He seems largely to be fighting with shadows.

The New Illustrated Natural History. By the Rev. J. G. WOOD, M.A., F.L.S. With Designs by Wolf, Zwecker, Weir, Coleman, Harvey, and others. Engraved by the Brothers DALZIEL. George Routledge and Sons.

In popular works on natural history the illustrations are almost as important as the text. The impressions received by the eye are more vivid and accurate than those received from descriptions. It is therefore in no sense to undervalue Mr. Wood's great powers as a popular expositor of natural science to say that the deserved popularity of his book is largely owing to the enterprise of the publishers in securing for them the illustrations of artists like Wolf and Weir, whose scientific exactness is equal to their artistic beauty. Mr. Wood's books are drawing-room albums and physiological studies, as well as popular manuals. With less, perhaps, of vivaciousness, but much more of accuracy, Mr. Wood is a kind of English Louis Figuier. With ample knowledge as a naturalist, and a wide acquaintance with zoological literature, Mr. Wood describes his species and tells his story in a straightforward and lively manner, which, to those wishing for knowledge, is full of interest. The present volume is a condensation of the three volumes of his large 'Illustrated Natural History,' revised so as to bring it up to the latest state of zoological knowledge, with some additional matter. The illustrations, which have been 'carefully selected so as to represent the most important and interesting groups of all the different orders,' are very profuse; there is scarcely a page without one, sometimes there are two on a page. It is a glorious book for intelligent boys, and for all it is perhaps the most valuable handbook of natural history in the language.

The Life and Habits of Wild Animals. Illustrated by Designs by JOSEPH WOLF. Engraved by J. W. and EDWARD WHYMPER. With Descriptive Letterpress by DANIEL GIRAUD ELLIOT, F.L.S., F.Z.S. Macmillan and Co.

Mr. Edward Whympere gives us in the preface to this very artistic book a short account of Mr. Joseph Wolf, whose designs he and his father have engraved. A young Prussian, with a passion for observing and drawing wild animals, he came to England in 1848, since when he has 'been engaged in making drawings for the Zoological Society and for book illustrations, especially those of distin-

guished travellers. Scientific naturalists in this country, as well as on the Continent and in America, consider that his power of delineating specific characters is simply unrivalled.' His paintings are seldom exhibited, as they pass directly from his studio into the hands of the best judges and largest collectors in the kingdom. The present series of sketches has been in the engraver's hands for seven years, and it is announced as the 'last series of illustrations which will be drawn by Mr. Wolf, either upon wood or upon stone,' Mr. Elliot, the author of the accompanying descriptive letterpress,' Mr. Whympster tells us, 'is a citizen of the United States, and is well known among naturalists for his superb monographs,' and in everything save perhaps his grammatical skill he seems to deserve this praise. The work abundantly justifies this high commendation, and would justify a commendation equally high of the way in which the engravings have been executed. It is in every respect much more than a picture book for Christmas—it is a scientific and artistic contribution to popular natural history. The combination is not common. Landseer and Andseer have not many peers. Mr. Wolf may fairly claim a place with them, as having both scientific knowledge and artistic passion. His drawings are as accurate as they are picturesque. The twenty pictures are incidents as well as life studies; each tells its tale of battle or peril. There is no mistaking the grim earnestness of the gorilla, who, suspended by his enormous arms, looks 'who goes there;' nor the alarmed expression of his mate with her young one, who is hastening to a place of safety; nor the 'hairbreadth escape' of poor bunny seized by an owl near the mouth of the warren, and escaping only by a fallen tree, which compels the owl to relax its grasp. There is a wonderful expression in the countenances of the animals, while the accessories are most carefully studied and admirably grouped.

The engravers have rendered Mr. Wolf's designs in the very highest style of their art. To both painter and engravers the work has been a loving study. We doubt whether any book of the season will surpass this magnificent volume in artistic excellence.

The Picture Gallery Annual. Containing Forty-eight Permanent Photographs, after the Works of the most Popular Artists. Printed by the Woodbury Process. Sampson Low and Co.

We can do little more than characterize generally this excellent art annual. The subjects selected are from among the best pictures of our greatest artists—Mulready, Landseer, Reynolds, Stanfield, Boxall, Cooper, and Turner among English painters; Ludwig, Knaus, Fritz, Neuber, Watteau, Mercier, Tidemand, Camphausen, Zuber-Bühler, Perreault, Gerhard Dow among Continental painters; with a picture each from Rembrandt, Velasquez, and Vandyck. They are rendered generally with fine effect. No photo-mechanical printing process preserves delicate

lights and shades and soft harmonious tones so perfectly as the Woodbury process. It is as excellent a series of copies of great masters as can be brought within general reach.

My Lady's Cabinet. Six parts. Sampson Low, Marston.

Consists of specimens of photographic art, but without any letterpress or explanation of the principle on which the selection is made. We have a page of 'Beauties' photographed from well-known engravings, followed by vignette views of cities and mountain scenery, and selections of the works of our greatest artists thrown together without any apparent order. The volume will form a beautiful scrap-book for the drawing room table.

Virtue's Imperial Shakspeare. Division V.

The plays in this division are the completion of 'Richard III.,' 'Henry VIII.,' 'Romeo and Juliet,' 'Hamlet,' and part of 'Cymbeline.' We are impressed, in looking again over Mr. Knight's annotations, with the scholarliness, wisdom, and penetration of his criticisms, and with the sagacity and fulness of the historical illustrations. The essay on the historical plays, especially, which follows 'Henry VIII.,' is a very masterly and conclusive discussion of their genuineness, demonstrating their unity of action and of characterisation, and dealing in detail with the speculative criticisms adverse to it. The historical setting of the great dramatist by Mr. Knight is still the completest and best that we possess. The plates in this division are Pettie's 'Touchstone, and Audrey,' Clint's 'Falstaff and Anne Page,' MacLise's 'Hamlet,' Gilbert's 'Shylock after the Trial,' and Hart's 'Quarrel of Wolsey and Buckingham.'

Modern Painters and their Paintings, for the use of Schools and Learners in Art. By SARAH TYTLER, Author of 'Papers for Thoughtful Girls,' &c. Strahan and Co.

Miss Tytler has done a very delicate and difficult task with wisdom. Her former volume on the 'Old Masters' presented themes which could at least be freely treated. Here, in the last portion of the volume, she was dealing with living men, and had to be wary. And she has been wary, having hardly written a word that could by possibility give offence. She has evidently cultivated picture galleries assiduously, and never missed the chance of seeing a private collection, besides taking careful note of every suggestive fact and incident that came before her. Some of her own remarks are very apt, and show nice insight and good sense; and especially is this seen in her remarks on Turner, Millais, and John Leech. We are quite sure this book will be much in demand; for hitherto there has been nothing like it—so complete, simple, and succinct.

POETRY, FICTION, AND BELLES LETTRES.

The Parisians. Vols. I. II. III. By EDWARD BULWER, Lord Lytton. William Blackwood and Sons.

When we say that this novel promises to be better than the other posthumous works of fiction by the same gifted author, we mean that in those incidents which, at the present day, are apparently considered essential in stories it is both more prolific and more tantalising. For instance, although two-thirds of the novel have now been published, the author has condescended to give but very little solution of the mystery of the plot, and we are not of those who pretend on an unsatisfactory and incomplete basis to define exactly what is contemplated in the remaining portion of the story. The circulating libraries, at least, will admit that Lord Lytton is fulfilling the rôle they expect of him; he is avoiding the *ennui* which is so distasteful to the voracious consumers of imaginative aliment. In matters of art we are able to extend no unstinted praise to the powers of the lamented writer of 'The Caxtons.' In this last work the characters which he has given us will bear comparison with any that have hitherto attracted our sympathies. His principal hero, the Frenchman of ancient lineage, is drawn with remarkable skill—a noticeable feature, it may be borne in mind—for there are few of our novelists who, with all their well-earned reputation, can go abroad and represent with truth and freedom individuals of other nations. The Englishman, Graham Vane, is also excellently drawn, and his fortunes will be watched with considerable interest. At the close of the first volume he was represented as rather smitten by the charms of the singer Isaura Cicogna, whilst she probably would have owned to a somewhat deeper feeling. The devious course of the acquaintanceship is resumed in the second volume, and it is seen that the attentions to Isaura of the clever young Radical, M. Rameau, are not at all relished by Vane. The latter, however, is somewhat restrained in his relations with Isaura by the fact that he is present in Paris with a specific object—viz., an endeavour to discover one Louise Duval and her child. The explanation is tendered in the second volume why Vane is so anxious to discover the woman Duval. It appears that she was the wife of a rich uncle of his, who, before giving his property ultimately to his nephew, left him the charge of discovering the lost wife. Louise Duval had suffered wrong, but instead of trying to remedy it, she left her husband, and gave out the news of her pretended death. Vane was to find her and marry the daughter; or, failing in that, he was to have three-fourths of the property, and leave the other fourth to accumulate for the lost infant. He is therefore in Paris with this object, and yet almost falling captive to the charms of Isaura. The third volume keeps up the interest established in the second, and at its very commencement we are treated to a dramatic interview between Gus-

tave Rameau and Victor de Mauleon. The latter contributes smart papers to Rameau's organ, the *Sens Commun*. The circulation of this journal has been greatly augmented by Mdlle. Cicogna's romance, 'The Artist's Daughter;' and De Mauleon, being the proprietor of the paper, is anxious to be introduced to his fair contributor. Rameau confesses his love for Isaura, and before the volume closes Graham Vane appears distracted by the horrible fear that he may soon lose Isaura by her marriage with his rival. Mrs. Morley rallies the young Englishman, and the last glimpse of him we have up to the present is when he is leading in the fair one to dinner. There is much brilliant writing in these volumes, and the style, while not more epigrammatic, is certainly as polished as anything we have received from the same hand. However the story may finish, and whatever may be the light in which we regard the plot, it is quite worth the while of every reader of fiction to read it, for the many qualities which distinguish it as the production of a superior mind.

Luna: A Mere Love Story. By MARGARET C. HELMORE. Two vols. Smith, Elder, and Co.

The title of this story is scarcely fair. The authoress has attempted to exhibit many aspects of fashionable life, and to set forth the ways of mortals under the sway of several other passions, far enough removed from love. It occurs to us, and we do not mean the suggestion to be unfriendly, that 'indiscriminate flirting' might have been a suitable head line for half these pages. The authoress, in her opening chapters, excites some interest in behalf of two brothers and the beautiful bride of one of them; but she is so lavish of her creations that she immediately, with a few pen-strokes, kills off all three, and begins a new story with the fortunes of their offspring. An engagement to marry between the children of these defunct brothers creates difficulty in the way of the true love of the hero and heroine of the story. The difficulty disappears at last, and love triumphs over seven thousand a year! There is very little character painting, but we have superabundant description of personal attraction and effective costume. By far the cleverest delineation is that of the selfish, scheming adventuress, Harriet Field, who, under cover of professedly benevolent intentions, does her utmost to rob Diana Deshon of her affianced cousin-lover, and who is finally exposed and dismissed from these dainty pages. The excessive and most objectionable 'slang' put into the lips of young ladies who are described as excruciatingly beautiful, as well as the utter weakness of the characters and conversations which throng these pages, may be intended for satire, but the pleasantry, if such it be, is heavy and prolonged to weariness. The helpless stupidity of all the men-folk, with perhaps a partial exception in favour of Lancelot, may be equally sarcastic, but if so the sarcasm is powerless. In the same fashion, 'Lancelot of

the Lake' is throughout the story represented as the ideal man, and this possibly may be another caustic, though half-concealed satire, on Mayfair. In any case, 'Luna' does not herald the advent of a new novelist of any power.

Joan de Biron: or, the Russian Court in the Middle of last Century. By the author of 'Friends in Council.' In Three Volumes. William Isbister and Co.

Sir Arthur Helps has here succeeded in interweaving the historical with the imaginative in a very effective and graceful manner. We as a matter of course expect knowledge, and skill, and suggestiveness from him. Here we have all these, but with something super-added—a touch of broadly dramatic and strong human interest. In former fictions he has, if not directly, yet half consciously, held a theory which he could not help now and then turning the eye upon, to the injury of the characters. Here he has kept his characters wholly in his eye, and incidentally illustrates many problems of human society and government without consciously intending it. Siberia, with its odd employments and pastimes, its trials and love affairs—about all these our readers must learn from the work itself. We are sure they will like the Princess Maria Serbatoff, whether she is seen chopping wood by the side of her lover Joan, or nursing the man whom she had learned to hate so thoroughly, or moving again in the gay circles of the capital. The 'Gypsy' Azra is well conceived and carefully delineated, and forms an element of mystery in the story. Incident abounds, and is fitted with adroit adjustment into the framework of Russian history and manners. The plot is well conceived and carried forward in strong construction; now and then we have exquisite passages of description and glimpses of high society, together with polished dialogue, glittering occasionally with wit and epigram. We should characterize this as the most stirring and popular novel Sir Arthur has written, and it will no doubt be a favourite with novel readers.

Lady Bell. By the Author of 'Citoyenne Jacqueline.' Isbister and Co.

A work of this class may be regarded from two points of view—either as a restoration of a past period, or as a story. There can be no doubt whatever that Miss Tytler has thoroughly prepared herself for her task by careful and exhaustive study, and has been successful in imparting a certain degree of verisimilitude; but sometimes her very effort in this direction tends to injure the story both in character and construction. Certain critics said of 'Citoyenne Jacqueline' that it could only have been produced by one who had long resided in France, whereas we should say that it was, like 'Lady Bell,' rather the result of close reading and strict attention to social traits and anecdotes, as found in diaries and out of the way corners. In truth, she is so intent on historical truth that occasionally she verges on the theatrical in the manner in

which her leading characters are brought into relation with men and women whom we seem to know as intimately as if they lived to-day. And it is very noticeable that she makes Sir Joshua Reynolds and Mr. and Mrs. Siddons, for example, more vivid to us by a touch or two, than her other characters by many touches. Especially is this true of her heroes; for with women she is much more successful than with men; Lady Bell being in every way graceful, dainty, and consistent even in her waywardness and whims; and Mrs. Sundon, though a stronger-minded woman, has got a smack of reality. Captain Fane is an anachronism pure and simple! The necessities of the plot, we suppose, make it needful that he should act in the stupid clownish, bearish way he does; but in those days it was hardly possible for a man to have seen what Captain Fane had seen, and not to have learnt (more the pity!) some of the wisdom of the serpent, and the tact and *dangerous* restraint of passion that comes so quickly in its wake. Miss Tytler has not as yet created a heroic male type that is not on one side soft and weak and womanish. Michael Sart in 'Jacqueline,' Caleb in the 'Huguenot Family,' and now Captain Fane in 'Lady Bell,' with his untempered boyishness, even after long years of service, and contact with men of the Sir Charles Lascelles order. It is in these points that study can bring little or no help; and these are the points where 'Lady Bell,' as a story, is weak, showing a certain narrowness in the writer. But as a glimpse of the time hardly anything could be better. It is bright, crisp, clear, and finished like a series of cabinet pictures. But would it not have been better if some of the scandalous passages had been more reticently touched? We have said this much by way of preface to asking the question, Why it is that Miss Tytler, with such remarkable talent, has never essayed history for young people? In this department we are fain to think that she would succeed where so many have failed.

The Prescotts of Pamphillon. By Mrs. PARR. Author of 'Dorothy Fox,' &c. Isbister and Co.

Mrs. Parr is here very natural and very healthy, as we should expect; but there is a certain want of gradation and perspective in this work. We are kept too much on the strain, somehow; and the interest never really rises sufficiently to justify it. We know almost from the first how it must be; and we are driven back to memories of 'Dorothy Fox' mentally to contrast and compare; and we regretfully find that there is much repetition, some very coarse and unfinished passages, where relative pronouns go very strangely *ajee*; and, on the whole, a sad want of freshness and vivacity is apparent. It is just as though a very able writer had been writing against her grain. We have some Devon fisher-folk instead of the sweetly quaint Quaker element which so rejoiced us in 'Dorothy;' but the leading characters are simply feeble reflections of former ones.

Betsey, the servant at Captain Carthew's, and the Captain himself, are the best, and really in them we have some humour and fun; but the transferring of the baronetcy from Stephen to Sir Leopold is very clumsily managed. With every desire to be fair and favorable, we cannot say that this is in any way an advance on 'Dorothy Fox,' but the very reverse.

Mr. Carrington. A Tale of Love and Conspiracy. By ROBERT TURNER CALTON. Three Vols. Henry S. King and Co.

No *nom de plume* can disguise the author of 'Miranda.' A page is sufficient to reveal him to the veriest critical novice. Whatever his literary faults, he has a strongly marked individuality, which is no small merit. He is the Dumas *père* of English novelists—the same exuberance and extravagance of conception, the same utter disregard of probabilities and defiance of conventionalisms, while Disraeli himself is not more superb. Duchessy halls that require a railroad to get round them, rent rolls of a quarter of a million, gifts of £50,000, old bank notes for £20,000 found in old cabinets, a French duke for chief cook, &c. Mr. Collins' pen is as potent as 'Aladdin's Lamp,' and makes one feel quite millionaireish. Mr. Carrington, again, is a Sidonia in a small way. He knows everybody, and can do everything. Nobody can resist his will, and he is everybody's protector. Dominie Sampson would exclaim 'prodigious.' There is no mistaking, again, the culinary delectations of the writer. He is as familiar with good dishes as Soyer himself, and designates rare wines with the minuteness of an auctioneer's catalogue. He describes women with the warmth of a Catullus, and indicates their points with the eye of a connoisseur. Scraps of ever so many feasts of languages are scattered over his pages, and songs, chiefly erotic, some of them very clever and worthy of musical setting, alternate with dashing prose. It is impossible to criticise novels so crowded with impossible incident and extravagant sentiment, that contain all things possible and impossible. Our entire critical faculty revolts at them as literature, but they are infinitely amusing and clever. We would not willingly miss one of them. They are romance and sermon, satire and song, newspaper chronicle and political register, *ana* and jest book all in one. Mr. Collins is inexhaustible in the freshness of his animal spirits and the fecundity of his versatile fancy. We recommend our readers by all means to get his books, and passively to surrender themselves to their enjoyment, as they would to a clever burlesque.

Military Life in Prussia. First Series. The Soldier in Time of Peace. Translated (by permission of the Author) from the German of F. W. HACKLÄNDER. By F. E. R. and H. E. R. Sampson Low and Co.

Hackländer is the German Charles Lever, and in the military system of Prussia he has found a rich field for his novels. The difference between a Celt and a Teuton, an Irish-

man and a German, sufficiently indicates the difference between Lever and Hackländer. The rollicking fun of the former has its counterpart in the mild humour tinged with fancy of the latter; add, too, the more subdued feeling of every German on all Governmental topics. Nevertheless the story is rich in military fun, and the really large amount of information concerning barrack life which it conveys is skilfully interwoven with the personal incident of the story. The hero is his own biographer. He tells us how he, a draper's apprentice, was fired by military enthusiasm and became an artillery volunteer. His experiences in barracks, first as a private, then as a non-commissioned officer, are detailed, and sundry regimental officials are sketched, we fancy from the life; the choleric, kind-hearted Colonel von T—, the narrow and spiteful Captain Feind, and the sentimental Bombardier Dose especially. Various pranks and escapades are recited, some of them giving the hero a practical acquaintance with the guard-house and the hospital. Military life—military martinetts especially—seem very much alike everywhere, but we feel the excess of Prussian pipe-clay throughout. A vein of romance runs through the story, in the person of pretty little Emily, the niece of Count von R—, whose acquaintance the hero makes under circumstances more nearly approaching the author of 'Charles O'Malley' in their roaring fun, than anything else in the book. The familiarity to which as a private soldier he is admitted does not seem quite natural, but as he unexpectedly becomes the heir of a rich cousin, all probably ends as in a novel it should do. We have been so much interested that we shall be glad to see the second series, which, we presume, will delineate the Prussian soldier in time of war.

Elena. An Italian Tale. By L. N. COMYN. Author of 'Atherstone Priory.' Two Vols. Longmans, Green and Co.

The very high praise which 'Atherstone Priory' deservedly won might, we think, have prompted its author to a more speedy re-appearance in print. The fine quality of her workmanship indicated both careful thinking and the most patient artistic finish; and 'Elena' is in no way unworthy of its predecessor. It claims a place upon the shelf of our choicest contemporary fiction. The story is a sad one. Something more than a vein of deep pathos runs through it. Its very substance is pathetic. The great features of the story are the bitter desolateness of Elena's childhood, and the cruelty amounting to hunger and blows to which she was subjected. Her unrequited love and marriage to Marco Marchese Montanari, who, after their engagement, having won her love in her days of misery, permits her half sister's beauty to fascinate him; and then when her patient love has won him to remorse and reverential affection for herself, and their domestic life is happy, the execution of Marco as one of the patriots of the last revolutionary war by the

Pontifical troops, is a tender and beautiful tragedy of life; hardly, perhaps, relieved sufficiently by the honour and love of the old Marchese, and by the heartless flirt Pauline, both of whom are admirably drawn, as indeed is every character in the story. 'Elena' is a Madonna-like portraiture of true, unselfish love and sorrow. It is a very pure, high toned, and charming novel.

A Long Summer's Day. By M. C. M. SIMPSON. In Two Vols. Smith, Elder, and Co.

This is pleasant reading. A young lady of exquisite charms is suddenly admitted to the splendours of London life, sees all that eye and heart can crave, conquers a true knight, who follows her to her home, wins her heart and hand, and forthwith starts with her on the great journey of life. The surrounding character-painting is clever, and bits of description occur which indicate a genuine desire to represent fairly a Hampshire down, a scholarly recluse, a West-end route, a country vicar, and a dinner at the 'Star and Garter.' The incidents are prosaic enough, with one rather clumsy exception. Why should the lovely 'Lily' have been married twice, and that odious farrier turn out to have been her first husband? The difficulty of the story might have been got over without the suggestion of such a hateful possibility as that of the ethereal widow being compelled to accept her fate. Law, moreover, is not so familiar a theme as love to this writer. Still we must admit that a winter's evening may be pleasantly beguiled by this version of 'A Long Summer's Day.'

A Princess of Thule. By WILLIAM BLACK, Author of 'Strange Adventures of a Phaeton,' &c. In Three Volumes. Macmillan and Co.

Mr. Black has, in this novel, steered clear of some of the tendencies which, in his former works, were open to criticism. He has been more careful on points of construction, has condescended to study 'surprises' with care, and, while thus fitting this novel pre-eminently for serial publication, has made it really more efficient as a work of art—two things difficult to do with complete success. Sheila (granting the assumption of a certain native simplicity, which we fear is, in these days of penny papers and women's rights, almost impossible even in the Lewes) is an admirable creation, very strictly sustained; Lavender is cleverly done, though we fear *dilettanti* are not so soon or so easily converted into men of such devotion and industry as actually rise to genius; and Ingram is a very good relief. We are doubtful, however, if Sheila's confidence to Ingram is quite compatible with her determination to uphold her husband,—as she does, for example, to her father and old aunt Lavender, who is truly an original, with her rough satiric directness, her stoicism, and her vaunted equability and self-control. We confess that when Sheila, under a sad sense of fine feelings outraged, quitted her husband's house, and Frank Lavender was sent adrift on a yacht cruise in

consequence, we were rather afraid that Mr. Black was to repeat so far the painful closing episode of 'A Daughter of Heth.' But he has steered clear of this rock as cleverly as the *Phæbe* was run into Loch Roag at that auspicious time when the parted couple were unexpectedly to be united as young lovers once more. But this is perhaps communicating too much of the story. It is full of fine character-rendering, with the all-brightening thread of humour glimmering out now and then, a subdued sense of fun lurking, even in the dialect, somehow, though we have heard this in several points critically objected to by Hebrideans; but the vivid descriptions of the grand and beautiful scenery of the west coast of Scotland no one, we think, could fail to admire. Altogether, this is a work of singular power and delicacy, and justifies our placing Mr. Black almost in the front rank of English novelists.

The Blue Ribbon. By the Author of 'St. Olave's,' 'Janita's Cross,' &c., &c.

By the 'blue ribbon' is not meant any aristocratic decoration, but a simple ornament which is worn one evening by a charming German girl, and plays its part in her subsequent history. The book is distinguished by the purity and simplicity of style which marked the author's previous productions, but there is no plot to speak of in the story, and none of the incidents are stirring or sensational, with the exception, perhaps, of the sudden disappearance of the heroine at one time under circumstances that excite serious apprehension. It is not for us to tell the story, but only to remark that several of the characters are well drawn, though in some there is a little tendency to exaggeration. The family of the Monkestons is the centre of interest; the mother, daughter, and son grow upon the reader. Indeed Roger, the son, is the hero of the tale, but he would not be much without Gretchen. Gretchen is a German maiden whom circumstances have led to a little English town, where she has to work for her maintenance, and where Roger meets with her. Her character is beautifully conceived and admirably portrayed. Her simplicity of thought and speech, her perfect naturalness, everything that belongs to her indeed, helps to throw a halo about her; she lives before us in her words and actions. Of Roger we hear more than we see; opportunities occur favourable to his scientific advancement, and he makes progress rather more rapidly than is usual in real life. Jean, his afflicted, decrepit sister, is a superior and charming person. Many of the sort of people to be met with in the would-be fashionable society of a small town are hit off with great skill. There is a tragic element in the story in the person of one who had been early married to an Italian singer, and then abandoned by him, who lives for revenge, and whose character is well rendered in its mixture of fierce passion and womanly tenderness. The object of the book would seem to be to attach dignity and importance to art, especially in connection with the higher forms of musical culture. One or two of the minor characters get too talkative, and become tire-

some; but the book, as a whole, will repay perusal, not only by the interest it may awaken, but by some of its shrewd suggestive observations on men and things.

Mistress Judith. A Cambridgeshire Story. By C. C. FRASER-TYTLER. Two Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

The author of 'Jasmine Leigh' is incapable of other than finished and delicate work. 'Mistress Judith' is a very careful study, full of beauty and pathos. Its only incongruity is, that the daughter of a scholarly clergyman, like Parson Ingrey, should have been left to grow up in such a neglected way. The story is very simple. Two brothers of the village grow up with her from childhood. Jesse, the elder, is the parson's favourite, and is educated by him for some great career. While he is away, Amos, the younger, learns to love Judith, and imparts his secret to his brother. Jesse proves unworthy, betrays the confidence of his patron, is treacherous to his brother, and breaks Judith's heart. The exquisite workmanship of the story is seen in its quiet descriptions and delineations of Cambridgeshire scenery and life; its pathos in the pure love, fidelity, and death of Judith. It is the old, old story, unspeakably sad, but most exquisitely told.

Selections from the Poems of Charlotte Elliott. Author of 'Just as I am.' With a Memoir by her SISTER E. B. Religious Tract Society.

Charlotte Elliott was one of a gifted family. Her uncle, the Rev. John Venn, was Rector of Clapham, her grandfather was the Rev. Henry Venn, of Huddersfield. Her two brothers were the late Rev. H. V. Elliott, of Brighton, and the Rev. E. B. Elliott, author of the 'Horæ Apocalypticæ.' She was throughout her life an invalid; in 1829 she seemed near her end, she lived however until 1871, and died in her eighty-second year. Her sister's memoir is necessarily slight, but it is full of tenderness and piety. Charlotte Elliott belonged to the mystical side of Evangelicalism; her chief spiritual guide was Cesar Malan, who was the means of solving religious perplexities for her; but surely one may question the wisdom of the advice to abstain from all reading but that of the Bible, although in Miss Elliott's case it was in the judgment of her sister beneficial. We have the deepest respect for the simplicity and devoutness of Dr. Malan's spirit—few more beautiful instances of godliness could be adduced. It is, however, greatly to be regretted that the piety of the Evangelicals generally should so sadly lack philosophical and human breadth. To this is to be attributed the defection from it in both directions of some of the noblest minds of this generation, the narrow conventionalism of its religious life and literature, and the feeble hold that it has upon English Christianity in spite of a very general sympathy with some of its fundamental doctrines. The Evangelical form of Protestantism is most congruous with our English religiousness, only the mysticism, the narrow dogmas, and the lack of philosophy in its thought and life has hindered it from ruling the land. Miss

Elliott was in full sympathy with that section of the Evangelical party represented by Dr. Malan. Her hymns are full of a tender, experimental religiousness, just as some of the hymns of the Sacramentarians are. A feeling of mystical fervour inspires both; the result diverges only where positive dogma is introduced. The volume contains upwards of a hundred pieces, some of them very beautiful, the expression of a suffering as well as of a devout soul.

Living Voices. Selections chiefly from Recent Poetry. With a Preface by His Grace the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. Strahan and Co.

This is a very admirable selection, so far supplementing the anthologies of Mr. Palgrave and Dr. Trench by eschewing pretty much the older poets and selecting from singers of the present, from Alfred Tennyson to Christina Rossetti. Not only is the selection good and so far new, but the arrangement is wise and discriminating. American poets are fairly represented, but no more; and as the volume consists of nearly 550 pp., the reader has before him, in fact, the cream of recent English lyrical poetry. The only name of note that is absent is that of Mr. Swinburne. It will form a very beautiful Christmas present. The Archbishop's preface is happily conceived.

Lyrics of Ancient Palestine; Poetical and Pictorial: Illustrative of Old Testament History. Religious Tract Society.

One of the best of the illustrated verse books that the Society has published. The 'Lyrics' are well selected, the illustrations are good, and generally are true to local features. Had Moses, however, been put into an ark relatively so small as that which Mr. Stainland has drawn for him, he would have fared badly on the Nile. The book, however, is a charming one of its class.

Yesterday, To-day, and For Ever. A Poem in Twelve Books. By EDWARD HENRY BICKERSTETH, M.A. New Edition. Rivingtons.

Mr. Bickersteth's poem has attained a much greater popularity on the other side of the Atlantic than it has on this; which is the case with some other productions of our modern literature—Mr. Charles Reade's works, for instance. If we did not remember that this is also true of Dickens and Tennyson, and perhaps of Thackeray, it would suggest a moral respecting the comparative literary maturity of the two countries. Mr. Bickersteth's poem deserves more attention than it has here received, although it appears in a third edition. It is the production of a graceful, devout, and earnest mind, and ministers in many ways to toiling and suffering faith. Mr. Bickersteth has the misfortune, inseparable from his theme, of sometimes suggesting comparison with Milton. He does not soar very high, nor burn with great passion, even in the greatest scenes; but he describes smoothly and pleasantly, and with poetical afflatus enough to command many readers.

Poems by William Cullen Bryant. Collected and Arranged by Himself. Author's Edition. Twenty-four Illustrations and Portrait. Henry S. King and Co.

This is a very beautiful reprint of the New York edition of 1871, which contains several of the venerable author's poems not previously published. It is a very charming gift book. The type, though small, is clear; the full-page illustrations are engraved by the Brothers Dalziel from drawings by Foster. We are glad to possess so neat and elegant an edition of the works of the most thoughtful, graceful and Wordsworthian of American poets.

Prose Idylls, Old and New. By the Rev. CHARLES KINGSLEY, Canon of Westminster. Macmillan and Co.

The bulk of this book consists of reprints of early articles from *Fraser's Magazine*. These are the old prose idylls; the rest being, if we mistake not, articles from *Good Words*, and these are the new ones. We have thus brought together the styles of two periods, for the sketches of 'North Devon' appeared as early as 1849, while the latest, from *Good Words*, was printed in that periodical only a couple of years ago. If Canon Kingsley has gained a certain compressed and familiar directness of diction, certainly these early papers show wonderful vivacity, and reach a playful abandon and wimpling clearness which he has, in his riper years, hardly ever equalled. This volume has a certain unity of its own—it may be called Mr. Kingsley's out-of-door sketches, and belongs more to the Christopher North style of literature than anything else we could name, though it has, of course, a distinctly individual note. Canon Kingsley has more of scientific exactitude of mind than Wilson ever had, more patience of minute observation, and power to detect and express nice shades of difference; while perhaps he cannot dash off great pictures with the facility of the Professor. But there is the same healthy courage, buoyant animal spirits, delight in mere motion and adventure, while to both, the rougher winds are right welcome. Mr. Kingsley contrives to impart a great deal of good information to fly-fishers in his 'Chalk-Stream Studies,' and to shooting men in his 'North Devon,' whilst he ever and anon lapses into scientific exposition of the liveliest kind, and varies it with descriptive passages of the rarest excellence. The book is altogether a delightful one—it exhibits the author's best traits, and cannot fail to infect the reader with a love of nature and of outdoor life and its enjoyments. It is well calculated to bring a gleam of summer, with its pleasant associations, into the bleak winter time; while a better companion for a summer ramble could hardly be found. From 'Ocean to Sea,' we should mention, gives a most picturesque account of a very interesting portion of France. We have noticed, however, many instances of incorrectness in minor points.

The Friendship of Books and other Lectures.

By the Rev. F. D. MAURICE. Edited, with a

Preface, by T. HUGHES, M.P. Macmillan and Co.

Mr. Hughes' preface seeks chiefly to vindicate Mr. Maurice from the criticism of Mr. Matthew Arnold, in his 'Literature and Dogma,'—which affirms that 'in theology he passed his life beating the bush with deep emotion, and never starting the hare,' and which he meets mainly by a *tu quoque*; the strictures of Mr. Morley on Mr. Maurice's 'Theory of Conscience,' Mr. Darwin's theory of the 'Origin of Species' as criticised by Mr. Maurice; and the passage in Mr. Mill's autobiography, in which Mr. Maurice's amusing faculty for finding all conceivable things in the Prayer Book of the Church of England is noted. We have, we think, read almost everything that Mr. Maurice has written; and notwithstanding Mr. Hughes' protestation we think that Mr. Arnold is right. We have often sorely puzzled ourselves over Mr. Maurice's meaning; sometimes we have failed to discover it, and at other times have wondered as much as Mr. Mill at what we have discovered. Mr. Maurice was a preacher of books—he made no distinction between sermons and essays. He always thought earnestly, and sometimes his earnestness gave great clearness to his writings—but he printed what he thought, as naturally and profusely as other men speak it. Had he printed only one-fourth as much, and bestowed upon it four times more literary care, he would have made a permanent contribution to theological literature. As it was, he was a great spiritual force, rather than a great teacher. His influence is felt through English theology, but he will have no permanent place in it; he was too careless about the literature of his thoughts; his books perform the function of sermons only. His mental activity and his broad sympathetic charities were simply amazing. The lectures in this volume on Books, Words, Newspapers, Civilization, History, 'The Faery Queen,' Milton, Burke, &c., were delivered to various associations—one to the Royal Institution and several to the Working Men's College. They are the outpourings of a very full mind, whose energies were wonderfully sustained at a high level; they are singularly penetrating, instructive, and stimulating; and are often very charming; but they would have been twice as good had they been half as long. The criticisms that Mr. Hughes deprecates will, we think, be the conclusions to which the world will gradually settle down. We should be at a loss to single out one of Mr. Maurice's many books unless it be his 'History of Philosophy,' that will live in our literature.

Master-Spirits. BY ROBERT BUCHANAN. Henry S. King and Co.

Mr. Buchanan is a man of uncommon force of intellect, but he too much wants measure and the reticence that comes of complete self-respect for illustrating successfully his own ideal of criticism. That ideal is high. It demands two things—complete self-withdrawal, in the sense of sinking all individual prejudice and narrowness; and next, as flowing out of this, complete expression of the individual

genius. On this account he prefers Mr. Matthew Arnold to Mr. G. H. Lewes, and even to Mr. R. H. Hutton, who are touched with what he calls the editorial leaven, the absence of which in M. Taine he rather fondly celebrates. But in the very manner in which this intimation is couched—the peculiar *onus* that, so to say, lies in one or two expressions he uses—he significantly violates his own canon. The very word ‘disinterested,’ on which he lays stress, cannot be applied to a good deal of this book, though it must be said that some passages in the first essay are very piquant and humorous, and will hurt some folks’ toes. But why does Mr. Buchanan trouble himself with criticism at all, when he can produce such charming essays as that on ‘The Birds of the Hebrides?’ This deserves to rank with the very best essays of Christopher North. There is a light airy movement in it like the waft of a wing. And what a delicious volume he could have given us if, content to wait for a season, he had set himself to find for this gem a more worthy companionship. ‘Poets in Obscurity’—sketches of George Heath, the moorland poet, and of William Miller, the nursery laureate—are excellent in their way, and if we may take this as an illustration of his own theory of ‘self-communication,’ this article deserves to rank high; but it is, we think, somewhat spoiled by references to topics which Mr. Buchanan has tended rather to overdo. In the ‘Scandinavian Studies’ we have insight, and occasional gracious touches, a delicacy of appreciation altogether uncommon; and it must be said there is some smart writing in the review of Mr. John Morley’s essays. The other contents—the review of Mr. Browning’s ‘Ring and the Book’ among them—are little more than trifles; but the book is right readable, and frankly exhibits Mr. Buchanan’s personal characteristics.

At Nightfall and Midnight: Musings after Dark. By FRANCIS JACOX. Hodder and Stoughton.

Mr. Jacox must go to a feast of books every day, and carry away the scraps; nay, we are tempted to think that at every meal some miracle, like that of the Wilderness, must be performed, and the five barley loaves be multiplied into twelve baskets full of fragments. He fairly distances our imagination of either memory or common-place books. The chief marvel is, that he can so accumulate his stores of quotations and allusions round so many out-of-the-way things—thread his variegated beads upon so many kinds of strings. In his new volume he has chosen Darkness as his theme. His chapters treat of Twilight, Homewards at Nightfall, Shadows, a Moonlight Ride with Wordsworth, Noctambulism, Glimpses Within by Gazers Without, Bird’s-eye Views by Night, Wind and Rain by Night, Fire-gazing, Night Students, &c., through twenty-eight chapters; and every page of each of them choke-full of illustrative quotations. It is wonderful, ‘prodigious,’ and as interesting as the literary columns of a country newspaper. Everything, moreover, is exactly in its place. Mr. Jacox is

a consummate artist, a mosaic worker whose skill never fails; out of his rich materials he creates genuine books absorbing in their interest. May his common-place book never fail. We do not believe it ever will.

Russian Folk-tales. By W. R. S. RALSTON, M.A., of the British Museum. Smith, Elder, and Co. 1873.

In this volume, dedicated to the memory of *Alexander Afanasief*, abundant use is made of the extraordinary amount of material prepared by that learned writer. But the editor and translator has not confined himself to the *Skaskas* or Russian folk-tales which have been accumulated by this author, but has taken advantage of the collections of *Khudyakof*, *Erlerwein*, and others. He has, however, wisely abstained from reciting those legends which *Gubernatis* so recently introduced to our notice when illustrating from Scandinavian sources the wide diffusion of the early Aryan myths, and the extraordinary prevalence of the Beast Epos. Mr. Ralston is not like Sig. *Gubernatis*, obviously bent upon any special theory of the origin of these extraordinary stories, which undoubtedly have many *variants*, and are more or less connected with each other. The mythological portion of the present collection of Russian folk-tales is mainly occupied with impersonations of *evil*. They doubtless have some remote reference to the malign forces of nature, but are mainly silent on the deeper questions of sin and redemption. The *Skaskas*, which describe ‘Frost as a wooer of maidens,’ are highly picturesque and easily unravelled, and involve a certain moral lesson. The geographical legends of the metamorphosis into rivers of Dnieper, Volga, and Dvina, are highly curious. A story resembling ‘Jack and the Beanstalk,’ or a combination of the ‘Leaven-tree’ myth with the legendary cunning of the Fox, the ‘Rip-van-Winkle’ legend, numerous ghost stories and vampire horrors, and a vast amount of rare and curious lore on the variations of these stories occupy some chapters. The volume contains material enough to make a hundred Christmas books, at the reading of which the eyes of our young people would become wide as saucers. Mr. Ralston also has accumulated and classified much valuable information for the use of those who wish to compare Teutonic or Celtic legend with that due to Slavonian sources.

Oxford and Cambridge: their Colleges, Memories, and Associations. By the Rev. FREDERICK ARNOLD, B.A., with Engravings by Mr. EDWARD WHYMPER, F.R.G.S. Religious Tract Society.

This is a useful as well as an interesting and ornamental book. Now that the universities have become really national institutions, every class of society has an interest in them, and will send to them its representatives. A cheap, elegant, and popular description of the colleges of each, with plentiful illustrations, together with an account of the university system, religious life in each university, and the most prominent and interesting sites and scenes in

each town, was a desideratum. Mr. Arnold writes in a thoroughly catholic spirit. Although he does not mention Nonconforming Churches as forming any part of the religious life of Oxford or Cambridge, he renders full justice to their Puritan names and associations. There is, in truth, but little to be said about Nonconformist religion in Oxford and Cambridge, so far as just now it is represented by buildings; but Robert Robinson and Robert Hall are names in connection with Cambridge of note enough in sacred literature and oratory to have deserved a recognition. Happily, Cambridge Nonconformity has rolled away the reproach of its unworthy buildings. In the new Congregational Church, now nearly completed, it has no cause for shame. When will Oxford Nonconformists follow the example? It is an unspeakable cause for regret that Nonconformist students at the universities should have not only their principles to maintain, but the discredit of some of the worst church buildings in England, the population of the two places being taken into account. We very heartily commend Mr. Arnold's interesting and elegant volume with its capital illustrations.

The French Humorists, from the Twelfth to the Nineteenth Century. By WALTER BESANT, M.A. Richard Bentley and Sons.

Mr. Besant is an indefatigable plodder among the literary dust of earlier French literature, and his industry is rewarded by frequent finds of interesting material. This, with ingenuity and skill, he works up into his biographical or literary structure. He is essentially a literary antiquarian, rather than historian or critic, and sometimes is guilty of the proverbial dryness of his order. But his essays on the whole are interesting as well as informing. Incident, allusion, and quotation are gathered from a wide field of reading, the poetical quotations being rendered into English with much skill, although he lacks the literary power and elevation which in his analogous volume on the 'Renaissance' Mr. Walter Pater has so remarkably shown.

After a short chapter on the Chanson, Mr. Besant devotes eighteen chapters to as many writers, beginning with Rutebeuf, the Trouvère of the thirteenth century, and ending with Beranger. Clement Marot is omitted, together with the humorists of the fifteenth century, because they were discussed in a previous work on early French poetry. Voltaire is omitted, simply because adequate space for treating him could not be found in a single volume. It would be unsatisfactory and useless in a notice like this to flit from paper to paper, and attempt a characterization of each in a sentence. We must content ourselves by saying that a book which, with adequate learning and skill treats of the 'Romance of the Rose,' Rabelais, Montaigne, Regnier, Scarron, Boileau, La Fontaine, Molière, Regnard, and Beaumarchais, must necessarily be rich in literary interest. To literary students, the chapters on more obscure men like Rutebeuf will be even more interesting and valuable. When one thinks of the genius for keen, polished, and audacious satire, in which the French have always been so pre-

eminent, of the persistence of its type, from century to century, of the large element of classical literature which it constitutes, and of the important part, political and social, which it has played in French history, one must feel that Mr. Besant has laid English readers under a great obligation by thus putting into their hands a series of sketches, which will give them an adequate conception of the main points of this peculiar domain, and enable a just judgment of the authors of some of the masterpieces of French literature.

The Periods of the History of English Literature in Sketches; followed by a Third Newly Augmented Edition of F. M. COWAN'S Chronological Critical Table of English Literature. Amsterdam: P. N. van Kampen.

Mr. Cowan's method is rapidly and broadly to sketch successive periods of English literature, pointing out their general characteristics; and to append to the sketch of each period a chronological list of its principal writers, and of the chief works of each, with short critical notes; primary works being distinguished from secondary by a difference of type. The writers are arranged numerically, to enable reference from the general sketch. The result is a very useful manual, differing in some respects from any other of its class. As might be expected, it is not perfect. Singular omissions occur, and names like those of Deans Milman and Stanley, and Edward A. Freeman are put as subordinate, while all the honours of special type and characterization are done to Sir Archibald Alison and W. H. Dixon. The work is an outline map of English and American literature, which will be very convenient to students. As an English book from the Dutch press, it is singularly free from typographical errors.

Essays. By JOHN FOSTER. Religious Tract Society.

An elegant and cheap edition of the celebrated volume of 'Essays' which, on its first publication, gave Mr. Foster a distinguished place among the most original and vigorous thinkers of his day. The important Introductory Essay to Doddridge's 'Rise and Progress,' written for 'Collins's Series,' is appended. We are glad to see such a book in the Tract Society's list. Foster is a fine tonic after a course of ordinary religious literature.

Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton have published new editions of *The Dying Saviour and the Gipsy Girl, and other Stories.* By MAXIM HALL (née SIBREE), originally published under the much more distinctive title 'Sermons from the Studio'; half a dozen as graceful and charming art-stories as recent years have seen. A writer who can do so well should surely do more: and of *Busy Hands and Patient Hearts*, a very touching story of a poor blind Dresden boy, restored to sight by an operation for cataract, performed by a kind physician, and

of the faith and love of his widowed mother and little sister. — *Columbus; a Historical Play*. In five acts. By EDWARD ROSE. (Fifingham Wilson.) Although the copy of this play sent to us is marked 'Acting Edition,' we hardly can think it likely to have success upon the stage—it is too uniformly sombre and stately. It is a dramatic poem, of considerable merit. The characters of Columbus and his son Diego are well conceived and rendered, as are Beatrice and Maria, whom they respectively love; and the pride, jealousy, and unscrupulousness of the Bishop Fonseca, and the nobles of Ferdinand's court. There is real pathos in the closing scenes which depict Columbus sent home, bound, and his death, with his heart broken Beatrice in his arms. Mr. Rose is capable of rising worthily to a great dramatic situation; as, for example, in the crisis of the mutiny, just when land is discovered, and in the noble soliloquy of Columbus, on his discovery. —Messrs. Sampson Low and Co. have added to their series of American authors Mrs. Whitney's *Gayworthys*, one of the best of recent American stories, and William Carleton's *Farm Ballads*. The latter are new to us—they seem to be genuine productions of farm life, and are clever and telling in versification. One or two of them, *Betsy and I are Out*, and *How Betsy and I Made up*, may claim to be something more, and should win popular favour. There is, too, a good deal of rich humour in *Uncle Sammy*. The ballads are decidedly clever. —Messrs. Smith and Elder have published a neat pocket edition, in good type, of Thackeray's *Four Georges*. It has tempted us again to read one or two of the lectures. We are glad that their manly, scathing, kindly characterization, and sympathies should again appeal to general readers. Few books do more to purify the moral atmosphere of history. —*Abel Drake's Wife*. By JOHN SAUNDERS. (Henry S. King and Co.) The success of Mr. Saunders' subsequent novels, especially 'Hirrell,' has drawn attention again to his first production. It is a clever and touching tale of the lower grades of Lancashire life. It arrested critical attention on its first publication, but it needed 'Hirrell' to recall and fix it. It will probably maintain its place, as both in feeling and construction it is one of the best stories of its class. It appears now as a volume of Messrs. King's popular fiction. —*The Brothers Rantzau, a Story of the Vosges*. By MM. ERCKMANN-CHATRIAN (Sampson Low), appears in a cheap edition. Its charming delineation of still life in an Alsatian mountain village is most perfect, and contrasts strikingly with the battle pieces of the same authors. —*Gabriel Denver*. By OLIVER MADOX BROWN. (Smith, Elder, and Co.) Mr. Brown possesses considerable descriptive powers, but he is very deficient in dramatic representation. He tells the story, describing the way in which the *dramatis personæ* move and feel—but they are scarcely ever permitted to exhibit themselves in dialogue. The story is almost morbid in its gloomy anatomy. Gabriel Denver, an Australian settler, of taciturn ways, is persistently wooed by his cousin

Deborah, a hard angular woman, to whom he is under pecuniary obligation. In an evil moment he promises her that if she should be of the same mind at the end of a year he will marry her. Two or three months before the year expires he starts for England, to take possession of a fortune, which, by the intestacy of a distant relative, he unexpectedly inherits. Deborah insists upon accompanying him. He falls passionately in love with Laura, a beautiful girl, who is a fellow-passenger; and his love is reciprocated. The development of this passion, under the peculiar conditions of a long voyage, and under the watchful jealousy of Deborah, is described with a minute anatomy; as is the burning ship to which Deborah has set fire, and the four days' exposure of the three in a boat, the only survivors, and their agony from hunger and thirst. It is a book of horrors, but described with a good deal of Edgar Poe like power. —*Margaret and Elizabeth; a Story of the Sea*. By KATHERINE SAUNDERS. (Henry S. King and Co.) A little confusion in the latter part of the story mars the effectiveness of a well-conceived and well-written tale, intended to set forth the moral power of ministering pity and womanly sympathy. The incident of Margaret's flight on her wedding day is not very natural; but there is a good deal of pathos and dramatic power in the working out of the pitying and faithful love of Elizabeth. The discovery of her husband by Hector Browne would occur only in a novel; but the improbability of incident is condoned by the pure and tender feeling which imbues the whole, and by the literary skill and beauty of its style. —*Allegories and Tales*. By the Rev. WILLIAM EDWARD HEYGATE, M.A. (Rivingtons.) There is a good deal of delicate feeling and graceful fancy in these papers; some of them are short fables; others, 'Anima,' for instance, thinly disguised sermons; all are true and tender in religious feeling, and none of them exceed three or four pages in length. —*My Lady Ludlow, and other Tales*; included in 'Round the Sofa.' By Mrs. GASKELL. (Smith, Elder, and Co.) The publishers have done well in substituting for the new volume of their cheap edition of Mrs. Gaskell's works the title of the first story for that of the fancy frame work under which these half dozen tales were originally published. It is longer than all the rest put together, and is a very charming novelette. —*Mike Howe; the Bushranger of Van Diemen's Land*. By JAMES BONWICK, F.R.G.S. (Henry S. King and Co.) A story founded upon facts, and illustrating the social state of Van Diemen's Land half a century ago. The story is told in a plain, straightforward way, the author relying mainly on the interest of the incident. The want of continuity in the account of the bushranger's end alone prevents its being a scene of great excitement. Leila should have killed him. Mr. Bonwick may have narrated the facts, but the art suffers. —Messrs. G. Bell and Sons have added to their 'Bohn's Libraries' some interesting and important volumes. *Conversations of Goethe with Eckermann and Soret*. Translated from the German by JOHN OXENFORD. Only Bos-

well's Johnson can compare in interest with Eckermann's fascinating work. As Goethe's secretary, he was his constant companion and literary associate from 1824 until his death in 1832. Mr. Oxenford's English edition has the advantage over the German original, that it incorporates in proper chronological order Eckermann's third or supplemental volume. This very charming book is now brought within the reach of all readers.—*The Poems of Schiller*. Translated by EDGAR A. BOWRING. Second edition, revised. Mr. Bowring's translations were published twenty years ago, and at once won attention as a spirited and faithful rendering of the great lyrical poet. The present edition is carefully revised, and minor mistakes and inaccuracies are corrected. We think, however, that the rendering of some of the lyrics, the 'Lay of the Bell' for instance, is inferior to that of Lord Lytton's. Some of the rhythms halt, and some of the rhymes are dissonant, e.g. 'misnomer' and 'diploma,' p. 327. Like Goethe, Schiller will be translated again and again.—*Life of Mary Queen of Scots*. By AGNES STRICKLAND. Two Vols. The life of Mary originally formed part of the 'Lives of the Queens of Scotland.' It has been long out of print, and is here therefore reprinted in a cheap form, uniform with the 'Lives of the Queens of England.' The merit of picturesque and fascinating narrative cannot be denied to Miss Strickland, but her Tory prejudices are so strong that she can be regarded only as one of the special pleaders of history. She sees only one side, cites only one class of evidence. No pretence of judicial inquiry is made. Mary is, of course, a royal saint. The evidence to the contrary adduced by Mr. Froude and Mr. Burton will, however, with candid minds, be deemed overwhelming. Still Miss Strickland has recent writers, such as Mr. Hosack and Professor Petit, on her side. Her character is one of the permanent controversies of history. We should not, however, wish our own children to receive lessons in history from Miss Strickland.—*Kitty's Rival: A Story*. By SYDNEY MOSTYN. Three vols. (Samuel Tinsley). This story strengthens into a firmer tone and greater interest than its beginning promises. It opens very lackadaisically, and throughout, never gets free from a somewhat pulling sentimentalism. One does, however, get interested in the fate of the heroine. Poor Lily is the wife of a drunken husband, whose brutality drives her to the point of suicide. He leaves her, and after a period of purgatory with a hard spinster aunt, she escapes under her maiden name into the first heaven of governess life. Meanwhile her husband dies in Australia. Engaged by Sir Thomas Maudesley as governess to his youngest daughter, she unconsciously becomes the rival of Kitty the eldest, who is to be married, it is understood, to her old playmate Mr. Rodney. Mr. Rodney does not see it, especially after he has seen Lily, whom, after an explanation with Sir Thomas, he marries. Kitty, full of deadly hate, plans a malignant and mean revenge, which she somewhat clumsily executes; the chief misery, however, comes from a mis-

taken identity. The novel is a weak one, and one is forced to skip the sentiment; but we do get thoroughly interested in the fate of poor Lily, and are glad to leave her in the third heaven of perfect wifely bliss.—*Heathergate*. Two Vols. (Henry S. King and Co.) 'Heathergate' is somewhat too much of a chronicle. The interest is distributed over too many characters, and it needs some effort on the part of the reader, in the early part of the story especially, to retain a knowledge of their respective belongings. Some half dozen love stories, marriages, and deaths occur in the story—our interest being claimed by another as one drops; and its personages are distributed over the earth. This artistic defect in construction, and a certain outsidiness of looking at things which is the result of it, greatly impairs the excellence of a well-written book. The scene is the Eastern Highlands, and the time, the American War, in the early part of this century. The strength of the story is its local colouring and its well executed contrasts of character, to which some interest is given by the delineation of an Episcopal minister and circle in the midst of Scottish Presbyterianism. The Aberdonian dialect is plentifully introduced, and will be exciting enough to Scotchmen. A good deal of shrewd Scotch good sense is introduced under cover of it, especially in the mouth of Jemima Clavers. It is a genuine piece of work, and is worth reading, its structural defects notwithstanding.—*In the Isle of Wight*. A Novel. Two Vols. (Sampson Low and Co.) There is not much to be said of this story. It has neither strength, depth, nor brilliancy. It is a mechanical narrative of numerous fallings in love—often abruptly—and without any delineation of underlying processes. The contrast of the two brothers, Henry and Gilbert, is fairly maintained. Gilbert, a fickle, handsome, brilliant soldier, falls in love with Elsie, who is engaged, but without much affection on her part, to his elder brother Henry, a clergyman. Henry discovers their mutual passion, and releases her; but Gilbert falls in love, and makes an offer to Maud Fortescue while engaged to Elsie. Maud rejects him, and at the very time he receives a telegram to say that she is dying from a fall from her horse. Henry afterwards marries Elsie's sister, and facile Gilbert marries his cousin Mira. That is all, and the telling is very poor.—*Only a Butterfly*. By GEORGINA M. CRAIK. (Sampson Low and Co.) This is not so much a story as a study of character. Hilda, a girl of seventeen, goes to reside for twelve months with Mrs. Eve and her grave literary son Michael, a man of five and thirty. The study exhibits the development of a passionate feeling for Michael in Hilda. There is literally no incident. The psychological exhibition of her character, and the growth of her feeling, which is the entire aim of the writer, is cleverly done, showing how in her butterfly nature dislike rapidly changes into affection, interest into passion, which seems as if it would break the little heart she has. Twelve months after her departure, as half a dozen lines inform us, she has lost her grief

and her love, and is married to some one else. It is a curious study of a peculiar type of womanhood.—*The Heir of Reddesmont*. A Novel. Three Volumes. (Samuel Tinsley.) This novel is altogether free from pretence, although it is somewhat sensational, and it has not much power. It is a piece of complicate ingenuity, put together with skill, and developed entirely by its incidents. The writer has but little dramatic faculty, the various characters converse very much in the same style. The chief interest gathers round the mysterious Jesuit, while the chief incident is connected with his brother William. The character of Father Walter is well sustained, that of Old Mattie is somewhat too etherealized, while that of Mrs. Reddesmont collapses altogether. Those who read novels for their incident will get interested in the fortunes of William.—*Golden Grain*. By B. L. FARJEON. (Tinsley Brothers.) Among Christmas numbers Mr. Farjeon's little tale deserves special mention, for its tender human sympathy with misery, even when it passes into sin, and its delicate discriminations between the evil of brutal debasement, and the evil of ignorance and hard circumstance. Few living writers know the lower classes so well, or can describe them so graphically and pathetically. Mr. Farjeon keeps hold of our sympathies by never letting go the bright thread of sentiment, poetry, and virtue which is wrought into the lowliest and almost the worst life. The author of 'Joshua Marvel' is a preacher of the brotherhood of rich and poor, more powerful, graphic, and tender than any other since Dickens.—*Lyrics of Love. From Shakespeare to Tennyson*. Selected and arranged, with Notes, by W. DAVENPORT ADAMS. (Henry S. King and Co.)—*English Sonnets*. A Selection. Edited by JOHN DENNIS. Two charming and scholarly pocket volumes of poetry, exquisitely printed, the contents of which are sufficiently indicated by their titles. Both editors annotate their pieces just sufficiently for information. Perhaps in both volumes some pieces are included scarcely worth preserving, but each collection, as a whole, is very choice.—*Arlon Grange, and a Christmas Legend*. By WILLIAM ALFRED GIBBS, Author of 'The Story of a Life,' 'Harold Erle,' &c. (Provost and Co.) 'The artist's edition' of this poem is a work of wonder as far as the printer and binder have been concerned in it, and it bids fair to enjoy yet greater distinction from the profuse illustration to which it is destined. The purpose of Mr. Gibbs is obviously noble, and he shows in the successive cantos of this metrical novel, the sanctity and dignity of honest work, the sustaining force of a true and pure love, and the victory of faith. He begs his critics not to tell his story, however harshly they may judge his poetical demerits. We will not deprive the readers of the poem of any pleasure that they may derive from the suspense. We admire some of the lyrical pieces introduced into the narrative exceedingly.

THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, AND PHILOLOGY.

Religious Thought in England, from the Reformation to the end of the last Century; a Contribution to the History of Theology. By the Rev. JOHN HUNT, M.A. Volume III. Strahan & Co.

Mr. Hunt's third volume is, in our opinion, the most instructive and fascinating of the entire work. He has brought this *magnum opus* to a conclusion in a manner which does him great credit. The industry, patience, and impartiality with which the difficult task has been pursued cannot be too warmly praised. It would be wonderful if he did not offend susceptibilities on every side. Every section of Christian theology and ecclesiastical proclivity must be content to see the idol of its literary reverence stripped here of all associated charms and set naked in this pantheon side by side with some redoubtable rival. But on scarcely a single occasion does the author speak his own mind. The controversy is carried on, if not in the words of the writers whom he reviews, yet in fair epitomes of their ideas. The distinct voice, the sum total which any particular divine contributed to the thought of his age often looks ludicrously small, compared with the greatness of the name and influence with which he is credited. Some, Bishop Wilson, for instance, and William Law, who have filled a large space in human reverence, are considerably plucked; others whose direct influence on later controversies has been comparatively lost sight of, rise up from obscurity in virtue of their influence on succeeding literature, as the works of Conyers Middleton and Thomas Morgan. It would be unfair to our author to suppose that he does more than attempt to present an outline of religious *thought*. The reader ought not to expect from him a history of the religion of England during these centuries. In such a review, it would have been imperative to have weighed sentiments and the results of controversies and personal influence, and the following of men of mark as well as the effect on the life of multitudes of current or contested ideas. Here, however, we are rather walking through a gallery of sculpture and of monumental effigies, which give us little notion of the roaring tide of human life from which they are little more than the cold and crystallized precipitate. What we said in noticing the second volume, we are disposed to repeat on reviewing the third, that the author can scarcely conceal his special sympathy with the Deists. Extraordinary space was devoted to them in the second volume, and scarcely less is afforded them in this. He is frequently and almost slyly insisting on their 'triumph,' and on the adoption of their main principles by the 'noisy boasters,' who claimed to be the apologists of Revelation. Still we frankly admit the clearness, fulness, and candour with which the arguments of Butler and Clarke are marshalled. It would not be easy to point to a better exposition of the immortal 'Analogy,' or a more succinct account of the 'demonstration' of Clarke, than those which our author has introduced into the body of his work. There is

some truth in the allegation that Butler in a side issue declared that virtue, that 'conduct' was the principal part of Christianity, that repentance and amendment of life were the universal conditions of salvation, apart, that is, from any doctrinal orthodoxy or even Christian faith. But Mr. Hunt appears to charge Butler with inconsistency in subsequently laying such stress on the facts of the Christian dispensation as to imply that these were in fact the principal part, the differentia of Christianity. But the word Christianity is used by Butler in two different senses, as the *end* which it is eminently adapted to produce, and as the intellectual process by which that very end is more surely secured.

The lists and brief expositions of the Boyle and Bampton Lectures during the latter part of the eighteenth century form a very interesting feature of the volume; but its chief attraction is found in the concluding chapter, which is written with a singularly firm and masterly hand. There are numerous passages which we should gladly insert, which set forth the illogical position of the High Church party with singular felicity. Such as, 'they introduced the germ of a doctrine concerning the Church which carried in its bosom destruction to the principles of the English Reformation. The theory of a visible Church with authority was not tenable by those who rejected the authority of the only Church which has anything like a claim to be the one society which Christ Himself established. The High Churchman is illogical, and that alone has saved him from the Church of Rome. He inverted the Catholic theory. Instead of accepting a church which presented itself as a united society, he went in search of a succession of bishops, which, even if proved, did not give the unity nor certainty of faith for preserving which, according to Irenæus and Tertullian, that succession was appointed. The true Church could secure a succession of bishops, but a succession of bishops could not make a true church,' p. 369. Elsewhere he says, 'The desire for a visible church with authority seems to be a craving which no logic can annihilate.' 'Its existence in the Church of England is mainly due to the antagonism of the sects, and these have been able to throw it off chiefly through seeing how untenable it is in the Church of England, and through the consciousness that with themselves it would be less tenable still.' It might be more just to say that they hold the conception incompatible with the essence of Christianity, and the true nature of the body of Christ. In the somewhat whimsical association of the Deists with the Methodists in this common repudiation or independence of the external evidences of Christianity, we are a little surprised that he does not make reference to the strong language held by the Westminster Assembly that 'our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth and Divine authority of Scripture is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the word in our hearts.' Mr. Hunt does refer to Halyburton's reply to Lord Herbert, but makes no allusion to the elaborate treatise, in which that

writer utterly repudiated the *external* evidences of the faith for the direct inward witness of the Spirit to their Divine reality. The writer of these volumes justly asks for a reversion of the sweeping condemnation of the religious thought of the eighteenth century, and we think he has supplied ample evidence of the breadth and variety of its struggles, and of the victories it has obtained. The volumes are a remarkable specimen of dispassionate and calculated criticism, of self-acting, impartial controversy.

The History of Jesus of Nazara, considered in its connection with the National Life of Israel and related in detail. By Dr. THEODORE KEIM. Translated from the German. Vol. I. Williams and Norgate.

This is the first volume of a theological library, to be selected by a committee of gentlemen, belonging as a rule to more advanced schools of thought, represented by the names of Dr. Tulloch, Mr. Jowett, Dean Stanley, James Martineau, S. Davidson, and Mr. Picton. According to the prospectus it will furnish to English readers the best results of recent theological investigations on the Continent, without reference to doctrinal considerations. It is projected on the avowed ground that Clarke's Foreign Theological Library is too much restricted to authors of a more conservative cast of thought. The school to be represented is indicated by the names of Ewald, Hupfeld, F. C. Bauer, Zeller, Rothe, Keim, Schrader, Haus-rath, Noldeke, etc. The works selected to commence with are Bauer's 'Paul, his Life and Works,' Bauer's 'Christianity and the Church in the First three Centuries,' Zeller's 'Acts of the Apostles,' Ewald's 'Prophets of the Old Testament,' Kuenen's 'The Religion of Israel,' and Keim's 'Life of Jesus of Nazara.' To those capable of using them a knowledge of works such as are proposed will be of great service; the evil is that so many are not qualified either by general scholarship or sound judgment, but are led away as by a new revelation by any work that professes liberalism beyond that of the orthodox writers with whom they have been familiar. There is, however, no help for it, men cannot be saved by being sequestered; and as it is better for men generally to be perfected by temptation—even though some perish in the testing—so it is better for truth that all tests of scholarship and theory should be applied to it.

We strongly object, however, to the assumption in the prospectus and in Dr. Keim's somewhat self-complacent preface that freedom and intelligence are the exclusive possession of those who break away from the conclusions of orthodox belief. It is an unpardonable arrogance as well as a contradiction of fact for any class of thinkers to assume that they alone are independent, and are 'less biased by theological prepossessions.' A long and somewhat extensive acquaintance with various schools of thought leads us to the very strong conclusion that the prepossessions of scepticism against orthodoxy are far stronger, more unreasonable and bitter, generally speaking, than the prepos-

sessions of orthodoxy against scepticism : one need only read the periodical literature which expresses its critical judgments of such thinkers to be convinced of this. It is to them simply an impossible conception that in the exercise of absolute freedom men should reach orthodox conclusions ; which we venture to say is simply an impertinence.

Dr. Keim's 'Life of Jesus,' the introductory volume of which is before us, is a work of considerable ability. It is fair in its judgments, and moderate in its conclusions, and is altogether free from the extravagances and intolerance of works like those of Strauss and Schenkel. Its spirit is that of Schleiermacher, and Neander, although, of course, not according exactly with either. The present volume is almost entirely occupied with a critical examination of the sources of information. These are classified as—(1) Pre-Christian Sources, Jewish and Gentile, such as Josephus, Tacitus, etc., although to call these *pre-Christian* sources is somewhat of an anachronism ; (2) Christian sources, such as Patristic and Apocryphal literature, outside the New Testament ; and the witness of the Apostle Paul and of the four Evangelists within it. The characteristics and authority of the four gospels are treated at great length, and generally in a candid spirit, although to some of the conclusions reached we should demur. Although Dr. Keim contends for the Greek original of Matthew and its preponderating unity, he thinks that 'essentially consistent additions were made to the gospel after the destruction of Jerusalem by a zealous Jewish Christian contributor.' This assumption of the higher criticism thus to discriminate the congruous elements of an ancient composition has been carried by Ewald to the length of absurdity, and is, we venture to think, at the risk of being writ down ignorant, utterly preposterous, and impossible. Luke, Dr. Keim thinks, was 'written long after the destruction of Jerusalem ;' probably about the year 70. 'The new, unhealthy, and perverted spirit of Ebionitism and of dualism' enters into it, the writer having had 'access to our Matthew in its older form—Matthew without the preliminary history and later additions.' 'A Samaritan source is also very obvious.' Mark was probably written about the year 100, and certainly not by John Mark, the companion of Peter. Naturally Dr. Keim bends his chief strength to the criticism of John. His general conception of the aim of the writer is a noble and spiritual one, which can hardly, we think, be gainsaid, and his general characterizations are very fine. But we demur to his conclusion that the book was written about 110–120, and that the apostle John was not its author ; but either John the Presbyter, or some anonymous writer, who 'made an artistic use of the apostle's name.' The data upon which this conclusion is reached seem to us eminently dogmatic and unsatisfactory. Neither can we accept his depreciations of the historic elements in John on the ground of the subjective idealism of the writer ; although his arguments on this point are far more plausible. They are, however, amenable to the charge of subjective

idealism, which he brings against the evangelist. Dr. Keim has not yet developed his dogmatic conceptions of Christ. The following sentence, however, indicates at the least an Arian standpoint :—'Jesus has by no means claimed the equality with God which the gospel (of John) gives him, but he was assured that he was one with God, and of this belief, a later school of thought, in order to avert the later separations between God and the world, has sought to find the roots in an essential equality between God and Jesus. . . . He by no means possessed perfect wisdom and virtue from the first, and neither at the beginning nor end was he all-knowing and all-mighty, but he was the marvellous man of God, with exceeding and divine powers, and became, when he was perfected, the exponent of the extreme wisdom of God, and the purest expression of virtue in human nature.'

Some chapters on the ground work of the life of Jesus the volume also contains, in which the political and religious state of the Jews are discussed with great scholarship, originality, and breadth. We have only to add that the translation reads very smoothly, and could not be distinguished from an original vernacular work.

Essays, Biblical and Ecclesiastical, Relating Chiefly to the Authority and the Interpretation of Holy Scripture. By Rev. HENRY BURGESS, LL.D. Longmans. 1878.

Dr. Burgess has long been known as a patient and learned explorer in the less frequented paths of Biblical and ecclesiastical learning. His translation from the Syriac of the metrical homilies of St. Ephrem Syrus, and of the festal letters of St. Athanasius, has rendered certain aspects of the life and experience of the early Christians quite accessible to the English student. Dr. Burgess has for many years, with liberal and enlightened feeling, conducted the editorial department of valued contemporary journals, and has contributed to their pages essays of various importance. They have been characterized by sound sense, and written in a spirit which would not allow compromise either with the evangelical or ecclesiastical position of the Church of England. Many of these essays are reprinted in the volume before us. The clergy of all denominations might read with eminent advantage the paper on the 'Defects of Clerical Education.' The essay on 'The Literature of the Song of Songs' gives the results of Dr. Ginsburg's elaborate Introduction and Commentary. The reviews of Professors Jowett and Maurice appear to us too much confined to exclamations, as much as to say, 'Only think of that.' They do not grapple with the positions of either writer, and give no other impression than that Dr. Burgess was very much shocked by the writings of those eminent men. The paper on 'The Earliest Christian Writings' is worthy of attentive perusal by all who reason *a priori* as to what God could not have done or allowed in the matter of inspiration. He says truly that 'a right perception of the relation of the Scriptures to the early Church will lead first to a higher

appreciation of the Church itself, and *secondly* to a more rational and less slavishly literal use of the New Testament in the conduct of controversies.' The essays on 'The Revision of the Bible' are somewhat after date, and combat some preliminary difficulties which may be fairly reckoned to have been at length surmounted. The volume, as a whole, is an interesting record of the labours of a devout, industrious, liberal, and learned student of Biblical and ecclesiastical controversies.

On Some Points in the Religious Office of the Universities. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D. Macmillan and Co.

A collection of half-a-dozen sermons and papers preached at Cambridge, and read at Church Congresses, brought together into one volume in virtue of their common reference to university life. In literary character they are marked by great thoughtfulness, breadth, and culture, not always perhaps avoiding the indefiniteness into which liberal feeling so often passes its strivings after philosophical breadth and completeness. It is not easy always to determine the exact reference of the lectures, nor to accept their precise inculcations. They point to ideals rather than define exact conditions. Their religious feeling in its spiritual yearnings, its amiable charities, and its devout simplicity must commend itself to every reader. They cannot be perused without the reader's deriving both intellectual satisfaction, valuable suggestion, and high impulse; and this is to bestow upon them very high praise. Dr. Westcott's yearnings that the universities should be the home and nurse of religious life to their alumni, the source of missionary inspiration, both to excite and to encourage its work, a spiritual power in the elements of virtue and piety, which they impart to the manifold life of England, and the means of a broad and high clerical culture, are noble conceptions worthy of their author; nor does it detract from their importance that these are ideals, to which, we fear, there is little in fact to correspond. Lower toned, utilitarian members of the university will be very apt to smile at Dr. Westcott as a dreamer and an optimist, especially in his estimates of the relation of the universities to the Episcopal Church and its clergy. Even he cannot rise to the conception that they have largely ceased to be denominational, and—some few lingering privileges excepted, which their changed spirit will soon render impossible—have become national institutions. Dr. Westcott recognises as universities only Oxford and Cambridge. In them he conceives the entire intellectual and religious life of the nation to have its springs. There is not apparently any consciousness of other university influence or existence, and yet London, Dublin, and Scottish universities do, we venture to think, count for something in an estimate of intellectual and religious forces. For instance, how much of the missionary work of the last century has had any connection whatever with either of these two universities? The Scottish universities have contributed to it a good deal; English Nonconformity a good deal more; the

English universities are literally nowhere; nor do we think it likely that they will ever do much. The impulses that inspire the consecration of men like Morrison, Williams, Moffatt, and Ellis, are church influences, not University influences. Even men like Henry Martyn and Bishops Patterson and Mackenzie found their inspiration in their Church, not in their University life. Dr. Westcott reminds us of the superlative wonder of the Cambridge Don who, concerning some who had not had the privileges of either of the universities, exclaimed, 'And yet they are God Almighty's creatures!' This narrowness of recognition notwithstanding, we give a very hearty word of commendation to his book.

A Comparative View of the Doctrines and Confessions of the Various Communities of Christendom. With Illustrations from their Original Standard. By Dr. GEORGE BENEDICT WINER. Edited from the last edition by the Rev. William B. Pope, Professor of Theology, Didsbury College. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

This is the thirty-fifth volume of the fourth series of Clark's Foreign Theological Library, and it is one of the most valuable of the publications issued by the publishing firm, to which theological students owe so large a debt. Indeed it is more strictly theological in its character than the majority of these translations from German sources. For the most part these series have consisted of Biblical commentaries and ecclesiastical histories. Here we have a compendium of comparative *symbolics* of extreme interest and value. Dr. Winer's great learning is a commonplace. His *Biblisches Realwörterbuch* is a colossal proof of what may be accomplished by one industrious student, and, as is well known, has formed the model on which whole companies of Biblical scholars have worked in the production of dictionaries and cyclopædias of Biblical literature. Dr. Winer's elaborate grammar of New Testament Greek, which has been frequently translated into English, is undoubtedly the standard work on that subject. In the volume before us there are signs of the same untiring research and abundant learning. A succinct bibliographical introduction enumerates all the principal authorities for the belief of different Christian communities, the Roman, Greek, Lutheran, Reformed, Arminian, Socinian, Quaker, and Anabaptist societies, as well as the illustrations, confutations, and defences of the creeds of Christendom by the most distinguished and representative writers. Winer is careful to indicate that he was not making out the history of individual opinions, the development of personal ideas, but the confessions of churches, and the creeds of communities. These are arranged under the doctrines of 'The Sources of Knowledge,' 'The Object of Worship,' 'The Original State of Man,' 'The Result of the Fall,' 'The Person of Christ,' 'Redemption,' 'Conversion,' 'Predestination,' 'Justification,' 'Holiness of the Regenerate,' 'Loss of Grace,' 'Means of Grace,' 'Sacraments,' 'The Church,' 'The Ministry.' In every case the original authorities are quoted,

and illustrative remarks made in a strictly impartial spirit. The editor, Professor Pope, has done more than translate, he has made valuable additions to the work, bringing the Roman doctrine down to the latest development of Papal authority. He has also thrown some interesting light on the deficiencies of the original work by his thoughtful 'introduction' of eighty pages, and by the comparative tables which he has appended, and which gather the results of the volume together into one comprehensive and masterly review. This edition of Winer's work had been previously edited by Dr. Preuss before he succumbed to the Church of Rome, and it retains some of that editor's 'incisive notes,' when he was controvcrting the doctrine and discipline of Rome. It is important to observe that until the times of the Reformation the voice of the Roman Church, when asserting her creed, took rather the form of a confession of her faith to God, and was largely confined to the fundamental questions of the Divine Nature and Glory. Since the Reformation, Rome in the Council of Trent has descended into the arena of controversy, and has elaborated with minuteness her faith on the nature of redemption, and the means of grace, and the authority of the Church. In like manner we have to descend to the seventeenth century before we have the confession of the orthodox Greek Church, as addressed to man, and as concerned with the method of human redemption. The speculations of modern German divines, and the developments of rationalism are necessarily omitted, as not coming under the category of the confessions of communities. Professor Pope has indicated for the student how he might expand and develop this nucleus of theological dogmatics into a vast *cursum*, or *summa totius theologiæ*.

The Permanence of Christianity considered in Eight Lectures, preached before the University of Oxford in the year 1872, on the Foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M.A. By JOHN RICHARD TURNER EATON, M.A. Rivingtons.

We have read Mr. Eaton's book with pleasure and profit, and we heartily commend it as a valuable contribution to the series to which it belongs. It indicates extensive reading in all quarters bearing upon the great controversies to which it relates; it bears throughout the marks of vigorous and independent thought; it is marked by a spirit of the most candid fairness; it is clearly and forcibly written, and it is often eloquent. It is a defence of Christianity, more especially against arguments directed against it based on the results of scientific research; and which, if fatal to the Christian scheme, must be also fatal to the existence of religion generally. The special aim of the writer is to establish the truth of Christianity, first, from its past continuity and tenacity, and next, from its indications of ultimate permanence. In his first lecture Mr. Eaton affirms that the continued existence of Christianity, in undiminished and even increased vitality and power after the lapse of eighteen centuries is, all things taken into account, a substantial argu-

ment for its truth. He does not deny that 'ancient religions, false and pernicious, have flourished through immense periods. This has been due to the elements of truth which they contained, "a soul of goodness in things evil." Yet 'these old-world theologies lack the criteria of permanence. . . . Their power has steadily declined; they have long since ceased to extend the area of their beliefs. They have never yet borne the brunt of advancing civilization. The religion of Europe has passed through storms of barbarism, persecution, and doubt, whilst over Asia has brooded an immemorial calm, broken only by tides of military conquest.' 'There is then good reason to believe that it must be true and will prove to be an accompaniment of human progress to the end.' But it is assumed that Christianity has failed. If so, the charge must be sustained either 'by the exhibition of a fixed tendency to decline, or from a feebleness and prostration so chronic and inherent as to defy dispute, or, lastly, from the discovery that the tenets of Christianity are incompatible with truths now very generally acknowledged, and with that marked progress in intellectual effort which is a main ingredient in the present condition of affairs.' It is with the last of these alternatives that Mr. Eaton occupies himself in the next four lectures, grouping the objections which he discusses under three heads—as involving first, the relations of causation to free agency; secondly, those of universal law to providential agency; and thirdly, those of intellectual to moral and religious action. These are all discussed at great length, and with much acuteness and force. In the sixth and seventh lectures, 'the permanence of Christianity' is 'inferred' from the character of its influence, first on individuals and on society at large, in the times of primitive Christianity; next, during the collapse of the empire; and then on European civilization and morals from the fifth to the fourteenth centuries; and that, too, notwithstanding the growth of sacerdotalism and corruption. This part of the subject is closed by an estimate of the testimony to the permanence of Christianity afforded by the Reformation, proving as it did 'the inherent vigour of a religion which thus in the course of ages could purify itself like running water from the errors and defilements of the past.' In the last lecture the argument for the permanence of Christianity is based on 'its missionary character and present standing.' Some remarks made incidentally in the course of this lecture are not without significance as made by a Bampton lecturer, addressing the University of Oxford:—'The usefulness of Establishments and of National Churches in preserving a just liberty of belief against sectarian or unsectarian tyranny; as also in combating so formidable an opponent as "the close phalanx of Rome," may be too readily forgotten. On the other hand there is good reason to augur from the intrinsically spiritual character of our religion, that it would, under the most voluntary system, be found the most readily to flourish. But in any case the true interests of Christianity are independent of the secularization of politics.'

Ritualism in its Treatment of the Divine Word.

By A MEMBER OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH. Hodder and Stoughton.

This book is anonymous, but we are inclined to think it would have been better if the author had given us his name, either instead of, or in connection with, the descriptive title he has preferred to use. From the preface we infer that he is a Congregational minister, for he tells us that his pages 'contain the substance of an address delivered before one of our County Associations.' The work is a small volume of 160 pages, crown 8vo, good type. We mention this because, being without any table of contents, or any very marked sectional divisions, it might otherwise have a deterrent appearance. We learn from a short prefatory statement that the author proposes 'to examine the cardinal and prominent doctrines of the Ritualistic or extreme High Church party of to-day.' 'These doctrines,' he adds, 'may be conveniently comprehended under the heads: THE WORD; THE ATONEMENT AND MEDIATORSHIP OF CHRIST; THE CHURCH. The first part of this examination is here published; the rest, it is hoped, will be ready shortly.' This first part consists of an introduction, containing several interesting historical touches; and one chapter in three sections, entitled respectively: 'The Ritualist denies the self-evidencing power of the Divine Word;' 'The Ritualist disallows the sufficiency of the Scriptures as a rule of faith.' 'The Ritualist denies to us the right of private judgment in matters of religion.' What we may regard as the remaining two *unprinted* chapters, will take up, we suppose, 'The Atonement,' and 'The Church.' The instalment before us indicates, and is the result of, extensive reading, great industry, and much thought. The little book is full of matter. It touches, in the course of its argument, on a variety of subjects, handles them with ability, and brings to bear in their illustration considerable learning. Here and there it sparkles with a pointed and easy remark, a telling anecdote, or an apt criticism; but in general the style is somewhat deficient in vivacity. The author is so seriously intent on the substance of his work that he requires a reader who will be so too. Few such, we think, will close the book without some accession to their knowledge, and some deepening of their convictions in relation to the authority of the 'Divine Word.' The book closes with an appendix of three or four notes, the most important of which is one containing quotations from a number of the 'Fathers,' giving their 'testimony to the sufficiency of Scripture and the right of private judgment.'

The Pastoral Care; or, Practical Hints on the Constitution, Discipline, and Services of Congregational Churches and the various branches of Ministerial duty in reference to the same. By SAMUEL McALL, Principal of Hackney College. Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

This is an admirable manual of pastoral theology condensed into a series of practical hints; which theological students and young ministers

of Congregational churches would read with advantage to themselves and to the churches over which they are called to preside. The advice is judicious and free from crotchets. If somewhat conservative of customs which have an ancient lineage, Mr. McAll is careful to base all his conclusions on Scriptural precedent. The topics discussed are very numerous, but they are well chosen and clearly classified.

The Structure of the Old Testament: A Series of Popular Essays. By the Rev. STANLEY LEATHES, M.A., Professor of Hebrew, King's College, London. Hodder and Stoughton.

This is a little volume of great excellence, as a popular vindication of the truth and inspiration of the Old Testament. Its design is to trace 'the pedigree' of its different books, and to show their unity. This is done with great clearness, accuracy, and force of argument. On ground that cannot be questioned the antiquity of the various books is maintained, whilst their unity is shown by their uniform recognition of the Mosaic law, and by the spirit and tone by which they are pervaded. Nothing, indeed, like the unity of the Old Testament Scriptures is found in the literature of the world. That of Greece and Rome is so destitute of oneness of sentiment and purpose that, compared with the Hebrew Scriptures, Professor Leathes pronounces it little better than 'a heterogeneous medley.' From first to last the Old Testament is knit together by an all-pervading unity. 'Throughout the development of the history, which is necessarily the growth of ages, there is the gradual unfolding of a plan, to which every writer, unconsciously and in spite of himself, contributes something.'

Professor Leathes classifies all the books of the Old Testament under four heads, or divisions—the historical, prophetic, poetical, and legal. Ezra he regards as the centre of the historical division, because his name is generally associated with the arrangement of the canon; Hezekiah he assumes as the representative of the prophetic era, because his reign was 'the Augustan age of Hebrew prophecy'; David he makes the representative of the poetic division, because the Psalms, which are always connected with his name, are 'the anthology of Scripture'; and Moses, he conceives, stands as the head and front of the legal division, because 'he is the corner-stone of the national literature, as he is the most prominent figure in the national history.' Under these heads or divisions it is shown that the Jewish history 'is marked with the impress of the Divine finger, and overshadowed by the Divine hand, as the incidents of no other history can pretend to be;' that the prophetic writings are predictions of the future, and refer to the destiny of the world; that Hebrew poetry, especially the Psalms, possesses an abiding power and charm to which classical hymns and odes can lay no claim; and that in their organic unity the Old Testament Scriptures 'stand pre-eminent and unique.'

Professor Leathes has done well to give this volume to the public, the contents of which were originally intended for oral delivery as lectures. It has our hearty commendation.

The Words of the New Testament as Altered by Transmission and Ascertained by Modern Criticism for Popular Use. By Rev. WILLIAM MILLIGAN, D.D., Professor of Divinity, Aberdeen, and Rev. ALEX ROBERTS, D.D., Professor of Humanity, Aberdeen. J. and T. Clark.

The first part of this work is written by Dr. Roberts, and presents in a very lucid manner the causes, nature, and amount of various readings in the New Testament, and reviews the often recited story of the existing MSS. of the New Testament. Interesting information is given with reference to those ancient versions and quotations which may be used in deciding the value of the codices at our disposal. The second part of the work is an endeavour to reveal the process of classifying the abundant material which is now available for determining the true text. No hesitation is felt here by Dr. Milligan in assigning the first place to the MSS.; a second and third place to versions and quotations. 'The instances must be rare indeed . . . when we draw a reading from any source than a Greek manuscript.' In a succinct and telling manner Dr. Milligan has indicated the kind of use to which the ancient versions and quotations may be put in assisting our confidence in the most ancient MSS., and also in discriminating between them and the much larger number of the more modern cursives. The writers of this instructive volume have stated in the third part of the work, which is their joint production, the changes to be made in the *textus receptus*, and how these will affect the English translation. The book will be singularly interesting to those who have no access to more cumbrous and recondite sources of information. Although they are careful to state their personal responsibility, yet, as these authors are sitting on the 'Revision Committee,' they may to some extent indicate the conclusions with reference to the more important texts which that learned body will be found to maintain.

Problems of Life and Mind. By GEORGE HENRY LEWES. First Series. The Foundations of a Creed. Vol. I. Trübner and Co.

'All the facts of consciousness, all the marvels of thought remain, whatever changes may take place in our theories regarding them.' There is a sense in which this—which is Mr. Lewes' answer to those who deprecate the denial of the existence of the human spirit—is true; and there is a sense in which it is utterly false. Those who are able to detect where the fallacy lies will have gone far to discriminate between the good and evil of this latest production of Mr. Lewes' pen. It is true that the facts of our spiritual natures are not directly falsified by the most erroneous theory regarding them. Whatever explanation we may offer of their origin and nature, they remain confronting us with their own light and the revelation which that contains. Nevertheless, the perpetuation and extension of any particular theory regarding consciousness, must powerfully modify and alter it. Who does not see that the consciousness, or general sum of thoughts and conceptions of the present age must have been very different from

what it is, if, for example, previous generations had believed mind to have been a mere form of life, and thought only a function of the brain? The characters of peoples and nations have so largely depended upon their theories regarding origin and destiny, that profound philosophers have, on good grounds, declared the separation of peoples into distinct nations, the result of their religion, or of their ideas regarding God and the soul. All history belies the assertion that mental results are indifferent to theories. These are the very conditions that make the results what they become. And Mr. Lewes is false to his own fundamental principle, which finds that every effect is but the explication of the sum of its conditions, when he formulates such a view. The fact that he is so in this particular instance, illustrates the character of his general procedure. It is the object of Mr. Lewes, in the work of which we have here the first volume, to lay the foundations of a new philosophy and a new theology. By indicating the principles on which he deems it possible to transform metaphysics from a series of speculative guesses, into a doctrine that 'may serve to condense our knowledge, guide our researches, and shape our lives, so that conduct really may be the consequence of belief,' he hopes to lay the 'foundations of a creed.' By investigating by the method of science the metaphysical problems hitherto found insoluble because men persisted in employing the 'metaphysical method,' he will introduce certainty where before there was nothing but instability and confusion. He will examine the results of thought and emotion in the light and by the tests of experience, and will throw aside all that cannot be reduced to these tests. The field of experience to be examined is not that of the individual alone, but of the race, and we must seek explanations of the mysteries unresolved by individual experiences by an appeal to that of the human family. Metaphysics will be thus reduced to experience, and the fundamental conceptions of the individual mind as well as the 'ultimate generalizations of research,' which are the results of human effort in the past and present, are included in its wide domain. We must examine the results of thought and feeling, not by mere introspection, but as we find them in the varied relations of men. For man is powerfully modified by what Mr. Lewes calls the 'social organism,' which yields as its fruits the institutions, literatures, arts, sciences, philosophies, and religions that have potentially affected both the individual and the race. We have no quarrel with Mr. Lewes in seeking truth in these regions. He has indicated a valuable sphere of inquiry. And we have no objection to his resort to experience as the ultimate test—if we take the term in its widest sense, and are not asked arbitrarily to limit the range and reach of that feeling which is the ultimate of experience. But we have a right to demand of Mr. Lewes, and of all who come to us with the like arrogant and lofty claims, to substitute a new philosophy for all previous systems, and to give us a new religion that will supersede the 'preposterous' theology and religion of the present, that they shall not ignore parts of what they profess to explain.

We expect them to be consistent in applying their own canons of certitude and principles of research. We ask them to refuse and reject principles of explanation that do not, and that never can, exhaust the reality. And we require of them that they should not change the nature of what they profess to explain by eliminating the most important elements of the problems that present themselves. These requirements and expectations will be all found equally vain in the case of Mr. Lewes, so far as his first volume enables us to judge of the issue of his investigations. In dealing with the social organism—which we select because his treatment of this portion of his subject seems to us the most valuable of the whole—he ignores the formative and constitutive influences of the theories that have made that what it has become. The social organism, as the outcome of what man has been and done in the past, as the issue that is of the human 'evolution,' is what we see it, largely because of certain theories held in the past regarding ultimate facts. The theories are thus part and parcel of the facts we now have to consider. Without the one we should not have had the other. What reliance can be placed on a mode of procedure which professes to account for all the facts and begins by excluding those which are certainly not the least important? Mr. Lewes distinguishes between what he terms the 'metempirical' elements in our ultimate generalizations and those that can be tested by experience. The former are declared to be unknowable, and therefore must be separated and laid aside. All that remains will either be resolved into the experience of the individual or of the race. Therefore the remnant will supply the material for a philosophy attainable on the 'method of science.' We shall thus be able to classify the elements of our knowledge, and explain the origin and results of those highest conceptions with which metaphysics has hitherto dealt, but of which it could not make effective use, because it allowed the 'metempirical' elements in them to remain.

It will now be understood that the work before us is an application of the doctrine of evolution to the laws and facts of the human mind, as these are found in both individual and social experience. Evolution, indeed, is pronounced an hypothesis, and not a demonstrated scientific doctrine; but Mr. Lewes nevertheless treats it as the latter, and as adequate to explain the facts of history and life. He abides by the principles of the 'positive philosophy' of Comte, only he applies them to classes of phenomena which Comte refused to deal with. He has not thereby altered the nature though he may have extended the range of that philosophy. Our objection to his procedure is not that he has applied the 'scientific method' to metaphysics, but that he is arbitrary in his application of it. He tells us to rely upon experience, but he blots out a large portion of its domain. He appeals to intuition in feeling, but refuses to allow any validity to the certainty of intuition in thought. Yet he cannot himself make progress without constantly appealing to the latter. He refuses to examine the theories that have largely made the social organism what it is, though he pro-

fesses to explain its whole range. The fundamental problems of philosophy and theology are really thrown aside, and a reconciliation is sought between religion and science by the destruction of religion, just as it is hoped to reconcile metaphysics and science by abolishing metaphysics. The book is therefore a failure. It has not done what it undertook to do, and it would not be difficult to prove that what it undertakes to do is impossible on the conditions that are alone allowed to be legitimate. Philosophy and theology cannot spring from such roots as Mr. Lewes will alone plant; and the 'Creed' built on the 'foundations' he has laid could never supply any aliment to faith, though Mr. Lewes does not hesitate to promise a faith and a religion.

The Scientific Bases of Faith. By JOSEPH JOHN MURPHY. Macmillan and Co.

Scarcely any expressions that we can employ would exaggerate our sense of the moral and theological value of Mr. Murphy's book, although we are unable to accept some of its conclusions. It is, in the first place, a model of what controversial discussion should be, uniformly calm, courteous, and cautious. Mr. Murphy writes with a fulness of knowledge that commands respect for what he says, and with a feeling of religious reverence, which, while it does not limit his freedom of inquiry, preserves him from all unseemly levity or scorn. His book contains the results of the thinking of a lifetime, and is a masterly and unanswerable demonstration of the true scientific basis of the fundamental dogmas of the Christian revelation. As we have said, there are some points upon which we cannot accept Mr. Murphy's dogmatic affirmations; as, for example, that there is no history older than Abraham, that 'there is no ground whatever for supposing that the writings of a prophet or an apostle are more inspired or of higher authority than his spoken words.' Nor can we receive his mere ethical representation of 'justification by faith' as the conception of either the Christian apostles or the Christian Church. But these are exterior to his main argument. At the same time, we quite agree with him that there is no general theory to be maintained on the subject of the authority of Scripture. No such theory concerning the canonical collection is affirmed in it. The ordinary principles of evidence are to be applied to each separate book. Only these principles include moral and corroborative evidence as well as grammatical and scientific evidence. Our general recognition of the inspiration of the Scriptures is higher than his, although we agree in his repudiation of what he means 'by plenary inspiration,' better understood as 'verbal inspiration.' The principle of his conclusion on this point is also ours, 'that the inspiration of the Scriptures is real though undefined.' Whether the recognition of supernatural inspiration is to be so much limited within the Bible, or to be so much extended without it, must be determined, not by general theories, but by special cases.

Mr. Murphy repudiates all attempts to harmonize the words of Scripture with the facts of

science. Science, he thinks, is absolutely independent of interpretations of theology. That the purpose and character of the Bible are theological and religious, and not scientific, must be admitted; and we do not see how the sacred writers could do other than express their religious ideas according to the scientific conceptions of their day. The historic relations of the first chapter of Genesis to the science of geology should warn us against the insane fears which lead some religious people to denounce science as inimical to revelation. Science has simply proved some theological interpretations to be wrong, and if it should prove that the writer himself had a wrong scientific conception, it would not diminish one iota his religious and theological authority. It is only when we bind up theological truths with accidental forms that we put them in peril. Mr. Murphy is equally unassailable when he says that science cannot have a theological basis, and that theology cannot have a scientific basis. Science must pursue her investigations unfettered by theology, and theology must affirm its great verities unrestrained by science. It can be discredited by science only when it assumes untenable and unauthorized theories of inspiration. At the same time, it is a moot point on which side there has been the most arrogant intolerance—on that of theology towards science, or on that of science towards theology. And yet, as Mr. Murphy contends, true science and true theology will ever be approximating, inasmuch as both alike lead to God, who is both the Creator of the physical world, and the God of the spiritual world.

Mr. Murphy emphatically claims to include under the term science 'not physical science only, but all those sciences—physical, mental, moral, political, and historical—which disclose the constitution of that universe in which we live, and of which we form a part. And when I speak of this as forming a basis for religion, I mean a logical basis, somewhat in the same way that mathematics is the logical basis of the dynamical sciences; or that the sciences of inorganic matter collectively form a basis for the science of life. . . . Thus life presupposes matter, and is based on it; mind presupposes unconscious life, and is based on it. So, as I believe, the knowledge of the supernatural has its logical basis in the knowledge of nature.'

Inasmuch as 'the truths of religion are, as I believe, incapable of being discovered by man for himself, and have been communicated to mankind in an altogether peculiar manner by revelation, there is, and must ever be, a contrast between science and religion. The contrast consists in this, that man finds the facts of science for himself, but those of religion are revealed. But this contrast ought not to imply antagonism any more than that between the data of abstract science, which are self-evident, and those of the physical sciences, which have to be sought out by patient investigation.' What antagonism there is, Mr. Murphy regards as merely an accident of the present time. Upon this general basis Mr. Murphy constructs the various arguments of his book. It is the sad tyranny and disability of a limited notice like

this, that it is utterly impossible to summarize any one of his chapters, much less to criticize it. Mr. Murphy's compact and yet very lucid reasoning can scarcely be conveyed in fewer words than his own.

His first chapter treats of metaphysical and positive philosophy; and is an able vindication of the former against the limitations upon human thinking which Comte and the positivist school would impose. Attempts to explain the universe are natural and necessary. Consciousness, from which metaphysics begins, is as real as observations from which inductive science begins.

In the next chapter, on the Metaphysical Interpretation of Nature, Mr. Murphy argues that 'either the universe is from everlasting, or it had an absolute beginning in time. Both of these alternatives are inconceivable; yet one of them must be true. Metaphysical reasoning will bring us no further. But physical reasoning—inductive science—does bring us further, and shows that the alternative of an absolute beginning in time is the true one.' The proof is, the nebular, or condensation theory, and 'the dissipation of energy.' 'The laws of nature,' as John Stuart Mill says, 'cannot account for their own origin.' Physical science combines with metaphysics to resolve our conception of matter into force, force can be conceived of only as spiritual, so that matter is simply a manifestation of spiritual force. The mind is part of the same universe. 'Mental action differs from physical only as the conscious manifestations of force differ from the unconscious manifestations of the same.' 'The powers of matter and mind alike are the result and expression of a living will, and if a living will, then also an intelligent will, and if an intelligent will, then also a holy will.'

Next, the theory of the moral sense is discussed, and the utilitarian and the ethical theories of morals disproved. A chapter on the Freedom of the Will follows, and because the sense of guilt attaches to sinful voluntary action, it is maintained to be a reality. In the chapter on the Bases of Knowledge, faith, in its essence, is affirmed to be common to both science and revelation—that is, the most characteristic truths of science are known by thought only, and could not conceivably be objects of perception. Belief in the past—i. e., trust in the reality of memory, in personal identity, in the testimony of consciousness, in the uniformity of the order of nature, and in all existences external to us, is metaphysical, and of the nature of faith—neither associations of ideas, nor experience can account for it. Such beliefs do not justify themselves, they may be imagined untrue, they are not absolute, only preponderant, and consequently unverifiable; and yet on them the verification of everything in science and ordinary life depends. Science and faith are equally 'the proof of things unseen, things past, things future, things absent, and things invisible though present.' Consistent scepticism consequently is impossible. In this way Mr. Murphy applies a severely scientific method to the questions of Faith and its Possibility; the Limits of our Knowledge; the Pos-

sibility and Proof of a Divine Revelation; the Function of Authority in Religion; Justification by Faith; the Proofs of Deity from Power, Intelligence, Design, and Conscience; the Structure of the Universe; the Divine purpose of Creation; Original Sin; Nature and the Religious Sense; Immortality; Nature and Grace; Legal and Evangelical Religion; the Relation of History to Religion; the Distinctive Doctrines of Christianity; Paul and John on the Person of Christ; the Christian Doctrine of a Future Life; the Christian Doctrine of a Final General Restoration. Every chapter is rich in materials for comment, some for adverse criticism. Mr. Murphy's doctrine, or rather denial of the Fall, for instance, as also of expiation as distinguished from reconciliation, and his eschatology; Mr. Murphy's general theological position being similar to that of Thomas Erskine, of Linlathen.

But as a whole the book is a noble monument of strong, clear, and patient thinking, and a thesaurus of weapons for those who have to defend Christian ideas against the assaults of materialistic or speculative infidelity. It shows the possibility of vindicating Christian beliefs on purely scientific grounds. Partly Mr. Murphy occupies the position of Butler, and sets up a negative defence of Christianity, derived from the analogy of Nature. But he traverses a much wider field than Butler, and takes strong and unassailable positive positions. It is refreshing in these days of sciolism and arrogance on all sides of great questions, to come upon the work of a calm courteous thinker, from the perusal of which one rises feeling that the fundamental truths of Christianity are rooted in the essential nature and eternal order of things; and that beneath the dust and smoke which confuse special points there are deep and eternal foundations that no conflicts can disturb, and that as hitherto these will gradually be revealed to both intelligence and faith; for 'the Word of the Lord abideth for ever.'

The Creed of Christendom: its Foundation contrasted with its Superstructure. By WILLIAM RATHBONE GREG. Third Edition. With New Introduction. Two vols. Trübner & Co.

Mr. Greg's new introduction extends to ninety pages. It is in part a criticism of works which have appeared since the publication of the first edition in 1850; viz., Bishop Colenso's 'Inquiry into the Pentateuch,' 'Ecce Homo,' Rénan's 'Vie de Jésus,' and his Apostolic volumes, 'The Jesus of History,' by Sir H. D. Hanson, and Mr. Arnold's 'Literature and Dogma;' and is intended to show how these works illustrate Mr. Greg's main position, that the New Testament records of Jesus do not justify the dogmatic superstructure that has been raised upon them.

Chiefly, however, the new introduction is a further discussion of the main thesis of the book, and gives an answer to the question, 'Is a Christian life possible?' Mr. Greg's answer is, 'yes,' if we regard the spirit of our Lord's religious system; but 'no,' if we are to accept the dogmatic forms of it recorded in the New

Testament. The particulars he instances are (1) the precepts commanding non-resistance and submission to violence, which he thinks too explicit to be evaded, and too pernicious to be acted upon. (2) Almsgiving as distinctly and variously enjoined by our Lord, which he thinks opposed to the commonweal. (3) Impiety, which he thinks enjoined in the Sermon on the Mount and elsewhere. (4) The denunciations of wealth, or the assertions of communism, which are so frequent in the New Testament. All these, he thinks, are not practicable in these days, and would be decidedly noxious, and are, therefore, obviously wrong. Mr. Greg has really furnished a sufficient answer to his own objections. (1) He tells us that 'Jesus put an abstract principle in a parable or a concrete shape.' He spoke as an Oriental to Orientals—roundly, tropically, and in apothegms. It does not follow, however, that 'probably he never reflected on the danger of creating a whole tribe of begging impostors.' The entire conception of our Lord's intellectual character makes it difficult to imagine that his penetration would miss any danger so obvious. (2) Mr. Greg culls his passages, and forgets to qualify and interpret them by other passages, which, with equal emphasis, affirm the other side—e.g., 'If a man will not work, neither shall he eat.' 'If any provide not for his own, and, specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.' 'Let him that stole steal no more; but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good that he may have to give him that needeth.' The later New Testament writers cannot be imagined as contradicting in so glaring a way the teachings of the earlier. The accidental communism mentioned in the Acts is surely a strong disproof of the alleged obligation and universal practice. Was it not a simple irregular impulse of noble feeling, a mere bubble in the stream, neither recognised nor intended as a law of life? (3) It has never been questioned, that we are aware, that our own practical application of Christ's teaching is to be that of its spirit, not of its letter. He would be simply insane who forgot the difference between the life of Palestine in our Lord's time, and English life in our own. No fidelity to the spirit of the teaching demands the adoption of its forms. Mr. Greg claims to vindicate the Spirit of Christ from the dogmas that have gathered around it. To a large degree all reasonable men are with him; the only question is one of degree. A Christianity without dogma is as impossible as it is absurd. The question is, What is true Christian dogma, and what is its place in relation to Christian life? Mr. Greg errs as much in his negations as those whom he opposes do in their excesses. Most rational Christians feel no practical difficulty in applying the great teachings of it to modern life; such difficulties are felt only by men like Mr. Greg, who attach to the latter an individual critical importance. The progress of criticism is rendering Mr. Greg's position increasingly untenable. It is critically impossible to accept Mr. Greg's Christ, and to reject the New Testament literature which embodies him.

Mr. Greg contends for an unhistorical simulacrum, which is as intangible as it is unverifiable.

Orthodox London: or, Phases of Religious Life in the Church of England. By the Author of 'Unorthodox London.' Tinsley Brothers.

The author of these clever and amusing sketches intimates that his subject 'precludes the variety of "Unorthodox London."' But this is by no means certain. This must be one of those propitiatory sentences which will drop almost mechanically from the most unconventional pen. Surely within the circle of Established Church varieties, included in this volume, there are contrasts almost as great as between the Latter Day Saints and Mr. Spurgeon. Mr. Maguire, Mr. Stopford Brooke, Canon Liddon, Mr. Haweis, and Mr. Orby Shipley have not much in common. It would be difficult to instance antagonisms so great within the Nonconforming circle of life without the Church. The only common elements are theistic recognition, and membership in the National Establishment. The sketches are descriptive and not critical. Dr. Davies has a keen eye and wields a smart and caustic pen. As indicating the variety of his volume, we may say that he describes services by Mr. Haweis, at St. James's Chapel; Father Stanton, at St. Alban's; Mr. Forrest, at South Kensington; Mr. Llewellyn Davies, at Marylebone; Lenten Exercises at various Ritual churches; Mr. Maguire, at Clerkenwell; Dean Stanley, at Westminster Abbey; Canon Liddon at St. Paul's; Mr. Reeves, at Portman Chapel; Mr. Stopford Brooke, on Byron's 'Cain'; Father Ignatius, at the Hall of Science; Missions; Midnight Masses; Watch Nights; the Primate's Ordination; Convocation; Bishop Wilberforce's Burial, &c. The sketches are brilliant and witty, often caustic, although they never offend gentlemanly and churchly proprieties. The author has a hearty contempt for shams, and apparently as hearty a sympathy with any form of genuine goodness and earnestness. His book is in some very grave senses instructive; it might point some terrible morals. It is always entertaining—the synopsis of sermons, of course, excepted, which, however, may be skipped.

Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. By H. A. W. MEYER, Th.D. From the German. The Translation Revised, and Edited, with the sanction of the Author, by the Rev. WILLIAM P. DICKSON, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow.

Part IV. The Epistle to the Romans. Vol. I. Translated from the Fifth Edition of the Original. By the Rev. JOHN C. MOORE, B.A., Hamburg. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

Part VII. The Epistle to the Galatians. Translated from the Fifth Edition of the Original. By G. H. VENABLES. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

To most of our readers Dr. Meyer's great work will need no introduction. His name and much of the substance of his commentary have long been familiar to the English public. The most eminent commentators of our own country

have freely acknowledged their obligations to the German exegete, and have borne testimony to his minute accuracy, his tact and scholarship, his patient and unwearied research, his independence and love of truth. Perhaps no more valuable gift could be offered to the Biblical students amongst us than the English translation undertaken by Messrs. Clark, the first instalment of which is now before us. The venerable author was not permitted to witness the reception given to his work in this land. The special preface which he wrote in March last for the English edition was, as we here learn, the last production of his pen. He died at Hanover on the 21st of June, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. The commentary had been the labour of his life. The first edition of the first volume, spoken of by the author himself as 'the weak commencement,' appeared in January, 1832; the forty years which followed were almost entirely devoted to the reading and study required for the continual improvement of the work. A new edition with him was (as many scholars have found to their cost) in no small degree a new work, so large was the amount of additional matter introduced. Whatever German toil and learning supplied from year to year, whether in systematic treatise or in academic 'programme,' if only the subject had any connection with the exegesis of the New Testament, Meyer carefully examined and made his own. The English editor places side by side a passage from the fourth edition of the Commentary on the Romans (1865), and the corresponding passage as prepared for the fifth edition (1872); the additional matter amounts to more than one-third of the original passage; and this in an example taken at hazard. In a course extending over more than forty years there cannot but be much change of opinion, if the mind is really open to the reception of truth. In Meyer's case, the change was almost uniformly in one direction. Every student of his successive editions will endorse Professor Dickson's statement, that 'the longer Dr. Meyer prosecuted the study of Scripture from his own standpoint, the closer was the approximation of his general results to the conclusions embodied in the great confessions of the Protestant Church;' and no one has ventured to say, 'that these issues were reached otherwise than by the consistent and conscientious application of his exegetical principles.'

The translation of such a work as Meyer's is a very arduous task; but without a guarantee that the translation is accurate, that Meyer's commentary is really before him, the English reader may well shrink from encountering the labour of mastering the work. To read a difficult book translated from another language, haunted by the constant suspicion that the rendering is not exact, is of all tasks most disheartening. Messrs. Clark have acted wisely in committing the whole responsibility of the work to one editor, Professor Dickson, of the University of Glasgow. The book could not be in better hands; Dr. Dickson's reputation as a Biblical scholar, and also as the translator of Mommsen's 'History of Rome,' is a pledge of the substantial excellence of the translation.

which has been revised by him throughout. The result of the combined labours of translators and editor is that the English reader may feel almost perfect confidence in the words before him, as representing the exact sense of the involved and intractable German sentences. We say 'almost,' for, as is natural, some flaws have escaped notice. So delicate and difficult has been the editor's task, that it is a marvel to find the blemishes so slight. Opinions will vary as to the style of the translation—styles, we should rather have said, for the two volumes are not one in this respect. In the Epistle to the Romans there is often evidence of most earnest and successful effort after perfect accuracy; the translator is unwilling to sacrifice a title of the author's meaning. The translator of the other Epistle moves more freely; here and there a German word is sacrificed, perhaps unnecessarily, but the sentences have a more genuine English ring. We are grateful to the editor and the translators for the loyalty to their author; but we venture to think that by a slight amount of expansion, the interests of the English reader would have been served, without any sacrifice of faithfulness either to the form or to the spirit of the original.*

There is little in these volumes from the editor's own hand. An interesting preface and a very valuable list of exegetical works on the two Epistles are all that he has given us. Many will wish that he had exercised less self-restraint, but we are convinced that he has acted wisely in not appending notes. To have occasionally intimated dissent would have implied acceptance of Meyer's opinions in other cases where no note was added. Still there remains a difficulty which Professor Dickson does not meet. Meyer's peculiar views might be left without special notice if the volumes were really destined for the 'professional scholar' alone. We trust, however, that they will be largely used by younger students; and, in the interests of all who are not professed theologians, we venture to ask that the editor will give us, in a future volume of the series, some general remarks on Meyer's opinions, some general view of his position as a theologian and as an exegete.

In one particular only must we dissent from the editor's judgment of Meyer's work. Professor Dickson speaks of Meyer's notes on points of textual criticism as 'especially valuable for the concise explanations which they give of the probable origin of the various readings.' We cannot but think that the one weak point of Meyer's work is the textual criticism. In very

many instances, of course, his text agrees with those of Tischendorf, Tregelles, and others; but in other places he not unfrequently bases his decision on principles which would introduce utter confusion into the criticism of the text of the Greek Testament. Nothing is more precarious than that subjective criticism of which Meyer is so fond. Nothing is easier to an acute mind than to discover ingenious and seductive internal evidence in support of any reading whatever. To establish our charge against Meyer would require more space than we have at command, but an example or two may be given. In Rom. iii. 30, Meyer retains *ἐκείνῃ*, contrary to the testimony of the best and most ancient MSS., on the ground that this word occurs in no other passage of the New Testament. In ch. iv. 1, *προπάτορα*, which is supported by still stronger evidence, and which besides occurs *here only*, is set aside at once through some fancied consideration of meaning. Other examples present themselves in Rom. iii. 26, iv. 15, 19, v. 1, Gal. vi. 13. We cannot believe that Professor Dickson himself would adopt these readings, or accept such evidence as Meyer often considers sufficient; and we therefore strongly wish that, if the editor's plan did not permit a detailed statement of the readings accepted by other critics, he had at least pointed out, for the sake of the untrained reader, the precariousness of some of Meyer's principles of textual criticism. The acknowledged and supreme excellence of the exegesis renders it more necessary to remark on such a peculiarity as this.

In point of size, typography, and general convenience, these volumes are all that can be desired. There are a few misprints (for example, the Hebrew words on p. 1 of the volume on Romans), but apparently very few. We trust that the enterprise of the publishers and the labours of the editor will receive their reward in a hearty reception of the work on the part of English readers.

The Holy Bible, according to the Authorized Version (1611), with an Explanatory and Critical Commentary, and a Revision of the Translation by Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church. Vol. IV. Job—Psalms—Proverbs—Ecclesiastes—the Song of Solomon. Edited by F. C. Cook, M.A., Canon of Exeter. John Murray.

This great work proceeds with admirable regularity, and promises to become one of the most valuable and reliable commentaries on Holy Scripture. The effect of recent criticism has not been to induce the authors of the present volume to sympathise more expressly with the fashionable reversals of every traditional opinion as to the date or authorship of the Hagiographa. On the contrary, we think there are manifest signs of a more conservative handling of the sacred books. The Davidic origin of a majority of the Psalms, the authenticity and Solomonic authorship of the Book of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and canticles, and the great antiquity of the Book of Job, as well as its freedom from the influences supposed to have been exerted upon it by Babylonian or

* e.g. *Stellung* is not 'construction' (Romans, p. 33). The sense of the last line in the critical note on Rom. i. 24 (p. 39) and of the sentence referring to Beza (p. 41) is not correctly given. The renderings 'dispute' and 'process' (p. 143) obscure Meyer's meaning. The force of *werden* is sometimes missed, and thus Meyer is made to seem inconsistent with himself. *Welt* is unwarrantably rendered, in the same sentence, 'world' and 'universe' (p. 174). The incorrect translation 'had fallen' (Galatians, p. 12) is in conflict with the comment on verse 6 (p. 21).

Persian dualism or angelology, are severally maintained. The writers lay great emphasis on the immense importance to be ascribed to the silence concerning the Mosaic ritual and the fortunes of the theocracy by which the books of Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes are characterized, revealing the wide and direct applicability to man as man of this large portion of the Hebrew canon. The integrity of Job and Ecclesiastes is sustained with well-considered arguments, and the views of Hengstenberg, Davidson, and others, touching the late origin of Ecclesiastes, are shown to be unreliable. The interpretation of the Song of Solomon, which has been so powerfully urged by Ginsberg and others, viz., that we have in this inimitable poem a representation of the triumph of chaste love over the seductions of the court of the king is repudiated, and the expositions of the various portions of the Song are made to confirm the supposition that Solomon is the object of the bride's passionate love. We are not altogether satisfied with the introduction to the Psalms. The Biblical theology of the Psalms is hardly attempted, and no effort is made to deal adequately either with the imprecatory Psalms or the Messianic Psalms. A few of these wondrous odes are said to be exclusively Messianic, and are interpreted on that supposition. Traces of belief in the future life are patiently examined, and confidently and justly asserted. The commentary is somewhat unequal, though the whole is suffused with a beautiful, reverential, and candid spirit. We hope before long to return at length to the general merits of this commentary as a whole.

Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament.

By C. F. KEIL, D.D., and F. DELITZSCH, D.D.
The Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther.
Translated from the German by SOPHIA
TAYLOR. T. and T. Clark.

The 'introduction' to these portions of the Old Testament is brief, and, in comparison with the recent work of Canon Rawlinson in the Speaker's Commentary, scanty. The reader expects some general treatment of the influence of Persian thought upon the Hebrew and Chaldee Chronicles, and some more comprehensive estimate of the work of Ezra in the arrangement of the Biblical records. A vigorous attempt is made to defend the integrity of both Ezra and Nehemiah, and to bring the genealogical tables within the lifetime of the latter. The frequently-quoted difficulties in granting unity of authorship to both books are well handled, and reasons given for the deviation in the narrative from the first to the third person. The Book of Esther is freed from improbabilities, vindicated from the charge of exaggeration, and shown to be compatible with the known character of Xerxes, and the record of national religious massacres in later times, and with the undoubted celebration of the deliverance of the Jews in the national festival of Purim. The authorship of Esther is left undetermined, and its canonicity is justified. The commentaries on the three books display that painstaking, steady care, and thorough scholarship and reverence for

God's Word which characterize the work of their distinguished authors.

Popular Objections to Revealed Truth. Hodder and Stoughton.

This new volume of the 'Christian Evidence Society' contains lectures delivered in the New Hall of Science, Old-street, City-road (Mr. Bradlaugh's). It was certainly a bold and wise resolution to carry the war into the very heart of the infidel camp, and to invite the freest discussion and questioning at the close of each lecture. It would have been interesting had reports of the discussions been preserved. The audiences, often numbering a thousand, consisted almost entirely of working men, and the lecturers of course addressed themselves to their modes of thinking. They owe, we think, no little of their point and power to this necessity. Some of them are very able; as a rule, they are not only acute but broad, and deal with great principles rather than with conventional dogmatic expressions of them. The lecturers and subjects were—Rev. A. J. Harrison, 'Secularism and Atheism'; Rev. C. A. Row, M.A., 'Human Responsibility'; Rev. John Gritten, 'Christianity not the Invention of Impostors or Credulous Enthusiasts'; B. Harris Cowper, Esq., 'The Facts of Christianity Historically True'; Rev. G. Henslow, M.A., 'Science and Scripture not Antagonistic'; Rev. J. H. Titcomb, M.A., 'Moral Teaching of the Old Testament'; Rev. R. B. Girdlestone, M.A., 'The Metaphorical Language Applied to God in the Old Testament'; J. H. Gladstone, Ph.D., 'Miracles the Credentials of a Revelation'; Rev. C. A. Row, 'The Historical Evidence of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ'; Rev. Dr. Allon, 'The Moral Teaching of the New Testament'; the Rev. Gordon Calthrop, M.A., 'The Gradual Unfolding of Revelation'; the Rev. Canon Barry, D.D., 'Perfection of the Human Character of Jesus Christ.'

The Conservation of Moral Force. A Sermon preached at the College Chapel, Bradford, Sunday Evening, Sept. 21, 1873, by the Rev. H. GRIFFITH, Bowdon. London: A. Hall and Co.; Liverpool: J. Wookard.

Now that we have read this noble sermon we are not surprised at what we have heard of the impression which was produced by its delivery. It was preached on the occasion of the late meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and is published at the 'urgent solicitation' of many of the members of the Association who were privileged to hear it. 'The grand thought of the whole,' is 'an extension to morals of the modern doctrine of the conservation and correlation of forces.' We predict for the sermon a large circulation, and earnestly hope that so gifted a preacher as Mr. Griffith will take courage to follow it up with a volume on kindred phases of the truth which he has proved himself so able to expound and to maintain.

Daily Devotions for the Household. Being a Series of Original Prayers for Every Day in the Year, with a Selection of Hymns and

Passages of Holy Scripture, and Prayers for Special Occasions. Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

The publication of this almost imperial devotional volume simply indicates the large demand that there is for domestic forms of worship. There must, indeed, be tens of thousands of religious families in which there is no one qualified to offer morning and evening extemporary prayer with edification, and thousands more in which the occasional use of prepared forms will be edifying and a relief. In this book a service for every day in the year is provided. Each is judiciously short, hymns, Scripture, and prayer being comprised in a single page. The hymns are selected with admirable catholicity of feeling and taste, almost every type of religious faith and life being represented. A large number of the hymns are by living hymn writers, and some of them are very beautiful. The book would have been perfect had a tune in short score been provided for each hymn. The prayers, as is necessarily the case when contributed by so many persons, are of varied excellence; some few that we have lighted upon are stiff and wordy and shallow, but the bulk seem to be simple, devout, and edifying. Use will soon determine their quality, for the delicate appreciation of devout feeling is a quick and fine test. The volume will take its place among the best of its class.

The Interpreter; or, Scripture for Family Worship: being Selected Passages of the Word of God for Every Morning and Evening throughout the Year; accompanied by a Running Comment and Suitable Hymns. Arranged and Annotated by C. H. SPURGEON. Parts I. to XII. Passmore and Alabaster.

Mr. Spurgeon's plan is as effective as it is novel. The text of the Bible is given so far as is necessary to convey the substance of the matter treated in it; the rest is epitomized so as to link on the different parts, or to reduce the sections to a practicable length; brief comments and indications of meaning are interwoven, and printed in italics; different parts of the Bible treating of the same matter are brought together; and a couple of hymns are appended to each section. Mr. Spurgeon has a considerable gift of terse, pointed, practical remark. His method gives great interest and vividness to the teachings of the Bible; while it subordinates the letter to the spirit it preserves the integrity of the whole.

Readings on the Psalms. With Notes on their Musical Treatment; originally addressed to Choristers. By Rev. HENRY HOUSMAN. Joseph Masters.

The idea of this work was suggested to the mind of a clergyman of fine musical taste, by the obvious need of some practical guide for his choristers that should secure an effective, devout, and intelligent treatment of the Psalter in the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer. We are not acquainted with any similar endeavor to exhibit for this practical purpose the significance of the Psalms. An inter-

esting introduction not only to the Canonical Psalter, but also to the form it assumes in the Book of Common Prayer, is followed by brief, pithy comments on the several Psalms. Mr. Housman makes great use of Perowne's Commentary, and accepts the references adopted by that distinguished scholar; and from practical experience suggests the predominant emotion characterizing each Psalm and its appropriate treatment by the choir. If this volume were put into the hands of choirmasters, we might expect prodigious improvement in the worship of the National Church. The senseless, hopeless, monotonous gabble of the chant might give way to a spiritual and eloquent rendering of the immortal minstrelsy. We accept the indications of a fervent rubrician's hand, and even the unnecessarily severe condemnation of 'the double chant,' for the sake of the practical wisdom, fine tact, and devout purpose of the author.

Daily Meditations. By the Rev. GEORGE BOWEN, of Bombay. With Introductory Notice by the Rev. W. HANNA, D.D. Edmonston and Douglas.

The brief memoir of Mr. Bowen with which Dr. Hanna prefaces this remarkable book is another proof that the great age of faith is not over, that the grace of God is not exhausted, that the spirit which made the first missionaries of the cross and the great heroes of the Church is not withdrawn from us. It is the more remarkable, because the writer of these pages, who has been for twenty years a self-denying, self-supported missionary living on a few rupees a week in the lowest slums of Bombay, is a man of rare accomplishments, extraordinary linguistic faculty, and one who has passed through the stormy sea of utter atheism. It is still more remarkable that one who had been the loud advocate of Voltairian infidelity, who had gone beyond Strauss in his earliest denials of faith, should intellectually have been reclaimed by Paley's 'Evidences of Christianity,' and by witnessing the practical power of the conscious presence of Christ on a death-bed of a devout believer. The tone of mind revealed in these brief daily meditations is penetrating, subtle, rare. All that we have read reveal an intensity of feeling and strength of imagination, and a novelty of treatment which, while illustrating some familiar text, never degenerate into common-place, and very seldom border on exaggeration. The combination of devout feeling and hard hitting, the tolerance and the terrors, the freshness and force of these daily meditations is, as far as we are concerned, quite unique. Dr. Hanna may well say, 'I count it a great privilege to introduce in this country a book so fitted to attract and to benefit, and to be associated even in this indirect way with so faithful and self-denying yet withal so gifted and heroic a servant of our Lord Jesus Christ.'

The New Cyclopædia of Illustrative Anecdote, Religious and Moral, Original and Selected. With Introduction by the Rev. DONALD MACLEOD, D.D. Elliot Stock.

The New Handbook of Illustration. With Introduction by Rev. W. MORLEY PUNSHON, LL.D. Elliot Stock.

These two volumes are good specimens of the popular class of literature which their titles indicate. The first contains nearly 1600 illustrative anecdotes, or short stories, selected for purposes of religious teaching. The anecdotes are professedly authentic, they are succinctly told, and are classified as to subjects. Young people are fond of stories, and in preparing for his class the Sunday-school teacher cannot do better than store his mind with two or three of the excellent stories here provided for him. All people indeed like parabolic teaching, and we confess a weakness in turning over the pages of a collection like this.

The second of the two volumes is a collection of illustrative and pithy sayings, with brief indications of their religious applications, generally selected from standard writers. Nothing is foreign to the compiler's purpose—proverbs, anecdotes, analogies, apologues, types, allegories, expositions, &c. Everything that can give point to a religious lesson is laid under contribution. The contents are classified and well indexed, as in the 'Book of Anecdotes.' Not only Sunday-school teachers but preachers of sermons might improve their didactics by wisely using the rich materials of these volumes.

Mark's Memoirs of Jesus Christ. A Commentary on the Gospel according to Mark. By JAMES MORISON, D.D. Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

Dr. Morison has followed up his laborious and voluminous Commentary on Matthew's Gospel by a similar volume on that of Mark. It is, however, an independent volume, and carefully avoids the assumption that its reader possesses the former. It is very elaborate and learned, the result of enormous reading. Its chief use to the theologian will be as a dictionary of opinions—on every point a formidable catalogue of authorities is cited—and yet the author moves freely and strongly beneath his superincumbent load of literature. The principal section of the Introduction is that on the genetic relations of the Gospel. Accepting its traditional relation to Peter, Dr. Morison rejects every form of what he calls the 'pendulum theory' of Griesbach, and maintains that the only demonstrable relations of Mark's Gospel to those of Matthew and Luke, are the relations of all three to a common *corpus* of well-known facts and teachings. Sometimes we think Dr. Morison too ingenious and elaborate; for example, he bestows immense labor upon the manifold interpretation of the phrase in the eleventh chapter, 'the time of figs is not yet,' and takes refuge in a latent spiritual meaning—All that it is necessary to know is that the fig-tree puts forth its fruit before its leaves, and that the presence of the leaves was therefore a presumption of the fruit. We may commend the volume, thirty or forty times the bulk of the Gospel itself, as a laborious and learned record of all that has been thought and said about it, as a strong sensible exposition

of its meaning, and as imbued with a devout spirit and an earnest practical purpose.

Systematic Theology. By CHARLES HODGE, D.D., Professor in the Theological University, Princeton. Vol. III. Thomas Nelson and Sons.

The third volume of this very important work fulfils the promise of the earlier volumes. The comprehensive grasp of a vast subject, the generally excellent arrangement of material, the careful consultation and presentation of authorities, and the abundant references to the literature of theology, bid fair to constitute this work one of the standard expositions of the faith of the Calvinistic Reformed churches. Dr. Hodge has by no means confined himself to the systematization of the Princeton theology, he has presented with luminous fairness the doctrinal standards and argumentative positions of the Anglican and Roman churches, has dealt firmly and respectfully with Socinian, Arminian, Zwinglian, Lutheran, and Hegelian hypotheses; and has not failed to notice the most recent theories and speculations in the various departments of Christian psychology, ethics, and eschatology. The work is consequently a compendium, not only of the Biblical theology of each subject, and of the place it takes in the Calvinistic theory, but of historical theology brought down to the present day. It would be easy to raise discussions on almost every theme thus passing under review, but we should, by this means, fail of our present purpose, which is to record our high appreciation of the spirit, learning, philosophic breadth and profound insight, which characterize this attempt to systematize the thoughts and speculations of eighteen hundred years on matters of deepest interest to all. The work of a long life is crowded into these pages; but they constitute not only a valuable book of reference for the theological student, but one not without considerable attraction for the general reader. A work almost rivalling in extent the angelical Doctor's 'Summa Theologiæ,' is not a dry syllabus of propositions, or of *loci communes*, but a vivid and readable digest of fascinating discussions and fundamental truths.

The Light of all Ages. By the Rev. GAVIN CARLYLE, M.A. Strahan and Co.

Mr. Carlyle presents to us the Christ of the New Testament, in the only true and possible way—if, that is, the presentation is to be complete—viz., with all the divine and spiritual surroundings of his New Testament portraiture, and in all His avowed moral and spiritual relationships to men. Whatever the mythic or philosophic Christ of Strauss and Renan—whatever the merely human Christ of the author of 'Ecce Homo!'—neither is the Christ of the New Testament. Of this Strauss and Renan present only gross perversions, and the author of 'Ecce Homo' only a partial aspect. Only the Christ of the New Testament can either be the true Christ, or be vindicated as a Christ at all. Strict philosophy requires that all the moral phenomena of human nature,

which the Christ of the New Testament assumes, be recognised, and the claims of the Christ be tested by His spiritual fitness and sufficiency to meet these. It is not Christ as the consummate Teacher and the perfect Man that the New Testament presents, it is Christ as the Redeemer of man from sin. As such Mr. Carlyle presents him, and Reason has its highest province in determining whether such a Christ has really come, and whether His character and work really achieve the moral purpose of His coming. The strictest scientific methods are demanded for the determination of moral and spiritual, as of intellectual and physical phenomena. The man of faith is not he who believes spiritual things without adequate evidence, which is credulity and superstition; but he who believes them on their own proper moral evidence. Mr. Carlyle sets forth Christ as the Light of the World, the Life of the Redeemed, the Moral Teacher, and the Great Physician of Men, His Relation to all Ages, His Resurrection from the Dead, His Spiritual Presence in His Church, and the Relation of His Religious System to Politics and Social Institutions. Only in this complete presentation of the spiritual and redeeming Christ, can the New Testament portraiture of Him be ever understood. Mr. Carlyle's little book is a very succinct, able, and convincing exposition of this.

The History of the Kingdom of God under the Old Testament. Translated from the German of E. W. HENGSTENBERG, late Doctor and Professor of Theology in Berlin. Two Vols. T. and T. Clark.

The translation of this posthumous work of Hengstenberg is enriched by an extremely interesting and candid sketch of the life, character, and work of the author, by Dr. W. B. Pope. We are presented with an enumeration and a penetrating estimate of the Biblical and exegetical works which were poured forth in such abundance by this great scholar. Dr. Pope gives a lucid account of Hengstenberg's editorial relations with the *Kirchenzeitung*, and of the troubles which he brought upon himself by his restless resolve to testify against every species of heresy and vagueness that he believed to be undermining Lutheran orthodoxy. Dr. Pope's general estimate of Hengstenberg's influence upon his age and the relative value to be assigned to his exegetical works appears to us to be wise and fair, and the criticism of his 'Commentary on St. John's Gospel' to be very just. The theme, for the elucidation of which he prepared in his youth and which he pursued with undaunted energy to the last, was the 'Revelation of God in the Old Testament,' the 'Christology,' the 'Commentaries on the Psalms,' on 'Ecclesiastes,' and on 'Ezekiel,' the 'Introduction to the Old Testament,' the work on the genuineness of Daniel and the integrity of Zechariah, nearly all of which are to be found in Messrs. Clark's foreign theological library, are sufficient vouchers for the extraordinary fitness of such a man to write a 'History of the Kingdom of God under the Old Testament.'

This subject Hengstenberg divided into two periods, from Abraham to Moses, and from Moses to Christ. The latter period is divided into six sections—(1) Moses, (2) Joshua, (3) the Judges, (4) the Kingdom until the division, while two further sections bring the story down to the destruction of Jerusalem. The whole discussion reflects the stormy and critical time in which the history was written, and the firm, devout, almost passionate religious convictions which possessed the venerable and learned author to the close of his life.

Blending Lights; or, The Relations of Natural Science, Archaeology, and History to the Bible. By the Rev. WILLIAM FRASER, LL.D. James Nisbet and Co.

It is not requisite to expound the various principles and carefully accumulated facts and concessions of eminent geologists and scientific writers which Dr. Fraser has advanced in order to modify the haste with which modern students are disposed to relinquish their confidence in the archaeology and chronology of Holy Scripture. With singular ability and fairness he has met the speculations of Mr. Darwin, and has replied to the hurried generalizations of Egyptologists. There is a fine catholic spirit pervading the volume, and there is the ring of true scientific caution. The tone adopted with reference to the creative days is, however, vacillating and extremely undogmatic. Like Dr. Gerard Molloy, the author sees different ways out of the difficulties without relinquishing either scientific fact or Divine revelation. Perhaps he does not speak too positively when he says, 'If there is one lesson more than another which the progress of the sciences is teaching us, it is that of caution, and the necessity of repressing a dogmatic tendency; and if there is one benefit more than another which the history of this discussion is conferring, it is that of confidence in the truth of the Bible.'

Apologetic Lectures on the Moral Truths of Christianity. Delivered in Leipsic in the Winter of 1872. By CHR. ERNST LUTHARDT. Translated from the German by SOPHIA TAYLOR. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

The excellency of Dr. Luthardt as a popular expositor of the evidences of Christianity is, the combination in him of adequate scholarship and familiarity with modern thought, with popular lucidity and rhetorical power. Hence his lectures have been quoted as authorities, even by men so scholarly as Canon Liddon. The present volume deals with Christian morals, a subject which just now seems to be attracting special attention in the Christian controversy. The purpose of the lectures is to establish the vital connection between religion and morality, and to show that the religion of Christ inculcates and inspires the highest morality that the world has seen. Taking as his basis the fundamental moral elements of our human constitution, especially conscience, and the essential freedom of the human will as necessary for their expression, the lecturer

demonstrates, amid the various methods of moral culture that the world has had pronounced to it, the transcendent excellence of Christianity, both in its idea and its vital force. Thus, the Root Principle of Christian Love, the Devotional Life of the Christian, Christian Marriage, the Christian Home, the State and Christianity, Culture and Christianity, Humanity and Christianity, are surveyed with great breadth, completeness, and force of both argument and illustration. It is, we think, the most vigorous and valuable volume of the series.

Liturgical Purity our Rightful Inheritance.

By JOHN COWLEY FISHER, M.A., of the Middle Temple. Third edition. Part I., The Baptismal Services. Longmans, Green, and Co.

The first edition of Mr. Fisher's book was published in 1857, the second in 1860; the third edition, now before us, is so much enlarged, that the first part, devoted to the Baptismal services, fills a bulk as large as the original treatise. Mr. Fisher is an ardent advocate of the revision of the Book of Common Prayer, in the direction of Evangelicalism. He would have it thoroughly purged of its Sacramentarian elements. This, he thinks, is the 'rightful inheritance' of the Episcopal Church, as being 'more thoroughly accordant with the genuine principles of the Reformation.' He would especially 'undo the Laudian alterations surreptitiously made by the reactionary party in the year 1662, and re-establish it once more upon its earliest and most comprehensive basis.'

Mr. Fisher must remember, however, that the later modifications are, in a legal point of view, as authoritative as the earlier forms. We, as outsiders, do not presume to judge the legal question, especially since the Bennett judgment, although our doctrinal sympathies are with Mr. Fisher. The question is one that necessarily must mainly concern the Episcopal Church. Whether the Free Churches of England will ever use Liturgies or not, it is certain they will never use the Sacramentarian Services of the Book of Common Prayer. Meanwhile, all who wish to see the historical question carefully sifted, and the religious question forcibly argued, had better procure Mr. Fisher's able and scholarly book.

The Church in the Home. A Series of Lessons on the Acts of the Apostles. By WILLIAM ARNOT, Minister of the Free Church in Edinburgh. James Nisbet and Co.

The title of Mr. Arnot's book is justified by the use for which he intends it. His 'expositions have been prepared partly, at least, with a view to their use in families on the evening of the Lord's day.' They are very brief sermons, not aiming at completeness of treatment, either of text or of the representative verse selected from it, but presenting two or three salient points for practical instruction and edification. They are vigorous in thought, fertile in suggestion, often happy in illustration, and pungent in application. As a whole,

however, the volume is not equal to the author's 'Laws from Heaven for Life on Earth.'

The Truth in its own Light; or, Christianity shown from itself to be a Divine Revelation to Man. In Five Parts. By Rev. JOHN COOPER. Melbourne: George Robertson.

This volume is a worthy specimen of the talent, energy, and thoughtful culture of our colonial ministers. It would be difficult to convey in short compass the burden of an argument prolonged through 600 pages. The object of the first part is to show that the position taken by Christ at His particular epoch of the world's history, and the confidence with which He assumed it are proofs of His supernatural mission. Then Mr. Cooper shows that the spirit, principle, and example of 'Jesus are all that is necessary to the true well-being of man, and thus furnish proof of His incarnate personality. The author shows with some force that Jesus 'either did live a life of unsullied perfection, or His illiterate disciples have surpassed all the genius of earth in their description of an original and perfect character.' The most original argument in the volume is concerned with the principle that self-sacrifice is the only power that can stay the enmity of the carnal mind; that the revelation of the self-sacrifice of the Divine is impossible to devils, men, or angels. Since the Gospel discloses this fact, it must therefore be of God and can be from no other source. Then, finally, the history of Christianity is the history of the victory of unworldly truth, the revelation of the aim of one personally conscious in Himself of the Infinite, Eternal, and Divine, and therefore a proof of the Divine nature and work of our blessed Lord. There is considerable subtlety in the progress of the argument, and, as may be judged from this brief outline, some temptation to frequent repetitions of the same thought. There is, moreover, a vein of expositulation and homiletic appeal, which gives the entire production more the character of a popular address, than that of a logical combat with eager, unscrupulous antagonists. To make the argument irrefragable, it would have been well to have compared more carefully the self-sacrifice and moral zeal of Christ with that of 'other Masters' of mankind. We accept the work as a valuable and original addition to the internal evidences of the Divine origin of Christianity.

The Orations of Demosthenes and Eschines on the Crown. With Introductory Notes and Essays by G. A. SIMCOX, M.A., and by W. H. SIMCOX, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press Series.

A free translation of these rival speeches, *Duorum eloquentissimorum nobilissimas orationes inter se contrarias*, as the noblest specimens of Attic oratory, was made by Cicero. This translation, which has not been preserved, yet indicates that they ought to be studied together. These orations, if only from their acknowledged difficulties, have from that time

until now had attractions for editors and readers, while the actual matter amply repays the necessary trouble to discover the meaning. It is scarcely possible to over-estimate their value and importance, once granted that Greek oratory, law, and politics are important to us at all. They were the highest and most successful efforts of the two greatest orators of antiquity; and we have the two orations to compare in their best and most finished state, not as they were actually delivered, but as they were touched up and corrected by their respective authors with a view to publication. They embody, therefore, not simply the loftiest eloquence and rhetorical art, but the highest reflective and logical powers. The trial at which they were delivered constituted the greatest political duel Greece had ever witnessed, and it may be truthfully said that these speeches throw light, as nothing else does, on the state and motives of parties in those stormy, eventful latter days of Athenian glory. We rejoice, therefore, to find an edition like the present, which will enable the reader to appreciate these orations in the breadth and complexity of their importance. In our opinion the most valuable, as it is the most distinctive, feature of the present edition is the introductory matter, which extends over one hundred and thirty pages. Here, besides a careful summary of all that is known of the rival orators' lives, and a searching estimate of the motives and influences that regulated their conduct, we have two admirable chapters—one 'On the Practical Politics of the Age of Demosthenes,' and the other, 'On the Documents quoted in the "Oration on the Crown."' Mr. Simcox places the moral character of Demosthenes considerably lower and that of Philip decidedly higher than the ordinary estimate, which, if not absolutely more correct, is at all events more in harmony with the 'Zeitgeist.' These essays, we venture to say, will be prized not simply by classical specialists, but by all who take a wide interest in the history and politics of that exciting period.

The indispensable assistance which the reader of these authors requires has been hitherto sought in the excellent editions of Bremi, Disen, Westermann, Whiston, and Heslop. The book before us will for the future become an essential part of the ripe scholar's apparatus, and be found sufficient for the purpose of the ordinary student. Considered as an edition of a classic, we regard that of Whiston decidedly the best; but as an attempt to place the men and circumstances of that age before the mind of the modern reader, this edition has decidedly the advantage. The notes, regarded from a schoolboy point of view, will not be considered sufficiently copious, but the idiomatic translations of the difficult words and phrases which abound in these speeches are exceedingly helpful. The temper of the young will not be ruffled by numerous references to Jelf's and Madvig's grammars, or to untranslated parallel passages which are seldom consulted. The editors have carefully avoided crowding their pages with references, from the conviction that they would be found an encumbrance to those who simply want to make out their author with

as little trouble as possible, and an interruption and impertinence to the critical and independent student. The value of the work is greatly enhanced by the excellent indices with which it is provided.

The Dialect of Cumberland: With a Chapter on its Place-names. By ROBERT FERGUSON. Williams and Norgate.

This work, so far as the lexical aspects of an important dialect of English are concerned, can scarcely be improved upon. It might have been well to have indicated by some abbreviation when the words occur which are common to other northern counties with Cumberland. The chapter on place-names is curious. The Greek etymology for *kirk* is relinquished in favor of *kirrock*, a druidical circle; but it is impossible to give an idea of the value of the work without copious extracts from the vocabulary, which will be of great service in the comparative philology of the English language.

ΤΟΙΣ ἈΓΙΟΙΣ ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΑΡΕΙΑΝΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΙ. The Orations of St. Athanasius against the Arians, according to the Benedictine Text, with an account of his life, by WILLIAM BRIGHT, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

This account of the life of Athanasius is written with extreme care, and displays on every page great erudition. The author reverts to the original sources of information for every fact that is mentioned, almost for every epithet used; and, at all events, for every opinion that is expressed. The sympathy of the author is abundantly and rightly yielded to the wonderful man whose brave, loyal, saintly soul shines out in that most chequered and romantic life of his. Incomparably the noblest of the Greek fathers, his life is almost the history of the Christian Church, and involves to some considerable extent the history of both Eastern and Western Empires during half of the fourth century. Notwithstanding all that has been done, from the panegyric of Gregory of Nazianzus to the eulogy of Hooker, by the elaborate treatment of the theme by Mohler, by the involuntary homage of Gibbon, by the works of Bishop Kaye and Dr. J. H. Newman, and the space devoted to the character and work of Athanasius by all church historians of the fourth century—students will find this succinct *résumé* of the facts valuable and suggestive.

The text of the 'Orations against the Arians' is admirably printed and furnished with head-lines in English. The volume would have been increased in value if it had contained an analysis of the argument of each of these famous discourses.

The Character of St. Paul. Being the Cambridge Hulsean Lectures for 1862. By JOHN S. HOWSON, D.D., Dean of Chester. Third Edition. (Strahan and Co.) It is enough to record the appearance of this popular edition

of Dean Howson's admirable portraiture of Paul the Apostle. The personal characteristics of the great Christian doctor are portrayed with a rare degree of insight and power, and the man is a large part of his distinctive teaching.—*The Class and the Desk. A Manual for Sunday-school Teachers. Old Testament Series. Job to Malachi.* By CHARLES STOKES CAREY. (James Sangster and Co.) We have heartily commended the previous volumes of this very admirable manual for Sunday-school teachers. A vast deal of compressed information and succinct exposition is contained in it. It is almost a sufficient handbook for the school, as well as a repertory of telling anecdotes and illustrations.—*The School and Children's Bible.* Prepared under the superintendence of the Rev. WILLIAM ROGERS, M.A., Prebendary of St. Paul's, etc. (Longmans, Green, and Co.) It is only natural that the admirable work of Messrs. Cassell, produced some two years ago, should have imitators. No work of selected portions of Scripture will satisfy everybody, either by all its omissions or all its inclusions. There can be no doubt that much is gained for the use of the Bible in families, by the omission of genealogical and ritual matter, as well as of portions of the history which are incongruous with the refinements of our day. Mr. Rogers says that the present work may be regarded as a 'New Lectionary.' The Authorized Version is followed, except in the Psalms. Mr. Rogers has preferred the far less accurate Prayer Book version, simply, we suppose, because it is such, alas! The Psalms and the Three Gospels are arranged according to their subjects, and the Prophets according to their chronology. The editor's aim has been 'to exhibit without theological bias the moral and spiritual teaching of the Old and New Testament.' We are disposed to welcome his work, first as breaking through the superstitious ignorance which reverses the very accidents of Scripture, and next as tending to a more intelligent apprehension of the contents of the Divine book.—*I. Come and Welcome to Jesus Christ. II. The Greatness of the Soul, the Water of Life. III. The Pharisee and the Publican. IV. The Strait Gate, Christ a Complete Saviour. V. Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners. VI. Justification by an Imputed Righteousness. The Jerusalem Sinner Saved.* (Blackie and Sons.) A series of little books intended to comprise the principal of Bunyan's practical works. Nothing can be more stimulating to religious earnestness than these passionate appeals of the Latimer of nonconformity.—*The Noachic Deluge: Its Probable Physical Effects, and Present Evidences.* By the Rev. S. LUCAS, F.G.S. (Hodder and Stoughton.) Mr. Lucas contends that a cataclysm, such as is described in Genesis, would produce physical effects such as geologists of various schools scientifically record. He contends that not only could not such a miraculous and stupendous catastrophe occur without leaving permanent effects, but that the phenomena which geologists have to account for are precisely such as it would leave, and as cannot be otherwise accounted for. Mr. Lucas writes intelligently and modestly. As he justly

observes, the problem is a complicated and difficult one. He has contributed to its solution the well-informed views of a reverent believer in the Bible.—*The Virgin Mary and the Traditions of Painters.* By the Rev. J. G. CLAY, M.A. (J. T. Hayes.) Mr. Clay has written a history of the picture-doctrine of the Virgin Mary. Few will question the uses of sacred art which in his preface he formally vindicates, and although his special theme takes him on to ground that for Romanists and High Churchmen is a kind of enchanted ground, he has examined facts and formed judgments with great fairness and moderation. He maintains that no festival, in which the name of the Virgin was especially mentioned, was instituted before the end of the fifth century; that, in the early period of Christian art, no distinction was made between her and other saints; that the Virgin as an Orante was later than the martyrs and saints in her appearance in sacred art; that the adoration of the Magi was not an early subject of Roman art, nor was it represented for the sake of the Virgin Mary; that the Virgin in early art has no aureola, especially in the Magiore picture of the Annunciation; that there is no indication of the doctrine that she may be worshipped for her own sake, and that she wields authority in the name of her Son; that no Virgin worship was taught by the council of Ephesus. It is a scholarly and candid little work, worthy a place on the shelf of Christian art.—*The Tabernacle and its Priests and Services; Described and Considered in Relation to Christ and the Church.* With Diagrams, Views, and Woodcuts. By WILLIAM BROWN. Second Edition. (Edinburgh: William Oliphant and Co.) We omitted to notice the first edition of Mr. Brown's careful, sensible, and very complete work. He describes minutely, in the light of modern research, every constituent, appointment, and service of the Jewish Tabernacle, and points out with much discrimination and sobriety such typical relations of it to Christ and His Church as seem to have been intended. It is the completest and wisest handbook to the Tabernacle and its Leviticus that we know.—*The Biblical Museum; a Collection of Notes, Explanatory, Homiletic, and Illustrative, on the Holy Scriptures.* Especially designed for the use of Ministers, Bible Students, and Sunday-school Teachers. By JAMES COMPER GRAY. Vol. III. Acts of the Apostles and Romans. Vol. IV. Epistles, from 1 Corinthians to Philemon. (Elliot Stock.) Mr. Gray has completed two more volumes of a very useful little manual, which combines in a scholarly and admirable way a succinct exegetical commentary, and homiletical suggestions and references, with illustrative anecdotes and selections. Brief prolegomena supply all needful collateral information concerning each book. It is admirably adapted for its avowed purposes.—*Christianity Irrespective of Churches: Thirteen Letters to an Italian Nobleman on the Christian Religion.* (Hamilton, Adams, and Co.) This is substantially a reproduction of Mr. Dunn's 'Churches, a History and an Argument.' It has been translated into Italian, Spanish and French, and now returns to its original

English, as the editor imagines that the letters, from their anti-Romanist character and their omission of many of the topics discussed by Mr. Dunn, may interest a class of persons who are much concerned for the welfare of Protestantism. We think the editor is not mistaken as to his estimate of the probable usefulness of these letters. The fact that they were addressed to an Italian nobleman, a member of the Romish hierarchy, will give them an additional element of interest.—*Some Present Difficulties in Theology: being Lectures to Young Men, delivered in the English Presbyterian College, London.* With a Preface by OSWALD DYKES, M.A. (Hodder and Stoughton.) These lectures must have been helpful and stimulating to the young men who were privileged to hear them. And now that they are given to the public they cannot fail to be widely useful. They cannot be pronounced original in thought, or novel in their mode of treating the various subjects, still they are sound and healthy expositions of questions of the highest importance. The authority of Holy Scripture is discussed by Mr. Dykes with great discrimination and candour; he resolves the whole into a question of evidence; Dr. Lorimer exposes with much vigour the arrogance and dogmatism of scientific men, who attempt, on inductive grounds, to deny the reality of miracles; Mr. Gibb expounds with a good deal of force and earnestness the questions of unbelief, doubt, and faith; and Dr. Chalmers examines the moral and expiatory theories of the atonement, and upholds the latter as most in harmony with the statements of Scripture, and as alone meeting the exigencies of humanity. We commend the little volume to the notice of thoughtful and inquiring young men. It will aid them in their inquiries, and may solve some of their doubts.—*The Childhood of the World: A Simple Account of Man in Early Times.* By EDWARD CLODD, F.R.A.S. (Macmillan and Co.) This is a charming little book. Nothing better could be put into the hands of children or of many grown people to tell them the wonderful story of man's progress in the arts of civilization, and in the solution of questions connected with his moral and spiritual life. Without technicalities, or anything to stumble or perplex the youthful and inquiring mind, and in a style of beautiful simplicity it conducts us through the dimness and mystery of the remote past, and throws more light on the great problems of humanity than many works of a more pretentious and elaborate character. A judicious use of this little book by parents and teachers would be attended with immense benefit.—*The Christian Life: An Exposition of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress.* By the Rev. JAMES BLACK, D.D. (James Nisbet and Co.) Marvellous are the changes which are wrought by a few years! Bunyan, the despised and persecuted prisoner of Bedford jail, has become the admired of all classes. His dream, or 'Pilgrim' is translated into many languages and read by all men, the cultured not less than the simple and unlettered; and not only read, but illustrated and expounded by the artist and the commentator. Although

we do not think that there is any deep-lying mystery, or hidden meaning in the 'Pilgrim,' its flight of fancy, its imagery, and its varied character furnish ample material for illustration and general instruction respecting the Christian life. Of these Dr. Black has made ample use; and with remarkable force and discrimination has drawn from them a variety of salutary and stimulating lessons. Perhaps some readers may deem his 'Exposition' too extended and elaborate, as the volume, now before us of nearly 500 pages, embraces only a part of the 'Pilgrim,' but the variety and richness of the instruction communicated, and the force and occasional eloquence of the style in which it is expressed, will gratify and compensate those who give to the book an attentive perusal. We trust Dr. Black will be induced speedily to issue his second volume.

JUVENILE BOOKS.

From the Earth to the Moon Direct in Ninety-seven Hours Twenty Minutes, and a Trip Round It. With Numerous Illustrations. By JULES VERNE. (Sampson Low and Co.) *The Fur Country, or Seventy Degrees of North Latitude.* Translated from the French of JULES VERNE, with One Hundred Illustrations. (Sampson Low and Co.) M. Verne exaggerates scientific possibilities into romance in a way so natural and charming, that even sober men and women are fascinated by his extravagance. The whole, too, is conceived in a mind familiar not only with what science has already discovered, but with its tendencies and dreams, so that the scientific passes into the impossible in the most artful way. Waggishly enough, too, his extravaganzas have generally an American matrix. They are as wild as Munchausen, and as natural as Robinson Crusoe. After the American War, a Yankee Gun Club succeeds in propelling a gigantic projectile with such force that it goes to the moon, and would have hit it but for its contact with an aerolite, which deflects it, and it makes an elliptical course round the moon. Again coming within the sphere of the earth's attraction it falls into the Atlantic Ocean five miles deep, and floats, an iron ship, until rescue comes. The conception and history of the gigantic gun are described with inimitable naturalness, and all the scientific problems suggested by such a trip are admirably touched.—*The Fur Country* is not quite so daring in its glorious extravagance. It describes an exploring party sent out by the Hudson's Bay Company, including two brave Englishmen, to seek furs in seventy degrees latitude. They settle upon what they imagine to be the northern edge of the Continent. It proves to be an island, the icy portion of which breaks loose with the explorers, and carries them through Behring's Straits into the Pacific Ocean. It touches land when almost melted away. Around this romance M. Verne has

gathered all kinds of Arctic lore and adventure. He tells the most astounding incidents with imperturbable seriousness, and manages his incidents so admirably, that almost the whole history of Polar enterprise is worked into his story. Every other page is an illustration. The books are both of them superb in their exciting cleverness and charm. Among the boys' books of the year they are so far first that the rest are nowhere. Concerning some of the latter, however, we have a hearty word of commendation to give. Mr. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN's *Queer Folk* (Macmillan) is his annual contribution of a fairy budget, and is genuine in its fairy-land quality, and full of cleverness, freshness, and interest. 'There is a warlock, a witch, a society of pig-faced ladies, a quantity of elves, and several other things and persons which any unprejudiced individual will at once allow to be queer enough to justify the name I have chosen.' The warlock is as good as anything that Mr. Knatchbull-Hugesen has done. He is the best of fairy-tale writers. How Mr. Gladstone must envy the fun of his grotesque imagination!—*Out and All About: Fables for Old and Young*. By H. A. PAGE. (W. Isbister and Co.) Mr. Page has shown that he can do literary work of a more dignified character, but he has done nothing that indicates greater ability than this. *Æsop* is almost as great as *Aristotle*; for fables of the true kind are a combination of philosophy and fancy, wisdom and artistic form, which few can successfully achieve. We can give Mr. Page no higher praise than to say that he writes genuine fables, which will be read by young and old—by the former for their story, by the latter for their good sense. Let our readers turn to 'The Spider on Trial' (rather too long, however, for a fable, as are several others), in which amateur science is admirably quizzed; 'The Rose and the Elm Tree,' pointing the moral of place and circumstance, even for the choicest endowments; 'The Revolution in Toy-land,' which is a clever satire on ignorant democrats. 'The Strange Trio,' again, is a charming apologue. The writer has carefully studied the ways and habits of the animal creation. The charm of the book is the cleverness of its stories and the truth of its symbols. It is a genuine contribution to fable lore, perhaps the best of this generation. The illustrations are specially good. It is in every way most admirable.—*The Pet*. (Isbister and Co.) The Rev. H. R. HAWES has written a story of great merit for children. He tells of holidays, sea-side escapades, and chemical experiments, with boy-like gusto, and does not forget to throw in, as he proceeds, his salt of humour, which renders the powerful pathos of the close all the more effective. But we wish—we do wish—he could but have spared 'Pet.' The drawings, especially some of the little thumb-nail ones, are excellent.—*Fables and Fancies*, by Miss BEATA FRANCES (Isbister and Co.), is a series of light, fresh, fanciful tales, gracefully conceived and well-written, and charmingly illustrated by Mr. J. B. ZWEECKER.—*Half Hours with the Early Explorers*. By THOMAS FROST. (Cassell's.) A series of chapters consisting of

careful compilations from early travellers, such as Marco Polo, Mandeville, Columbus, Vasco da Gama, &c., and illustrated by maps and charts from the library of the British Museum, and by engravings made for early editions, forming a kind of chronological chain of discovery and adventure in all parts of the world, the whole corresponding to the editor's description of Sir John Mandeville's travels that it reads 'like a chapter of Herodotus pieced with fragments of the "Thousand and one Nights,"' which means that the more credible narratives are not without their admixture of 'travellers' tales.' The book resembles former compilations, known in our childhood as 'Wonders of the World.' It owes no little indeed to its predecessors, especially to the old French 'Livres des Merveilles,' only it is more artistic in arrangement, and richer in illustrations. The latter, however, are some of them misplaced, and the spelling of proper names is a little wild. The book is as romantic as a fairy-tale.—*Harry's Big Boots; a Fairy Tale for 'Smalle Folke.'* By S. E. GAY. With Illustrations by the author. (Samuel Tinsley.) Harry comes into possession of the far-famed seven-leagued boots, which carry him wherever he wishes to go, not only over mountains, but through seas. He meets with marvellous things. For instance, he finds a deep-sea town lighted by a sunfish; the people mistake the dredge of the *Challenger* for a waggonette, into which, unfortunately for themselves, they venture to get. He has other marvellous experiences at the bottom of the sea not unlike those which Jules Verne described in his wonderful book of last year. More satire probably is meant than is achieved, but the manifold adventures of Harry are full of fun, crowned by his waking up in bed to hear his mother say, 'Now, dear, I think we had better take it.'—*The Old Fairy Tales*. Collected and Edited by JAMES MASON. (Cassell's.) Mr. Mason has collected twenty of the best of the old Fairy Tales: 'Puss in Boots,' 'The Sleeping Beauty,' 'Jack the Giant Killer,' &c. The merit is, first in bringing together these delectable old classics of the nursery, and next in presenting them in an unmodernized, uncorrupted version, and then in accompanying them with some very exquisite illustrations. These old favourites are always new and welcome.—*Golden Days; a Tale of Girls' School Life in Germany*. By JEANIE HERING. (Cassell's.) This is a quaint and picturesque picture of German school life. It is in tone and purpose, as well as in incident and description, deserving of commendation. The description of the Christmas Tree is perfect; perhaps a little more emphasis might have been put upon the reprobation of evil passions, but the romance and piquancy of the whole are delightful.—*Trotty's Wedding Tour and Story Book*. By ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS. (Sampson Low and Co.) There is an undesirable precocity in the framework of this story. Some children play at being married, and at getting divorced, the result of which is a duel upon the top of a wall, in which Trotty gets hurt. He amuses himself with a printing-press, and prints a book, to which these stories are mysteriously contribu-

ted. They are stories of American life, and are admirably told.—*Stories of Enterprise and Adventure; A Selection of Authentic Narratives.* (Seeley's.) These are authentic narratives, picked out of books of travel with a good deal of care and skill, so that while short, each is complete, and is generally the most interesting episode of the work from which it is taken. It is a charming book for young people, such as only an extensive knowledge of books wisely used could have produced.—*Tales of Adventure on the Sea.* By R. M. BALLANTYNE. (James Nisbet.) Four tales selected from Ballantyne's Miscellany, founded on fact, and illustrating seafaring experiences in various parts of the globe. Mr. Ballantyne's power of exciting narrative is as well known as Mr. Kingston's, although he is not quite equal to the latter gentleman in finish and taste. His stories never flag, boys always read them with avidity—'Fighting the Whales,' 'Fast in the Ice,' 'The Cannibal Islands,' 'The Battle and the Breeze,' are the titles of the stories. They suggest the scenes and adventures described.—*Miss Moore; a Tale for Girls.* By GEORGINA M. CRAIK. (Sampson Low and Co.) One of the John Halifax series of girls' books—a story without much of incident, but having a graceful charm of description and sentiment, illustrating the feelings of little girls toward a new governess. The writer understands child nature.—*Joan of Arc, and the Times of Charles the Seventh, King of France.* (Griffith and Farran.) Another of Mrs. BRAY's careful and picturesque studies of French history, full of grace and simplicity, and skilfully weaving together details of fact and circumstance into a vivid narrative. The world will never weary of the story of the Maid of Orleans. Miss Parr has recently told it with fulness and characteristic grace, but Mrs. Bray will command a large circle of young readers. She has carefully studied French authorities, not only recent historians, such as Henri Martin, but old chroniclers, such as Monstrelet, Commines, De la March, &c. No service to young people can be greater than that rendered by books like this.—*Brave Hearts.* By ROBERTSON GRAY. (Sampson Low and Co.) A very clever American story, which originally appeared in the pages of the 'Christian Union.' Its moral is that there is no heart so brave as that of a faithful woman. Its descriptions of American life, and especially of life in California, are full of vividness and power, sometimes approaching the power of the author of 'The Luck of Roaring Camp.' Mr. Robertson Gray has been hitherto unknown to English readers. This little book will go far to establish for him a high reputation.—*Walter Crane's New Toy Book.* Containing twenty-four pages of pictures. Designed by Walter Crane, and printed in colours by Edmund Evans. (G. Routledge.) The speciality of this book is in its illustrations, which are very spirited and clever, and admirably drawn and coloured. The stories are brief rhythmical versions of old nursery favourites—'Cinderella,' 'The Forty Thieves,' &c.; we do not remember so effective a book of pictures for very young children.—*The Children's Pleasure Book.* Containing Original Tales, Bi-

ographies, and sundry Readings, with two hundred and fifty Illustrations. (Virtue and Co.) We can scarcely agree with the compiler that the mission of 'Alice's Adventures in Wonderland' was to strike a blow at bold simplicity, and then retire from the field: Alice will live as long as Cinderella. He has, however, produced a very charming book, which will bear what he calls the 'Human Test,' that is, it appeals to complicate human feeling, its imaginations, as well as its literalness; to the wondering thoughts of children, as well as to their simplicity, it is a selection such as the title describes, made with a good deal of insight into child nature. We think that it will be a great favourite. The illustrations are profuse and good.—*Pioneers of the Christian Faith.* By A. GRUAR FORBES. With eight Plates.—*King's Beeches; Stories of Old Chums.* By STEPHEN J. MACKENNA. With eight Plates.—*Six by Two; Stories of Old Schoolfellows.* By EDITH DIXON and M. de MORGAN. With eight Plates. (Virtue and Co.) Three volumes of a new series, entitled the 'Crown Library,' which, by their neatness, cheapness, and literary qualities, seem likely to be favourites.—*Pioneers of the Christian Faith* is a series of Biographical Sketches of Augustine, Wyckliffe, Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, Huss, Ridley, Knox, &c., down to modern missionaries. The best authorities have been selected. The sketches are carefully written in a spirit of fairness, and with wisdom.—*King's Beeches.* 'Red Weskit' had been major-domo for fifty years at King's Beeches, an educational establishment for young gentlemen. His jubilee is celebrated by a presentation and a feast, out of which the reminiscences come which make up the school-boy stories of the volume. They are well told, and are redolent of school-boy life.—*Six by Two* is a book of similar school-girl stories. Miss De Morgan's stories are the best, and promise for the future literary fruit of rich flavour. 'The French Girl at School' is tender and charming. The entire series is clever.—*Parables for Children.* By the Rev. E. A. ABBOTT, D.D., with Illustrations. (Macmillan.) A series of Parabolic Stories, or Sermons for Little Children, chiefly founded upon the ideas of Our Lord's Parables. Very charming in their simplicity, and most wise and holy in their lessons.—*The King's Servants.* By HESBA STRETTON. (Henry S. King and Co.) Full of a very tender pathos, and of very beautiful sentiment. The old widow of the weaver tells the story of their love-struggles and faithfulness; her trials, temptations, and victory. The literary power and descriptive beauty of this little book are very great. It is worthy of the author of 'Jessica's First Prayer.'—*Little Laddie.* By the Author of 'Little Mother,' with twenty-four Illustrations by L. Frölich.—*Life of a Bear; His Birth, Education, and Adventures.* (Seeley's.) Two pretty little stories for juveniles of four or five. The type is clear and the illustrations good. Herr Frölich's sepia style is well known to readers of 'Little Rosy's Travels.' Perky little Johnny will be a favourite.—*The Reef, and other Parables.* By EDWARD HENRY BICKERSTETH. (Sampson Low.) A series of

pleasant and suggestive parabolic stories. The first, for example, narrates how a boy rowing about in a forbidden boat drifted away to a reef, whence he was rescued by a pilot when on the point of being drowned. The pilot is Christ, rescuing sinful men. The parable, however, is pointed storywise, not sermonwise. Its meaning is elicited in a dialogue. A tender, earnest spirit breathes through these apologies. They are pleasant Sunday afternoon reading.—*Janet Darney's Story; a Tale of Fisher-life in Chale Bay.* By SARAH DOUDNEY. (Religious Tract Society.) A touching, well-told tale of fisher-life, with all its perils, its romance, and its large human-heartedness; beautifully illustrated with delicate woodcuts of cliff and cavern and sea.—*Waiting for a Crown; or, the Early Years of King David.* By the Author of 'Hetty's Resolve.' With Twenty-six Illustrations. (Seeley's.) The story of David's life is here told in a well-arranged and continuous narrative, from his anointing by Samuel as the shepherd boy of Bethlehem, through all the vicissitudes which brought him in after years to the kingdom and the crown.—*Elsie's Choice: a Story.* By the Author of 'May's Garden.' With Eight Illustrations. (Seeley's.) *Strawberry Bank; or, Home from India.* With Eight Coloured Illustrations. (Seeley's.) Both of these stories will find favour with our young friends, because they give vivid pictures of child-life, with its varied sorrows and joys, its naughtinesses and retributions, and with all its funny, delightful contrivances for doing little mischiefs without evil intention, sometimes even under the delusion that its deeds are meritorious. 'Home from India' will be the more popular of the two, especially with juveniles. It comes from the same graceful pen as 'Busy Bee,' and shows the same entire comprehension of, and sympathy with, child-nature. Its illustrations are brilliant.—*The Mists of the Valley.* By AGNES GIBBERNE. (Seeley's.) We like this less. It is the story of a gentle girl who, deprived of her mother by the results of a railway collision, is cast upon the care of a sceptical uncle, and hence we are treated to many of the doubts so rife in these days of unrest concerning the authority of the Bible, the way of salvation, the value and efficacy of prayer, and other vital questions which should not, we think, be suggested to youthful story readers. The book is doubtless written with high aim, but we fear it may raise spectres that it will be powerless to lay.—*Vivian and his Friends; or, Two Hundred Years Ago.* By GEORGE E. SARGENT. (Religious Tract Society.) This story takes us back to the days of the Commonwealth, and to the scenes of those stormy times which intervened between the rule of Cromwell and the Revolution of 1688. Charles Vivian, the central figure of the tale, is brought into contact with John Milton, Philip Henry, John Bunyan, and others who are represented as aiding his spiritual progress by their counsels and experience. The devastations of the Plague and of the great Fire of London are sketched with some power. We think it would have been better if the events had been left to speak their own moral, and much of sermoniz-

ing had been spared.—*The House of Bondage.* By EMMA JANE WORBOISE. (Clarke and Co.) 'The House of Bondage' seems to represent in the mind of our authoress any and every variety of narrow view, whether doctrinal, ecclesiastical, or social. The high Calvinist, the Ritualist, and the extreme Evangelical are alike enclosed in her 'House of Bondage'; and not less so are all those people who, having made stringent laws unto themselves on every conceivable subject, can allow no one to take any stand-point save that which they occupy, nor to see any ray of light or tinge of colour save through their eyes. Miss Worboise introduces us to a perplexing number of characters, who are in all manner of ways shut up in houses of bondage, but by a variety of contrivances and influences she succeeds at length in bringing many of them out into a broad place. If our readers wish to see how these deliverances are effected, we must refer them to the manifold incidents, the lengthy discussions, and the homiletic exhortations with which these pages teem.—Messrs. Smith and Elder have opportunely reprinted for Christmas time Thackeray's famous burlesque of the *Rose and the Ring*, with all the original illustrations. The book is as nearly as possible what the original was. We envy children who for the first time will make acquaintance with Prince Giglio and Prince Bulbo. There is no resisting M. A. Titmarsh even in a burlesque.—*Mountain, Meadow, and Mere; A Series of Outdoor Sketches of Sport, Scenery, Adventure, and Natural History.* By G. CHRISTOPHER DAVIES, with Sixteen Illustrations. (Henry S. King and Co.) Country boys will delight in this book. It is a series of spirited sketches contributed to the *Field* and other magazines, about fishing, shooting, hunting. The descriptive parts are good, and the vignette illustrations fairly done, the two or three caricatures especially.—*Fables and Fancies.* By BEATA FRANCIS. (W. Isbister and Co.) There is a good deal of ingenious fancy in the fables. The 'Pink Cat' is an amusing apologue, full of sly humour and subtle suggestions. Miss Francis has a partiality for cat-nature. Two or three of her sketches turn upon it.—*Fantastic Stories.* By RICHARD LEANDER. Translated by Paulina B. Granville. (Henry S. King and Co.) Mr. Leander tells us that these dream-fancies beguiled the dreary siege of Paris; that he sent them home by the field-post as they were created, to his children in the German Fatherland, and found on his return home that they had grown to a volume. A graceful and ingenious fancy runs through them all. The visit of George to Dream Land, his marriage, and invisible kingdom, is very clever. It is a charming book of airy fancies.—*Sybil's Friend, and how She Found Him.* By FLORENCE MARRYAT. (Routledge.) A simple and pathetic story of a little orphan girl, whose father died in India, and who fell into unfeeling and cruel hands during the voyage to England; who was taught about Jesus by Mr. Williams, a missionary, and who found a kind and loving home with her grandmother in London. The prominent feature of the story is the harsh cruelty of Mrs. Barlow and Mrs. Hawkins.—

Tell Mamma. By the author of 'A Trap to Catch a Sunbeam.' (Routledge.) This is not so juvenile a book as its title would indicate. It is a story of two families of young girls, and illustrates by contrasts the misfortune of want of confidence, especially in love affairs, between mothers and daughters.—*Blanche and Beryl, or the Two Sides of Life.* By MADAME DE SROLZ. (Routledge.) A pleasant French story, illustrating the importance of temperament in life. Blanche is the optimist, Beryl the pessimist. They pass through vicissitudes of fortune and feeling, and optimism has the best of it. It is comforting to add, however, that pessimism is cured, and Beryl becomes a first-rate aunt.—*In His Name; A Story of the Dark Ages.* By EDWARD E. HALE. (Sampson Low.) A story of Lyons, of the time of Peter Waldo, the heroine being the daughter of his brother Jean, who accidentally swallowed a decoction of poisonous herbs. She is saved by the skill of one of the Reformers. 'In His Name' is their password, and the story recites incidents illustrative of its social power.—*At School with an Old Dragon.* By STEPHEN J. MACKENNA. (Henry S. King.) Captain Blunt, the disinherited son of a good family, who has greatly distinguished himself in his profession, keeps an academy for youths intended for the services, and engages Mr. Orme as his mathematical teacher. Captain Blunt is a generous, noble-hearted old soldier, and in the jolly evenings of the establishment, he tells the dozen military stories here set down. They are well written, and have a pleasant freshness of incident and truth about them. One of the longest, 'The Captain's Baptism of Fire,' narrates the Captain's own early military experience with the British Legion under Sir Lacy de Evans, in Spain. The stories relate military experiences in many parts of the world.—*Pictures of School Life and Boyhood.* Selected from the best authors, and Edited by PERCY FITZGERALD. (Cassell's.) Sketches of school life, French and English, from works like 'Tom Brown's Schooldays,' 'Eric,' Franklin's 'Autobiography,' Hugh Miller's 'My Schools and Schoolmasters,' and other works treating of school-boy experiences, set in an appropriate editorial framework, Sir George Linden being the reader. One or two of the readings are original. The idea is a good one, and the volume very interesting.—*Soldiers and Servants of Christ; or, Chapters on Church History.* By ANNA LEHRER. (Nisbet and Co.) A series of sketches intended to exhibit to young people the more important epochs of the history of the Christian Church. They are in the form of short stories, and dramatically exhibit various epochs from the days of the Apostles to the time of the English Reformation. The book has already reached a second edition. The sketches are carefully done, and will interest young people.—*Una's Choice.* By J. HINGSTON WAKEHAM. (John F. Shaw.) A story of Irish religious life during the civil war, about a century after the Reformation. It is intended to exhibit, through the trials of an individual life, the evil spirit of Popery, and the actual state of things when Paul Jones besieged Dublin and the Marquis of Or-

monde was trying in vain to save Ireland for Charles; and when the army of Cromwell harried the land, and Drogheda fell, after indescribable suffering. There is in it a little tendency to fine writing; but the story is interesting and instructive, inasmuch as it tells us of what is but little known. The character of Hugh, the faithful Romanist, is a noble one, and well drawn.—*The African Cruiser: A Midshipman's Adventure on the West Coast.* By S. WHITCHURCH SADLER, R.N. (Henry S. King.) A narrative of adventures on board her Majesty's gunboat *Planet*, an African cruiser employed in the suppression of the slave trade. The stories of slayers chased, of vessels seized, of attempted assassinations, and of perils of fighting and fever are exciting enough. Real adventure is here, as at any time, a match for romance.—*Maggie's Mistake: A Schoolgirl's Story.* By the Author of 'Aunt Annie's Stories.' With illustrations by L. FROLICH. (Seeley's.) Maggie tells her own story; she is an orphan brought up by Aunt Sophia, and sent to school; the story narrates her school experience. She describes herself as a self-willed disagreeable child, and the effects which her self-will produced; one of which was that she nearly lost her life. The story is a wholesome one, and well told.—*Mrs. Mainwaring's Journal.* By EMMA MARSHALL. (Seeley's.) A very pleasant and tender journal of a mother's experiences written after the manner of 'Lady Willoughby's Diary.' It begins the month after she was married. Mrs. Mainwaring is the wife of a lawyer in a county and cathedral town, who fills the office of registrar. Her bridal inexperience, her religious life, her social relations, her maternal methods and feelings, and the marrying and giving in marriage of her children, and then her own golden wedding day, are simply and charmingly told. The quietness of it is relieved by the account of a fire. The book is full of goodness and wisdom.—*The Early Heroes of the Temperance Reformation.* By WILLIAM LOGAN (Scottish Temperance League.) Mr. Logan here chronicles the zeal and self-sacrifice of some of the noble men who have by their own total abstinence sought to redeem men from the vice of drunkenness. Lyman Beecher, of the United States—(why is Mr. Gough omitted?), John Dunlop, William Collins, Joseph Livesey, Robert Gray Mason, Edward Morris, Robert Kettle, William Martin, Father Matthew, and others not much known to fame, but full of moral heroism, and to be held in honour, whether their principle of reformation be accepted or not.—*Home Life in the Highlands.* By LILIAN GREME. (Griffith and Farrer.) Very pleasant descriptions of Highland scenery and adventures, as experienced by Mr. Leicester's family, whom misfortune had overtaken, and whose cousin had lent them his shooting box for the summer; there, in a pleasant circle of Highland lairds, the kirk minister, and others, they spent a pleasant summer, and laid the foundations of future tender relationships.—*Illustrated Games of Patience.* By Lady ADELAIDE CADOGAN. (Sampson Low and Co.) Everybody knows the game of 'Patience,' and the fascination for

even clever men that it often has. But few, perhaps, know that the game may be infinitely diversified. Lady Cadogan here gives us descriptions, rules, and diagrams of twenty-four varieties. The diagrams are coloured, and the book is well got up. It will be a great boon to young folk, especially to the one solitary child who is at a loss for games at which one alone can play.

SERIALS.

It is impossible to characterize the multitudinous serials that come under our notice. And yet their influence in the education of all classes of the nation is so great that it probably surpasses even that of books. There is perhaps an excess of fiction to which even grave religious periodicals contribute. Novels, good, bad, and indifferent are poured forth almost daily, and are devoured with an almost morbid appetite. But it is a question how far this is for good or for evil. Happily, with very few exceptions, these fictions are wholesome in character—many of them are most potent teachers of virtue, nobleness, and religion—and possibly if they were not read nothing else would be. The enormous circulation of some of the periodicals of the day represents, no doubt, a vast literary gain upon the days of our fathers. Better read fiction than not read at all. Perhaps the clearest gain is the popular and attractive forms in which the most solid information is given. No one can turn over the pages of the score or two volumes which lie before us, without being impressed with the vast amount of most important instruction on almost every useful and scientific subject which week by week is sent into our homes. It would be difficult to over-estimate the educational influences which in this way serial literature is exercising. We cannot do better service than direct attention to such as have come under our notice.

The *Art Journal*, 1873. (Virtue and Co.) At the head of English serials, and so far as we know of the serial literature of Europe, is the *Art Journal*, which, for nearly forty years, has produced monthly, not only a record of all that is best in British art, but engravings of a very high class, criticisms of artistic works by accomplished scholars, and picturesque descriptions of monumental art by learned antiquarians and artists, constituting a cyclopædia and chronicle of artistic matters, which to art students is simply invaluable; while the volumes have long been recognized as the chief and most instructive adornment of the drawing-room table. The unconscious art education which families receive from them is hardly to be exaggerated. The chief features of the present volume are 'Halls and Castles of the Dee,' by Dean Howson and A. Rimmer; various papers on the Exhibition at Vienna in its art aspects; 'Life on the Upper Thames,' by H. R. Robertson; 'Art in the Belfry,' by Llewellyn Jewitt; 'Venetian Painters,' by W. B. Scott;

'Chapters towards a History of Ornamental Art,' by F. Edward Hulme; 'Marine Contributions to Art,' by P. L. Simmonds; with art notices of the Exhibition of the year, obituary notices, criticisms of great pictures, &c. The principal engravings are J. C. Horsley's 'Detected,' Pinwell's 'Strolling Player,' Miller's 'Ariel,' Wood's 'Juliet in the Cell of Father Lawrence,' Linnell's 'The Nest,' Paul Veronese 'Venice Triumphant,' Gilbert's 'Shylock after the Trial.' Each number containing three highly finished engravings. No English middle-class home should be without the *Art Journal*.—The *Fine Art Annual* is the second Christmas number of the *Art Journal*. In addition to two fine full-paged engravings, 'The Syren,' by J. E. Middleton—the painter of 'Effie Deans in Prison,' and 'The Yellow Haired Laddie,' by G. J. Hay, it contains 'Thoroughbred'—a well told story by Edmund Yates, sketching life in a Government office and in California, and showing how a London exquisite was transformed by the power of love. Mr. William B. Scott contributes a paper on the Pictorial representations of St. Christopher; Mr. Simcox a poem entitled 'Bonna and Brunoro'; Mrs. Cashel Hoey a story entitled 'Ralph's Silver Whistle'; Tom Hood a kind of poetical fable entitled 'The Druids'; S. Gordon a Morality, 'One Christmas Eve by the Light of the Fire'; Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen 'The Fairy Oak'; Rev. J. Allanson Picton a 'Legend of the Hartz Mountains'; M. Gounod 'Music to an Old Ballad'; Dr. J. C. Lynch, a 'Parlour Play,' &c. It is a pleasant miscellany of clever and characteristic things. Messrs. Cassell, Petter, and Galpin deservedly take the first place, for the abundance and excellence of their popular serial publication.—The two magazines, the *Quiver*, and *Cassell's Magazine*, differ chiefly in the religious element introduced into the former. A series of able practical religious papers, sermons, essays, and scriptural lessons make it a valuable Sunday companion; only the couple of novels that are 'run' with them would be a sore temptation to young readers. The serial stories through the year have been Mr. Hope's 'Three Homes'; Patsy's 'First Glimpse of Heaven'; 'Jeanie Herring's Truth will out'; Alton Clyde's 'Better than Gold'; and 'Queen Madge.' The stories in *Cassell's Magazine* have been F. W. Robinson's 'Little Kate Kirby'; Hesba Stretton's 'The Doctor's Dilemma'; 'The Miller of Scawton Dale,' by the author of 'Gilbert Ruge'; 'A Campaign in Kabylia,' by MM. Erckmann-Chatrian. Both magazines have the usual assortment of capital papers on all sorts of things.—*Little Folks*, as its title implies, is a serial for children, and is in every respect most admirable; the best, we think, of its class.—*Illustrated Travels: a Record of Discovery, Geography, and Adventure*. Edited by H. W. Bates, Assistant-Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society. With engravings from original drawings by celebrated artists. Few books reach us that are more welcome than the annual volume of 'Illustrated Travels.' It is an Album for the minor records of travel-

ling achievements and adventure, and is full of interest and instruction. The papers are generally short; the longer accounts being divided into portions. As specimens of the contents of the present volume we may mention—Half a dozen papers on Eastern Russia, by Mr. R. Mitchell, F.R.G.S.; eight very interesting papers on Japan and the Japanese by the Rev. J. Summers; four on Norway by Frank Usher; three, giving an account of an Australian Search Party by Charles Henry Eden; three, on the French Exploration in 1866 of Cambodia and Indo-China; three, giving an account of a year's tramp in Colorado; three on Cracow and the Salt Mines of Wieliczka by George Gladstone, F.R.G.S.; three, giving an account of a Captivity by the Honduras Indians; three on Rajpootana by Lieut. C. R. Low; three of Recollections of Spanish Travel by Mrs. F. W. Holland; with a great variety of other papers narrating travelling achievements and adventures in Ceylon, Raratonga, Borneo, China, the Himalayas, Honolulu, Jynteeland, Madagascar, Persia, Peru, &c. The narratives are popular and full of information, and the illustrations are profuse. For boys the book is unsurpassed.—*The Popular Educator* is reissued, revised to the present date. It is a series of scientific papers, usually by distinguished men, on almost every subject belonging to a good education, from arithmetic to voltaic electricity; thousands of young men must find it an invaluable manual.—*The Popular Recreator* performs the same function for amusements. It contains papers on all sorts of games in the field, in the playground, and the home, explaining their principles and rules. Perhaps the most notable of Messrs. Cassell's enterprises during the year has been the publication of the first volume of *The Bible Educator*, which promises to be one of the most useful and important of their popular works. It is a miscellany of papers on subjects connected with the Bible, such as the literature of the Sacred Books, the Exegesis of difficult passages, Geography, Biography, History, Zoology, Botany, Ethnology, Music, Prophecy, Inspiration, &c., all treated in a popular way by some of the ablest scholars of the day. The editor, Professor Plumptre, has gathered round him a staff of contributors equal to that of any of the more pretentious Biblical Dictionaries, the names of Dr. Payne Smith, the Rev. Stanley Leathes, Professor Milligan, Dr. Hanna, Rev. F. Moulton, Rev. J. B. Heard, &c., are a sufficient guarantee of research, learning, and excellence. Some of the papers are almost exhaustive essays. We do not, for example, remember to have read a wiser and more able treatise than that of Dr. Farrer on 'Inspiration.' For families and Sunday-school teachers it will be a mine of riches.—*The Illustrated History of the War, between France and Germany*, is completed with the twenty-fourth part. It is a popular narrative carefully gathered from newspapers and other available sources of information, carefully and soberly written, and profusely illustrated. By far the best hitherto published.—*British Battles on Land and Sea*, by JAMES GRANT, Author of 'The Romance of War,' is a popular account

of the chief battles in English History, also profusely illustrated. We are a little doubtful about the feeling to which such recitals appeal; we have no wish that our boys shall be inflamed with the war spirit; and yet the romance of these narratives is such that few boys can resist their attraction.—*Old and New London*. Illustrated. Vol. I. A Narrative of its History; its People and its Places. By WALTER THORNBURY—appeals to a very different feeling. We are glad to find by the unfailing test of the school-room that the romance of the City is as attractive as the romance of the Battle Field. Mr. Thornbury tells his story in an attractive manner, especially the episodes of history and the anecdotes of personages, which are so plentiful in it.—*The Races of Mankind*. Vol. I. Being a popular description of the Characteristics, Manners, and Customs of the Principal Varieties of the Human Family. By ROBERT BROWN, M.A., &c., President of the Royal Physical Society, Edinburgh. The title of this work sufficiently indicates its character, and the name of its author exemplifies the practice of Messrs. Cassell to employ in their most popular work the best scientific authorities that they can procure. The Physical History of Mankind is of increasing scientific and theological interest in connection with the common origin of the race. Dr. Brown's work is equally lucid, interesting, and trustworthy.—*The Book of the Horse*. By S. SIDNEY, Manager of the Islington Horse Show. The author expounds everything connected with horses, carriages, and their management, that for both scientific and practical uses their keepers can need to know. All kinds of carriages are described; coachmen, grooms, gardeners, &c., are discussed; the different points of horses, and their various breeds are treated; sketches are given, and anecdotes are told of the most famous horse breeders. To all who have to do with horses it will be a valuable manual.—Messrs. J. Clarke and Co.'s *Happy Hours* is a weekly journal of instruction and recreation containing Serial Stories, with Sections for Young Folks, Quiet Talks, the Playhour, &c., with the usual miscellany of Sketches, Poetry, &c. The tone of the magazine is religious and bright. It contains much good reading. Marianne Farningham is its presiding spirit.—*The Christian World Magazine* is a similar publication appearing monthly under the editorial care of Emma Jane Worboise. Her own stories appear in it. Mrs. Hall (*née* Sibree) contributes a very charmingly written story of the 'Siege of Hull,' Miss Farningham 'Lessons in Patience.' It is not easy to discriminate in words the speciality of each magazine, but it is distinctly felt. Both are heartily to be commended.—Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton, in the *Preacher's Lantern*, Vol. III., provide a valuable miscellany of papers and sermons for preachers. The present volume contains a series of thoughtful papers on the 'Science of Faith,' and other subjects, by Professor van Oosterzee; another—racy, anecdotal and characteristic—'The Lantern Turned on the Preacher,' by Mr. Jacox; another, on the 'Villages of the Bible,' by the Rev. Paxton Hood. A series of outlines

of sermons by the late Caleb Morris from some hearer's note-book is also given. The work is vigorous and wise.—*The Christian Family*, a penny monthly, is a useful little miscellany of religious papers. Many churches have localized it by having their own wrapper and church calendar printed for it—a wise and useful thing. The present volume contains some memorials of Sundays with the Rev. T. T. Lynch.—*The Congregationalist*, edited by the Rev. R. W. Dale, contains some very able papers:—Series, on 'Religious Revivals;' on the 'Whole Armour of God,' by J. Baldwin Brown; on 'Middle Class Education;' 'Ecclesiastical Sketches of Notabilities in the Church'—singularly wise and able; with miscellaneous papers on theological and ecclesiastical subjects. As the monthly organ of the Congregationalist Churches, it is in every way worthy of the principles that it advocates. Messrs. W. Isbister and Co.'s *Good Words* and *Sunday Magazine* maintain their high excellence. Both 'run' serials. Those of the former are 'The Prescotts of Pamphillon' and 'Lady Bell.' Among the other papers are the very clever 'Fables for Young and Old,' by H. A. Page; Dr. Carpenter on the 'Gulf Stream' and on 'Spectrum Analysis;' Dr. Tulloch on 'William the Silent;' Canon Kingsley's 'Winter in the Rocky Mountains' and 'Spring in Mexico;' and Augustus Hare's 'Pictures of Italian Life.' Those of the *Sunday Magazine* are 'Crooked Places,' by Edward Garrett; 'In Reformation Times,' by the author of 'Papers for Thoughtful Girls;' 'Against the Stream,' by the author of 'The Schönberg-Cotta Family;' 'Our District,' by a River-side Visitor, with a miscellany of solid and attractive papers for Sunday reading.—Messrs. Henry S. King and Co. have fulfilled their promise in the *Day of Rest*, which, throughout the year, has maintained a high level of thoughtful and interesting religious papers, and is not inferior to the best of the older serials. Perhaps the most notable series of papers is 'To Rome and Back, by one who has made the journey' (Rev. J. M. Capes).

All the papers are religious. Among the contributors are the Rev. Dr. Vaughan, the Rev. T. Binney, the Rev. S. Cox, Hesba Stretton, &c.—*Good Things for the Young of all Ages*, edited by George Macdonald, is a singularly rich and handsome volume, aiming at something higher than mere amusement, and very successfully investing useful information with the fascination of romance. Its chief features are a capital anonymous story, 'Marquise and Rosette;' or, the Adventures of Jean Paul and his White Mice, which runs through the volume; a series of 'Little Lectures on Common Things about Ourselves,' by Emily Coulten, which gives clever expositions of our physiological structure; William Gilbert, under the guise of fairy stories told by Hassan, entitled 'Sindbad in England,' ingeniously tells some of the fairy tales of modern science. Clever little sketches, stories, riddles, poems, &c., fill this charming volume, and make it a wonderful cyclopædia of amusing wisdom for little folks and their elders.—The Religious Tract Society continue the *Leisure Hour*, and the *Sunday at Home*. Both are to be commended for the tact with which the editor selects their diversified contents, and maintains their great excellence. All classes of readers are catered for, and scarcely anything is provided that is not good. Biographies, Railways, Travels, English labourers, Natural history, Sermons, Poems, Serial stories, by their profusion and goodness, baffle specification.—*The Child's Companion* is a little miscellany for very little children.—Messrs. James Clarke and Co., in the *Christian World Pulpit*, furnish a weekly supply of contemporary sermons often of high excellence. Mr. Ward Beecher's weekly Plymouth sermon is regularly reproduced.—*The Literary World* is a weekly miscellany of reviews and extracts from the principal new books, done with great care and ability, sufficiently critical to be a guide to book purchasers, and sufficiently popular to be independently interesting.

THE
BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW,

FOR APRIL, 1874.

ART. I.—*Authors and Publishers.*

Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondents: A Memorial. By his Son, THOMAS CONSTABLE. Three vols. Edinburgh. 1873.

THE publication of the literary correspondence of Archibald Constable, the great Edinburgh bookseller—‘Hannibal Constable,’ as Leyden called him with pride; ‘the grand Napoleon of the realms of print,’ as Scott dubbed him in jest; ‘the prince of booksellers,’ as James Mill saluted him in all sincerity—reopens an interesting chapter in the literary history of the last generation. Constable’s career was closely connected with the starting of a new era in our literature, regarded both as a profession and as a trade. Of the chief men who took part in this movement, either as authors or as publishers, these volumes afford many interesting notices—of some only tantalizing glimpses, of others full and satisfying details. The work owes its value in this respect, not merely to Constable’s position as a leading publisher, with a wide connection among the foremost literary men and women of his time, but also to Constable’s character as a man, which was such as to command confidence and provoke friendship, far beyond the ordinary range of business relations.

Before going further, we are bound to acknowledge the fairness, delicacy, and tact, as well as to commend the literary skill, with which, in these volumes, Constable’s son has discharged a difficult and, in some respects, a painful task. He has nothing extenuated, nor ought set down in malice, though the provocation to transgress in both directions,

when we remember Lockhart’s gross misrepresentations and rude ridicule, to say nothing of Campbell’s sneers, was by no means small. In connection with the history of the Scott-Ballantyne failure in particular, the biographer might fairly have claimed for himself considerable licence of vituperation. But he has, as wisely as courageously, resisted this temptation, and has confined himself almost exclusively to stating facts and quoting documents, leaving it to his readers to make the legitimate deductions and animadversions. The result is such a portrait of Archibald Constable, the man and the publisher, as does justice at once to the integrity of the father and to the fidelity of the son, and as satisfies the expectations both of the student of literary history and of the student of human nature. Indirectly, literature owes this man a very great debt of gratitude. Sir James Mackintosh, writing to him in sympathetic terms after the great crash of 1826, says, ‘You have done more to promote the interest of literature than any man who has been engaged in the commerce of books.’ (vol. ii. p. 378). He first set the fashion of enlightened liberality towards authors, a fashion which his rivals were forced to follow. He stimulated the public taste for pure and sound literature; and he was the first to show how works of the highest class might be brought within the reach of the masses, without fear or risk of failure. Then, in order to realize the extent of his direct services to literature, and to freedom of thought, we have only to remember that he was the first publisher of the *Edinburgh Review*, that he infused new life into the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, that through him Scott’s poems, most of his novels, and the

best of his miscellaneous works, were given to the world, and that his *Miscellany* was, as his biographer says, 'undoubtedly the pioneer and suggester of all the various "libraries" which sprang up in its wake.' It is interesting to find in the memoir abundant proof that the great bookseller was also a good and estimable man—good in all the relations of life—a loving husband, an affectionate and judicious parent, a fast and trusted friend.

In one respect the plan of Constable's memoir is open to objection. It carries us repeatedly over the same period of time, and forces us to traverse, over and over again, though in different company, the same ground. The third volume, which is devoted to his connection with Sir Walter Scott, is to a great extent self-contained and self-explanatory. But, in the first and second volumes, each chapter deals with his connection with one correspondent, or at most with three or four. Thus, in company with his partner A. G. Hunter, we traverse the years from 1803 to 1811. In the next chapter we return to 1802, and go on with Tom Campbell to 1810. John Leyden brings us back again to 1800, and we advance in his pleasant company to 1808. The account of Alexander Murray, the Orientalist,—a monograph, let it be said in passing, of rare literary and personal interest, a portrait of a sterling, hard-headed, independent, and withal modest Scot—carries us back to 1794, and forward to 1812. Nor is this all; the same topics turn up again and again in different connections. To take but one example, Constable's quarrel with Longman is mentioned first in the general account of the *Edinburgh Review* (vol. i. p. 55). It comes up again in the chapter on A. G. Hunter (vol. i. p. 79); once more, in treating of his dealings with John Murray (vol. i. p. 338); and yet again in describing his competition with Murray, and with Longman, for the patronage of Sir Walter Scott (vol. iii. p. 32): and so with not a few other important items.

The method of the work has no doubt some advantages. In particular, it gives completeness and individuality to the descriptions of the separate correspondents; but this completeness of the parts is gained at a sacrifice of the unity and harmony of the whole. It makes the work analytic instead of synthetic, which such a work ought expressly to be. It presents us with a series of cabinet portraits, instead of with a historical picture. It furnishes the materials for such a picture in abundance; but it leaves the grouping and arranging—in a word the synthesis—to be done by the reader, and

that at a considerable expenditure of trouble, and with no little risk of error and misconception. But when every deduction has been made, on this or any score, the work must be admitted to be a sterling one; and, as *mémoires pour servir*, it cannot fail to be of the highest value to the student of modern literature and of modern society.

The work, however, has much wider bearings than those on the literature of the present century to which we have referred. It suggests a comparative inquiry, of great interest and value, into the relations which have subsisted, at different periods in the history of literature, between authors and publishers, or rather between authors on the one hand, and publishers and the public on the other. Sir Walter Scott says in his 'Life of Dryden,' 'That literature is ill-recompensed is usually rather the fault of the public than of the booksellers, whose trade can only exist by buying that which can be sold to advantage. The trader who purchased the "Paradise Lost" for £10 had probably no very good bargain.*' Curiously enough, this quotation enables us to bring together extremes of literary remuneration which are 'wide as the poles asunder;' for in the same year in which Scott wrote these words, he himself received from Constable £1,000 for the copyright of 'Marmion,' a price which, we believe, did not turn out to the disadvantage of the bookseller. We may therefore safely conclude, that when Scott alluded as above to 'Paradise Lost,' he did not refer to the intrinsic merit of Milton's immortal epic, but only to the conditions of popular taste, and commercial demand, under which it was produced. Scott's words make it plain that three factors have to be taken into account in appraising literary property—the labour of the author in producing his work, the desire of the public to possess it, and the risk of the publisher as a go-between in bringing the author and the public into contact.

In the earliest stages of literature there were no publishers in the modern sense, and there was scarcely any public. Before the introduction of printing the manner of publishing a book was to have it read on three days successively before one of the universities or some other recognised authority. If it met with approbation, copies of it were then permitted to be made by monks, scribes, illuminators, and readers,—men who were specially trained in the art, and who derived from it their maintenance. It does not appear that any portion of their gains was

* 'The Works of John Dryden, with Notes, &c., and a Life of the Author.' By Walter Scott, Esq. Vol. i., p. 392. Edinburgh: 1808.

transferred to the author. He did not look for remuneration in money for his literary labour. He found it, partly in fame, but chiefly in his appointment to some post, more or less lucrative, in Church or in State. Frequently authors became simply the pensioners of the great and noble, by whom no official services were expected. Chaucer appears to have been rewarded in both ways; at one time he was a pensioner-yeoman of Edward III., at another he was employed to hire ships for the king's service. At various times in his career he held offices in the customs. A modern poet,* who specially claims to call Chaucer 'master,' pictures for us—

'The clear Thames bordered by its gardens green.

While, nigh the thronged wharf, Geoffrey
Chaucer's pen

Moves over bills of lading.'

In the very year in which he is believed to have written the 'Canterbury Tales' he was appointed clerk of the king's works at Windsor. Yet towards the close of his life he seems to have been wholly dependent on his royal pensions and grants of wine. Thus there sprang, almost necessarily we may say, out of the primary condition of authors, that vile system of patronage which kept men of letters in a position of bondage for upwards of three centuries after our regular literature began.

The introduction of printing made but little difference to authors. It ere long did away with the university censorship; but books were so dear they were within reach of the means only of the very wealthy, on whose bounty, therefore, authors were still dependent; and very wretched was their lot. 'Rhetoric,' says Burton, in his 'Anatomy of Melancholie,' 'only serves them to curse their bad fortunes; and many of them, for want of means, are driven to hard shifts. From grasshoppers they turn humble bees and wasps—plain parasites—and make the muses mules, to satisfy their hunger-starved families, and get a meal's meat.' (A.D. 1621).

Spenser also has put on record his bitter feelings on the same subject with special reference to the misery of hangers-on at court. It is said that Queen Elizabeth designed an annuity for Spenser, but that it was withheld by Burleigh. He received, however, from the queen a grant of Kilcolman Castle when he was secretary to Lord Grey in Ireland; but evidently this complaint is wrong from him by his own bitter experience—

'Full little knowest thou, that hast not tried,
What hell it is, in suing long to bide:

To lose good days that might be better spent;
To waste long nights in pensive discontent;
To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow,
To feed on hope, to pine with fear and sorrow;
'To have thy princess' grace, yet want her peers';
'To have thy asking, yet wait many yeares';
To fret thy soul with crosses and with care:
To eat thy heart with comfortless despair;
To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run;
To spend, to give, to want, to be undone.*

Authorship could scarcely be subjected to a greater humiliation than that of John Stowe, the historian, in whose favour James I. granted letters patent under the great seal, permitting him 'to ask, gather, and take the alms of all our loving subjects.' Yet Stowe's case differed from that of hundreds of his contemporaries and successors only in that he was more honest than they. For while they were beggars in disguise, he was an avowed and properly licensed mendicant. His letters patent were read by the clergy from the pulpit in each parish which he visited. Other authors prefixed their begging letters to their works, in the shape of fulsome and lying dedications.

The dedication system naturally accompanied that of patronage. It very soon underwent those wonderful developments of which it was capable. In the time of Queen Elizabeth the practice had come into fashion of dedicating a work, not to one patron, but to a number. Spenser, in spite of his horror of fawning, has prefixed to the 'Faërie Queene' seventeen dedicatory sonnets, the last of which opened a wide door to volunteer patronesses, being inscribed 'To all the gracious and beautifull ladies in the court.' Over and above these outer dedications, be it remembered, the invocation with which the poem opens is addressed to Queen Elizabeth herself, along with the sacred Muse, Venus, Cupid, and Mars. The queen is further typified in the Faërie Queene herself; and to her the whole work is dedicated, presented, and consecrated, 'to live with the eternitie of her fame.'

Fuller has introduced in his 'Church History' twelve special title-pages besides the general one, each with a particular dedication attached to it; and he has added upwards of fifty inscriptions to as many different benefactors. Joshua Sylvester, the translator of Du Bartas, carried the vice of dedication to a still more ludicrous excess. In the collected edition of his works,† there are seventy separate dedications, in prose and verse, addressed to eighty-five separate individuals. Sometimes one short poem is

* From 'Prosopopola, or Mother Hubbard's Tale.'

† Folio, pp. 657, printed by R. Young in 1688.

* William Morris, in 'The Earthly Paradise.'

dedicated to half-a-dozen patrons. If the poet received the usual dedication fee from each, the speculation must have been as profitable as it was ingenious.* The second book of the 'Divine Works' contains fifteen separate dedications. One instance of his flattery is unique in its barefaced comprehensiveness. An 'elegiac epistle consolatorie' on the death of Sir William Sydney, is addressed to Lord and Lady Lisle (Sydney's parents), to Sir Robert Sydney their son, to Lady Worth their daughter, 'and to all the noble Sydneys and semi-Sydneys.' Surely the power of fawning could no further go! It is only to be hoped that it paid.

Nothing, certainly, could be more degrading to authors than that their success should depend, not on their merit, but on their powers of sycophancy; for it is unquestionable that the amount which a patron bestowed varied with the amount of flattery publicly awarded to him. The terms of adulation became most extravagant in the period after the Restoration, when, according to Disraeli, the patron was often compared with, or even placed above, the Deity. Then the common price of a dedication varied from £20 to £40; sometimes it was even more. After the Revolution the price fell to sums varying from five to ten guineas; in the reign of George I. it rose again to twenty, but from that time the practice gradually declined, as the booksellers became more and more recognised as the patrons of letters.

The fall of patronage, and of its concomitant, dedication, was hastened by the general adoption in the latter part of the seventeenth century of the method of publication by subscription. Before that, the booksellers were in the background. They were mere dealers in books. No opportunity was afforded them for enterprise. As soon, however, as subscription was introduced, the booksellers began to show themselves in the front. Subscribers represented to some extent the public—a limited and adventitious public, doubtless—but still a much wider public than was possible under the patronage régime. Now with the public thus introduced we have present the most important of the three factors which go to make a free and prosperous national literature. There was then an inducement for authors to do their best, and for publishers to aid them in

advancing their interests. Authorship then became possible as a liberal profession, and publishing became possible as an organized trade. It was a timid method of business, certainly, but it was a vast improvement on the method which it came to supersede. It was long before it accomplished much good, but it did accomplish lasting good in the end. In short, it was the transition stage from the system of patronage to the system of free and unfettered publication.

In truth, however, subscription was, in the first instance, only a more extended kind of patronage; and for a long time the two methods continued to exist side by side. Of this a remarkable example is afforded in the case of Dryden, who seems, however, to have had a wonderful aptitude for combining in his own experience all the methods of remunerating authorship in vogue in remote as well as in later times—official appointments, royal pensions, dedication fees, subscriptions, and copy money. He was poet laureate and historiographer royal;* he was, besides, a special annuitant of Charles II.—to whom the whilom eulogist of Cromwell justifies his submission in the sorry couplet—

'The poets who must live by courts, or starve,
Were proud so good a government to serve,'—

and he was collector of customs in the port of London, as Chaucer had been three hundred years before.

As regards dedication fees, it is notorious that no flattery was too fulsome, no depth of self-abasement too profound, for Dryden's mendicant spirit. If the pay was proportionate to the degree of adulation, he was certainly entitled to the maximum. He dedicated his translation of Virgil to three noblemen, with what Johnson calls 'an economy of flattery at once lavish and discreet.' What this investment of praise yielded him we do not know; but in his letter of thanks to one patron (Lord Chesterfield), he characterizes his lordship's donation as a 'noble present.' The extraordinary feature in this case, however, is, that in addition to dedication fees, Dryden received for his Virgil both subscriptions and copy money. The copy money consisted certainly of £50 for every two books

* Even Sylvester's ingenuity was surpassed by that of an Italian physician, of whom Disraeli tells us. Having written 'Commentaries on the Aphorisms of Hippocrates,' he dedicated each book of his commentaries to one of his friends, and the index to another.

* Both offices still exist; but it is surely time that such questionable and often invidious distinctions should be abolished, or at least that they should be deprived of their eleemosynary character. Thanks to such men as Archibald Constable, the men who deserve such honours no longer need the paltry salaries attached to them. Mr. Tennyson has effected the *reductio ad absurdum* of the laureateship. His salary is £200 a year; yet, if report speaks truly, his contract with his publishers yields him an annual return to be estimated in thousands.

of the 'Æneid,' and probably of the same sum for the 'Georgics' and the 'Pastorals.' The plan of subscription was ingeniously contrived so as to create a supplementary galaxy of patrons, each of whom was propitiated by what was in effect a special dedication. There were two classes of subscribers. Those in the first class paid five guineas each; those in the second class, two guineas. The inducement offered to the five guinea subscribers was that, in honour of each of them, there should be inserted in the work an engraving, embellished at the foot with his coat of arms. The bait took wonderfully. There were in the end one hundred and two subscribers of five guineas, representing the sum of 510 guineas, which, calculating the guinea, as Dryden did, at twenty nine shillings, amounted to £739 10s. Indeed, Dryden was a cunning speculator as well as a shrewd bargain-driver, as his publisher found to his cost. According to Pope's estimate, Dryden netted from his Virgil the sum of £1,200.

The publication of that work was the occasion of frequent bickerings, and the interchange of much strong language, between Dryden and his publisher, the famous Jacob Tonson (Jacob I., for there were three of that name and dynasty). Dryden's standing complaint against Tonson is, that he pays him in bad coin. 'You know,' he says, in one letter, 'money is now very scrupulously received; in the last which you did me the favour to change for my wife, besides the clip'd money, there were at least forty shillings brass.' In another he says that, when the eighth 'Æneid' is finished, he expects '£50 in good silver, not such as I have had formerly. I am not obliged to take gold, neither will I; nor stay for it four-and-twenty hours after it is due.' In another, 'I lost thirty shillings, or more, by the last payment of £50 which you made at Mr. Knight's.' Throughout the correspondence, Dryden treats Tonson in the rudest and most bearish manner possible. He usually addresses him abruptly as 'Mr. Tonson,' much as a gentleman might address his tailor.* In what Scott calls a 'wrathful letter,' which, however, made no impression 'on the mercantile obstinacy of Tonson,' he says, 'some kind of intercourse must be carried on betwixt us while I am translating Virgil. . .

. . . You always intended I should get nothing by the second subscriptions, as I found from first to last. . . . I then told Mr. Congreve that I knew you too well to believe you meant me any kindness.' In yet another grumbling epistle, Dryden says, 'upon trial I find all of your trade are sharpers, and you not more than others; therefore I have not wholly left you;' from all which it is evident that in Dryden's time the relations of publisher and author were still on a very unsatisfactory footing.

Dryden died in the last year of the seventeenth century; but, although at that very time the publishers, led by such men as the Tonsons and Lintot, were consolidating the publishing trade, they were still in the leading-strings of subscription; and during the greater part of the eighteenth century, patronage, with its correlative dedication, continued rampant. The world of letters was still dominated by such princely patrons as Somers, Harley, and Halifax, who were

'Fed with soft dedication all day long.'

This is all the more remarkable, since, at that very time, literature was making vigorous efforts to emancipate itself. Then popular literature took its rise in Defoe's *Review* and Steele's *Tatler*, and Steele and Addison's *Spectator*. No man ever stood out more determinedly as the enemy of patronage than Richard Steele, and all honour be to him for his powerful testimony. But Steele could afford to be independent; for he derived from his first wife the comfortable income of £670 a year. In the *Tatler*, he had boldly proclaimed his ambition 'to make our lucubrations come to some price in money, for our more convenient support in the public service.' Yet Steele had, in 1707, accepted the office of Gazetteer, with a salary raised by Harley from £60 to £300 a year; and in 1715, he was made Surveyor of the Royal Stables at Hampton Court. Steele ridiculed patronage as a 'monstrous' institution in the *Spectator*,* yet the first and second collected volumes of that serial were dedicated respectively to the arch-patrons, Lord Somers and Lord Halifax. This, however, may have been Addison's doing, who was the special foster-child of these noblemen, and who lived from first to last by his official employment. John Locke, according to Lord Macaulay, 'owed opulence to Somers;' and it was at Locke's death that Addison, in reward of writing the 'Campaign,' obtained, through Halifax, the post of Commissioner of Appeal in the Excise, which Locke had vacated. He received for

* But this was not peculiar to Dryden. Twenty years later we find Steele addressing Lintot, and Pope addressing Motte, in precisely the same style. See Carruther's 'Life of Pope,' pp. 96—251. By way of contrast, it is noteworthy that Sir Walter Scott usually addresses his publisher as 'My dear Constable.' Such trifles are not insignificant.

the post £200 a year, a sum which enabled him, no doubt, to leave his garret in the Haymarket. Every step he gained between that garret and Holland House, he owed to the same kind of influence. He was Under-Secretary of State, his chief being the Earl of Sunderland, to whom vol. vi. of the *Spectator* was dedicated, vol. iv. having previously been dedicated to Marlborough, Sunderland's father-in-law. Addison's next post was Chief Secretary for Ireland, during the vice-royalty of the notorious Lord Wharton, to whom vol. v. of the *Spectator* was dedicated, in terms which extolled his business capacity, but which were judiciously silent regarding his moral character. On the death of Queen Anne, Addison was made Secretary to the provisional Regency, and two years later he became Secretary of State. Addison was undoubtedly the first literary man of his time; yet, throughout his career, he was paid in political advancement for his literary labours; for it is well known that his business capacity was of the poorest order. No man ever had a better opportunity than Addison had of asserting the independence of literature, yet he was always willing to use it as his ladder, rather than as his stage.

In this Addison was by no means singular in his day. The chief of his contemporaries lived, or tried to live, by the same means; though few were so fortunate as he was. Defoe was secretary to the joint commission which drew up the Articles of Union, and was afterwards sent to Scotland on a special mission to advance its interests; but Defoe was twice fined and imprisoned for political libel, and on the earlier occasion at least was pilloried as well. Men of letters who lived by politics, had to take their share, not only of political profit, but also of political suffering. Prior, who was twice secretary to a foreign embassy (thanks to his patron Lord Dorset), and twice virtually an ambassador, was charged with high treason, in connection with the Treaty of Utrecht, and was imprisoned for two years. This sent him back to his fellowship and his books. He then published his poems by subscription, and realized £10,000. The Earl of Oxford played the grand patron and added other £10,000; and thus the poet's last days were comfortably provided for. Congreve was more fortunate. He received from Halifax (Addison's patron) different posts in the customs, which yielded him £800 a year; and after the accession of the house of Hanover, he was made Secretary to the Island of Jamaica, which nearly doubled his income. Gay was the most unlucky of all literary place-hunters. In 1714 he quitted his post of private

secretary to the Duchess of Monmouth, to accompany Lord Clarendon, Envoy Extraordinary to Hanover, in the capacity of secretary. Gay wrote to Pope in great glee about his good fortune. But he kept the post only for a month or two. He made several attempts, subsequently, to enlist Court favour on his behalf, but without success. Once he was offered a humble post, which he declined with indignation. That made his reputation; for to that disappointment, in all probability, we owe 'The Beggar's Opera.'* By the publication and performance of that play, and by the publication (by subscription, of course) of 'Polly,' a sequel to it, the performance of which was prohibited, Gay realized nearly £3,000.

These details serve to show us how great authors lived and were remunerated during the period that connects the reign of Dryden with the reign of Pope. Two things seem to be clearly demonstrated—that authors were not yet free from their bondage to personal and political patrons; and that publishers had not yet learned to rely on the patronage of the public. The latter were still, as Dryden called them, mere 'chapmen' of books; and their gains depended mainly on the amount of patronage, represented by subscriptions, which the influence of authors could bring them. In fact, their interest lay, as Dryden hinted very plainly to Tonson, in intercepting as large a share as possible of the subscriptions which passed through their hands.

The connecting link between Dryden and Pope, for our present purpose at least, was Jacob Tonson—'left-legged Jacob,' as Pope wickedly called him, referring to a personal deformity. In truth, however, the whole of Pope's satirical allusions to Tonson were somewhat ungenerous—though they were not the less Pope-ish on that account—for Tonson was the first bookseller who recognised Pope's merit. In 1706 he wrote to Pope in flattering terms, offering to publish, in his forthcoming *Miscellany*, Pope's 'Pastorals,' which he had seen in manuscript—an offer which Pope was too shrewd a man of business to reject; and the publication at once placed Pope in the front rank of the authors of his time. It was this transaction that suggested Wycherley's profane remark, that 'Jacob's ladder had raised Pope to immortality.' Yet, not long afterwards, we find Pope writing thus of his patron: 'Jacob creates poets as kings do knights; not

* Gay's theatre receipts from the opera amounted to £893 13s. 6d. The name of the manager who shared the profits with Gay, was Rich; which suggested the *mot* that "The Beggar's Opera" made Gay rich, and Rich gay.

for their honour, but for their money. Certainly he ought to be esteemed a worker of miracles who is grown rich by poetry.' The extent of Tonson's wealth is uncertain; but we know that when his nephew, Jacob II., died in 1735,—a year before the uncle closed his ledger for ever,—he left a fortune of £100,000, the greater part of which old Jacob inherited.

Pope, however, like Scott at a later period, found it advantageous to extend his publishing connections. Besides Tonson, he had dealings of one kind or another with Lintot, Curll, Dodsley, Gilliver, and Motte, to mention no others. With Curll, the supposed surreptitious publisher of his letters, his relations were anything but friendly. A ridiculous turn is given to these relations by an apocryphal story circulated by Curll, of an attempt which he believed, or pretended to believe, that Pope had made to poison him in a tavern, at their first and only meeting, in consequence of his having ascribed to Pope the authorship of 'The Court Poems,' three of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's 'Town Eclogues.' The publisher with whom Pope's name is chiefly associated, however, was Bernard Lintot. In one of his most biting and humorous prose sketches, Pope describes a journey to Oxford, performed in company with Lintot, whom he holds up to the most unmitigated ridicule. Yet Lintot was the publisher of Pope's *Homer*, a speculation from which he derived between £8,000 and £9,000, and which enabled him to set up his villa at Twickenham. This success allowed Pope to triumph over the slavery of patronage in a memorable couplet:—

'And thanks to Homer, since I live and thrive,
Indebted to no prince or peer alive.*

It was quite characteristic of Pope, however, that he should take credit for his emancipation to himself, and forget his obligations to the booksellers. He never was thin-skinned in these matters, or indeed in any matters affecting the reputation of others. His feelings towards Lintot, his undoubted benefactor, were not more grateful or generous than those with which he regarded Tonson and Curll. In the race described in the second book of the 'Dunciad,' in honour of the goddess of Dulness, Lintot and Curll are entered as rival candidates.

'But lofty Lintot in the circle rose:
"This prize is mine; who tempt it are my foes;

* Vain boast; for when he was offered £1,000 to suppress his attack on the Duchess of Marlborough, in the character of Atossa, he took the money, and nevertheless allowed the libel to be printed.

With me began this genius, and shall end."

He spoke: and who with Lintot shall contend?

Fear held them mute. Alone untaught to fear

Stood dauntless Curll: "Behold that rival here!
The race by vigour, not by vaunts, is won;
So take the hindmost, H——!" (he said) "and run."

Swift as a bard the bailiff leaves behind,
He left huge Lintot and outstripped the wind.
As when a dab-chick waddles through the copse
On feet and wings, and flies, and wades, and hops;

So labouring on, with shoulders, hands, and head,

Wide as a windmill all his figure spread,
With arms expanded Bernard rows his state,
And left-legged Jacob seems to emulate.*

Pope did not stand alone in his day in his contempt for the booksellers. It is told of Young, that when Tonson and Lintot both offered for one of his works, he answered both at a sitting. In his letter to Lintot, he called Tonson 'an old rascal.' In his letter to Tonson, he called Lintot 'a great scoundrel.' After folding the letters, he transposed their addresses, and each had the advantage of learning Young's true opinion of him without Young being aware of it.

The position of authors was at its worst when Samuel Johnson began his career in London. Macaulay compares the epoch to 'a dark night between two sunny days.' The age of patronage had passed away. The age of general curiosity and intelligence had not arrived. The political patronage of men of letters was extinguished by Walpole, who found probably that he could employ the civil list to better purpose in securing parliamentary support, than in buying the services of needy scribblers and miserable Grub-street hacks. This fact is generally quoted to Walpole's disadvantage; but it is very questionable whether he is really to be blamed for it. The immediate effects of his policy were very deplorable. In the end, however, it threw authors on their own resources; and it led to a complete change of policy on the part of the booksellers. Johnson came upon the scene in a time of literary famine, but he lived to see the change to which his own labours had in no small degree contributed. He was on very friendly terms with the booksellers. It is true that, in his lodgings, he once thrashed Tom Osborne for impertinence; but he was accustomed to dine with Tonson, then a rich man and a great power, on terms of equality. During the period of his early struggles, when he had often to go without a dinner, Cave, the publisher of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, was his hardest taskmaster; yet he esteemed Cave highly, and wrote his

life, in which he gave a generous estimate of his character. Of the booksellers as a class he, a bookseller's son, always spoke in terms of respectful gratitude. 'The booksellers,' he said, 'are generous, liberal-minded men;' and he dignified them as 'the patrons of literature.' Johnson spoke thus from his own experience of them, and not without reason. He contracted with them for 'The Lives of the Poets' at £200. They spontaneously gave him £300; and they added another £100 when the 'Lives' were issued as a separate publication. Of course it should be added that they could well afford to do so, as they cleared £5,000 by the work; but publishers, even in these days, are not always generous in proportion to their gains.

One important service which Johnson rendered to men of letters can never be forgotten. By his famous letter to Lord Chesterfield, the self-constituted patron of his 'Dictionary'—whether Chesterfield deserved his strictures or not—he gave its death-blow to the system of personal patronage.* Of Chesterfield's gratuitously complimentary essays in the *World*, he said to Garrick and other friends—'I have sailed a long and difficult voyage round the world of the English language; and does he now send out his cock-boat to tow me into harbour?'

A slight incident shows the estimate Johnson had formed of the struggle in which he had engaged. In the tenth satire of his 'Imitations of Juvenal,' a couplet on the vanity of authors' hopes originally stood thus:—

'Yet think what ills the scholar's life assail,—
Toil, envy, want, the garret and the jail.'

After his encounter with Chesterfield, the second line was altered to

'Toil, envy, want, the patron and the jail.'

Evidently Johnson considered 'the patron' entitled to the place nearest 'the jail' in the descending scale of authors' miseries.

There is a bookseller of Johnson's time, who stands out prominently from his contemporaries for liberality and kindness of heart. We refer to Andrew Millar, especially in his relations with Fielding. When James Thomson learned that Fielding had sold the copyright of 'Tom Jones' to a bookseller for £25, he advised him to break the contract. This he did. Thomson then introduced him to Millar, to whom he had himself been introduced by Mallet. They met at a tavern; and when Millar offered £200 for the MS., Fielding exhibited his de-

light by ordering two bottles of wine. Subsequently, Millar gave Fielding £1,000 for 'Amelia'—the same sum which, with what was thought startling and reckless liberality, Constable more than half a century later gave Scott for 'Marmion.' To the exertions of the same publisher, Dr. Burton attributes the success of Hume's 'History;' and Hume boasted that the copy-money he received 'much exceeded anything formerly known in England.' Well might Johnson say, 'I respect Millar, sir; he has raised the price of literature.'

Millar's, however, was unfortunately an exceptional case. Literature, as a trade, was at that time increasingly remunerative; but the men who fattened on it were the printers and booksellers, not the authors. Think of Goldsmith grinding as a domestic slave for Griffiths—to say nothing of Mrs. Griffiths—on the *Monthly Review*. His position was but little improved when he became a bondman to Newbery, living as tenant of a relation of Newbery's in Wine Office-court, Fleet-street, and doing an occasional stroke of business on his own account for Dodsley, Wilkie, and others. It is true that, towards the end of his career, he was rather run after by the booksellers. But poor Goldy was not the man to profit by such an unlooked-for turn of fortune. He had been trained in a bad school. His personal vanity and his gambling habits always kept him poor; and when he died £2,000 in debt, Johnson exclaimed, 'Was ever poet so treated before!' So matters continued till the end of the century. Gibbon, after the completion of his immortal work, was driven to reside permanently at Lausanne, not so much by taste, as by his straitened circumstances.* On the other hand, we may gather some idea of the prosperity enjoyed by the mechanical and material artificers in books from a 'valued file,' prepared by Timperley,† of the printers, booksellers, and stationers of the eighteenth century, in which we find seven members of parliament, five lord mayors of London, twenty authors, and twenty-two men of wealth and substance.

It was in the last decade of the eighteenth century—the point at which in our retrospect of the relations of publishers and authors we have now arrived—that Archibald Constable—then a young man of

* Yet Charles Knight thinks that, under the half-profit system, Gibbon's share would have been less than half of what he actually received.—'Shadows of the Old Booksellers,' pp. 227—8.

† 'A Dictionary of Printers and Printing, with the Progress of Literature, Ancient and Modern.' By C. H. Timperley. London: 1839.

* But not to that of official patronage. Johnson himself, in 1762, accepted, through Lord Bute, a royal pension of £300 a-year.

21 years—began business as a dealer in 'scarce old books'—'scarce o' books,' the wags read it—at the Cross of Edinburgh, on the very spot which had been occupied by Andro Hart, who published for Drummond of Hawthornden there, nearly two centuries before. It is evident that, before his time, what Macaulay calls 'the age of general curiosity and intelligence,' had begun to dawn. The fact that publishers and printers were realizing large fortunes cannot otherwise be accounted for. And no doubt the curious and intelligent public, whose patronage ultimately emancipated authors from their thralldom, was greatly increased in the general ferment, which is typified historically by the French Revolution. But the great and distinguishing service which Constable rendered to literature was, that he was the first publisher of modern times who systematically gave authors the benefit of the public patronage of letters. For in all his transactions the patron was not Archibald Constable himself, but the book-buying public which he represented, and [which he relied on his power to command. It is far from complimentary to Constable, it is indeed unmeaning flattery, to speak of his liberality as if it were the same as that of a literary patron of the former age—to compare it with the liberality of Charles I. to Ben Jonson or of Lord Chesterfield to Dryden, or of Somers and Halifax to Addison. In these cases the patronage was partly a species of charity, and partly a payment for adulation. But in Constable's case it was purely a matter of business. His principles of business, no doubt, differed very widely in their enlightened breadth and liberality from those acted on by even his immediate predecessors, and continued by most of his contemporaries. Yet they were strict business principles, which he carried into practice on a systematic plan. He was resolved to be the first publisher of his time, not only for dignity's sake, but also for that of profit. He knew that, to achieve that position, he must make a bold venture. He knew that he had to compete with powerful rivals, such as Longman and William Miller in London, and John Miller, his neighbour, in Edinburgh; and he saw at once, shrewd man as he was, that his only chance of success lay in outbidding them in the literary market, and thereby in securing to himself at first hand the foremost talent of the day.

Plainly, however, Constable never could have assumed this attitude if he had not felt a corresponding degree of confidence in the public, on whose appreciation of literary work the success of literary enterprises ultimately depends. In other words, he

could not afford to pay the producer more than, according to his estimate, the consumers might be expected, with the addition of a fair margin of profit, to repay him. And it was at this point that Constable's real strength showed itself. He had the utmost confidence in his own judgment—judgment, which was aided by remarkable literary insight, and which, in matters strictly professional, scarcely ever misled him. This enabled him to gage by anticipation, with striking accuracy, the acceptability and success of the works he published. In short, he possessed a business instinct which told him how far a book would take, and he paid for it accordingly. It was only natural that the stories of his unusual liberality to authors, when bruited abroad, should have excited a degree of interest and expectancy, which would materially increase the demand for his works. Probably Constable reckoned on this. If he did, it was only another instance of that shrewdness which enabled him to grasp firmly, and to contemplate calmly, the whole state of the book trade at the time when he began to publish. He believed that the reading public was greater than was supposed; and, further, that it might be largely, almost indefinitely, increased. On this conviction all his enterprises were based. He made it his business, therefore, to command the confidence of the public. This he could do only by providing the public with the best possible article. To secure that article he must pay the best authors a higher price than his rivals. He paid it; and he succeeded.

It was necessary, however, that they should be the best authors; for nothing shows more clearly that Constable's liberality was matter of business, and not of sentiment or caprice, than his dealings with such authors as failed to secure his entire confidence. Thus Campbell proved too keen a bargainer, and too dilatory a writer for Constable to have much to do with him; and Campbell, to his deep disgust, received from Constable the cold shoulder, for which he revenged himself by swearing at publishers in general as 'ravens,' and at Constable in particular as a 'deep draw-well.' James Hogg made persistent efforts, in spite of repeated rebuffs, to secure Constable as his publisher—an honour which Constable, evidently for good commercial reasons, as persistently declined. William Godwin—the author of 'Caleb Williams,' and Shelley's father-in-law,—declared his inability to write his new novel unless he was paid beforehand, and modestly proposed 'to be put upon a footing with the author of "Waverley" and "Guy Mannering."' He accompanied his

proposal with some tremendous strokes of flattery; yet Constable insisted on publishing 'Mandeville' on the principle of division of profits. Sir John Leslie made a proposal *apropos* of Barrow's Arctic book; but he complains to Constable that he 'seemed to listen to it coldly, as I find you generally do to all projects which do not originate with yourself;' and his request to be made Jeffrey's colleague in the *Edinburgh*, as scientific editor, was not more warmly received. The only inference that can be drawn from these facts is, that while Constable was ready to incur risk, and to make sacrifices, to secure authors whom he courted, he did not feel called on to do so to oblige authors who courted him.

That, however, which we have pointed out as constituting Constable's strength as a publisher, was also, sad to say, the undoubted source of his weakness; so true is it that

'Great wits are sure to madness near allied.'

The efforts he made to win Scott are instances of enlightened enterprise. The sacrifices he made to retain Scott are evidences of a morbid jealousy, which amounted to positive infatuation. Through his whole career, after 1807, he was haunted by a constant dread that one or other of his principal rivals—Murray or Longman—would wile Scott away from him by more tempting offers than he had made. That apprehension was the bugbear which he could never bring himself boldly to throw off; and to our thinking, it proved in the end the main cause of his ruin. It was that, and nothing else, that led him to concede Scott's ever-increasing demands for higher terms. But for that, he would never have agreed to make Scott advances, amounting in one instance to £10,000 at a time, for works still in embryo, the very titles of which had not been determined even by the author. That induced him to grant almost limitless accommodation to the Ballantynes, Scott's partners in his printing and publishing concerns; and to take over at a tremendous loss the dead stock of John Ballantyne and Co., amounting in value to thousands of pounds.

To make good these assertions, it is only necessary to review briefly Constable's dealings with Scott, and in connection therewith his alliances and ruptures with the rival houses of Murray and Longman. The whole business, it must be premised, often assumes the form of intricate and even dangerous diplomacy. The task of a skilful publisher, in such cases, is not less difficult or hazardous than that of a secretary of state or an ambassador at a foreign court, who is often driven to adopt expedients, in

order to accomplish his purpose, which his cooler judgment does not approve. In this view, Constable was a consummate literary diplomatist. But the best diplomatists are sometimes overreached. And though Constable appeared to be eminently successful during the greater part of his career, we hold very decidedly that his ultimate failure had its root and origin in transactions which were rather the unwelcome expedients of diplomacy, than the natural occurrences of legitimate business.

The Longman alliance began in 1802, when Constable was admitted to a fourth share in the 'Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border,' published by Longman in London. In the autumn of that year Mr. Longman visited Edinburgh. He went back to London, proud of his Scottish reception, delighted especially with his Edinburgh representative, and satisfied that none of his jealous rivals in the metropolis could dream of contending with his interests in the north. This confidence was somewhat misplaced. For, only a few months later, we find John Murray throwing out ingenious feelers in the very quarter in which Longman congratulated himself on his triumphant success. Murray was so far successful that 'friendly relations were speedily established' between him and Constable's house. At this point a Murray alliance begins to loom in the future. Not immediately, however; for in 1803 Longman obtained the London agency of the *Edinburgh Review*. In the following year Longman again visited Scotland, when he was conducted on a provincial tour by Constable's convivial partner, A. G. Hunter, the records of which, with its deplorable drinking experiences, fill some of the raciest pages in the memoir.

In 1805, the convivial Hunter met Murray at York, and their genial friendship, prompted no doubt by interest, as well as by community of tastes, seems to have drawn still closer the bond of union between their respective houses. At the same time an unpleasant correspondence was going on between Messrs. Constable and Co. and the Longmans, on various subjects which had led to a painful dispute between the two houses. This difference reached its climax in November, 1805, when Messrs. Longman intimated their wish to break the connection. This rupture involved much more serious consequences than appear on the surface. Mr. Thomas Constable says, with reference to it, 'It had been well for Archibald Constable had it been otherwise. The unfortunate experiment of the establishment of a London house in 1809 would thereby have been averted, and the catastrophe of

1826 might never have occurred' (vol. i. p. 44). What were the causes of the rupture we are not expressly told; but in a memorandum written by Constable at a later date, he says it was caused by Hunter's 'warm temper' more than by anything else. The truth appears to be that Hunter, acting for Constable and Co., rashly provoked the quarrel with Longman, knowing that he had his friend Murray to fall back on, and believing that a league with the latter would be more pleasant, if not also more profitable, than that with the former. Accordingly, Murray visited Scotland in 1806, and Hunter confirmed the new alliance by putting him through experiences of Forfarshire conviviality similar to those from which Longman had suffered so sharply two years previously. Murray also 'paid for it dearly' according to his host; but he returned to London, the 'faithful ally' of the house of Constable.

Murray's letters to Constable at this time overflow with sentiments of friendship. A few weeks after his return to London, he addressed the Edinburgh firm as 'My dearest friends'! Thereafter, the same exuberant style is continued. 'Every moment, my dear Constable,' he writes, in concluding one of these gushing epistles, 'I feel more grateful to you, and I trust that you will ever find me your faithful friend.' Hunter's 'trust' was somewhat different. Writing to Constable from London a few weeks later he says, 'I trust Murray is now fairly noosed.' Noosed indeed he was, until his interests made it expedient for him to escape. Then, his ardent addresses proved to have been the too much protesting of the faithless lover.

Before that discovery was made, however, there was much confidential intercourse between the houses. In one of Murray's letters (written in 1807) he raises the curtain a little bit, and lets us see how the diplomatic game was carried on. Referring to Constable's quarrel with Longman regarding the copyright of the *Edinburgh Review*, Murray insists on the necessity of Constable 'fixing Mr. Jeffrey irrevocably to yourself; for, as in all hazardous and important cases, we must take in extremes and possibilities.' The extreme possibility hinted at evidently was that Jeffrey might be bought over by the Longmans to edit a rival *Review*. This is a clear proof of the ascendancy which authorship was acquiring in the commerce of literature. Though jealousy does not always imply warmth of affection on the one side, it generally implies power on the other. When rival authors compete for the same publisher, the publisher has the game in his

own hands; but when rival publishers compete for the same author, the author is master of the situation. Into the latter condition, evidently, the book trade had now been brought, thanks to the spread of enlightenment, and the enterprise of Archibald Constable.

In due time a rival *Review* did come,—not, however, from the dreaded house of Longman, but from the friendly house of Murray. Before the end of 1807, John Murray found cause of offence in some of Constable's transactions—what, does not precisely appear; and what does appear is trivial enough,—but the upshot was, a rupture with Murray early in 1808, as complete as that with Longman had been three years before. By a curious, if not suspicious, coincidence, there occurred about the same time a serious breach between Constable and Scott. The causes of this, in so far as they appear, were partly literary, partly political, and partly, if not chiefly, neither. Scott was hurt by the unsparing severity of the notice of 'Marmion' in the *Edinburgh Review*, though on this score, the publisher, who had given £1,000 for the copyright of the poem, had quite as weighty grounds of complaint as the author. Scott was still further incensed by what he calls 'certain impertinences which, in the vehemence of their Whiggery, Messrs. Constable and Co. have dared to indulge in towards me.' But probably in this, as in similar cases, the real reason was neither of those which were alleged. In short, it is evident that Scott, who had become his own printer in 1805 (James Ballantyne and Co.), was bent also on becoming his own publisher, if not with the view to acquiring for himself the whole of the profits which had previously been divided between himself and his booksellers, at least with the view of having free scope to indulge his craze for literary speculation. 'He had, long before this,' says Lockhart, 'cast a shrewd and penetrating eye on the field of literary enterprise, and developed in his own mind the outlines of many extensive plans, which wanted nothing but the command of a sufficient body of able subalterns to be carried into execution with splendid success.'*

Several important consequences quickly followed. Scott and Murray having both quarrelled with Constable, were naturally drawn together by that 'fellow-feeling' which makes men 'wondrous kind.' In October, 1808, 'an alliance, offensive and defensive,' was formed between them at Ashestiel, where Murray happened to be a

* 'Life of Scott,' vol. ii. p. 42.

visitor. At the same time it was resolved to establish a new publishing house in Edinburgh, as a rival to Constable and Co. The issue of these negotiations was that the *Quarterly Review* was established in 1809, and that in the same year the publishing house of John Ballantyne and Co. was founded in Edinburgh, with Scott as chief partner and ruling spirit.

The consequences to Constable were of the most serious nature. He was thereby led to engage in what proved not only the first mistake in his professional career, but the beginning of fatal disasters—viz., the establishment of a London branch. Constable himself says that he was driven to this step by ‘the folly of certain booksellers;’ and certainly his unfortunate experiences with Longman and with Murray warranted the experiment, especially as the condition of the Edinburgh house at the time was thoroughly sound, and full of promise. His alliances with two of the first houses in London having failed, he was not inclined to risk a third attempt of the same kind. He may also have felt that, as Murray was encouraging a rival house in Edinburgh, the law of retaliation entitled him to carry the war into the enemy’s country. However this may have been, the London house was opened early in 1809. Before it had been a year in existence Mr. Park, the managing partner, died; and as no satisfactory arrangement could be made for carrying it on, it was soon afterwards dissolved. The *Edinburgh Review* was once more transferred to agents (Messrs. White, Cochrane, and Co.), with whom it remained until it went home again to the Longmans, in 1814. Changes followed in the Edinburgh house. A. G. Hunter retired in 1811. Mr. Cathcart, one of his successors in the firm, died in 1812, and from that date till the failure in 1826, Constable’s sole partner was Robert Cadell, his future son-in-law.

Other events, having a momentous bearing on Constable’s future, had meantime been transpiring. In 1811 Scott had gratified his pride by the purchase of Abbotsford—then a small estate of 150 acres, afterwards increased by Scott’s successive purchases to upwards of 1,000 acres. Thus Scott completed his tale of ‘Four P’s’—printer, publisher, proprietor, and poet—and entered on that career, which, however brilliant outwardly, was in some respects a mere ‘game of speculation.’ His foolish ambition to make Abbotsford a big place, and himself a ‘country gentleman all of the olden time,’ led him into endless extravagance, in the building and furnishing of his house, as well as in the purchase of land.

Nor did he always buy land on the most advantageous terms. His desire to widen his borders soon became known. And when it appeared that Scott had set his heart on a neighbouring patch, the owner thereof set his price on it accordingly. His grand schemes always required more ready money than he could command, even when his income was at its largest. With that view his printing business had to be pushed, sometimes even at the expense of his vantage ground as the most popular author of his time. Thus in negotiating with Constable for the publication of ‘The Lord of the Isles,’ in 1814, he suggests that the Longmans should have ‘half of the whole bargain, that is, half of the agency as well as the property.’ He fears that they will not be contented with less, and he adds, ‘you know I have powerful reasons (besides their uniform handsome conduct) for not disobliging them,’—in other words, he could not afford to sacrifice their patronage of James Ballantyne and Co., as printers.

Another shift to which Scott was driven, in order to provide ways and means for realizing his extravagant ideas was, as we have already said, contracting and receiving payment for works afterwards to be written. In a paper, prepared in 1826, by Mr. Alexander Cowan, the trustee appointed by the creditors of Constable and Co., ‘nine distinct claims are brought against Sir Walter Scott’s estate, on account of contracts pending or unfulfilled.’ (iii. 442). From a letter of Cadell’s written in January, 1826, on the eve of the failure, it appears that the advances made on three of these hypothetical works—fictions, in a double sense—amounted to £7,600. The negotiations were still further complicated by these payments being made in bills.

The embroilment did not stop here. The trade in legitimate bills—if bills for value not received, not even in existence, can be called legitimate—having been found insufficient, recourse was had to accommodation bills—wind-bills, pure and simple. In 1848 Mr. Thomas Constable asked Sir James Gibson-Craig, a man of sterling worth, who had been the agent and adviser of Messrs. Constable and Co. before and during the crisis, to state in writing his recollection of the origin of the system of accommodation-bills which had proved so disastrous to his father and to Sir Walter Scott. The following is the material part of Sir James’s reply:—

‘I remember perfectly your father showing me a letter [1813] from Sir Walter Scott, written in great distress, informing him that his affairs were in such a state that he must call a

meeting of his creditors, and requesting your father to do so.

'After consulting with me, your father wrote Sir Walter that he hoped it would be unnecessary to call a meeting, and that if he would come to Edinburgh he thought he could devise means for avoiding so disagreeable a measure.

'Sir Walter came, and by your father's advice, he applied to the Duke of Buccleuch to assist him in raising money by annuity, which he did to the amount, I think, of £4,000.

'Your father proposed that Sir Walter should engage to write works for the press; on the faith of which your father agreed to give him bills to a very considerable extent, and he accordingly did so.

'I believe this was the first transaction in bills Sir Walter and your father had. These transactions afterwards gradually extended to a large amount, and it became their practice that Constable and Co. should give bills to Sir Walter, which he discounted; and, as a counter-security, Sir Walter gave similar sums [in bills] to the company, of which the company made no use.

'After this had gone on for some time, your father became very uneasy, and wished to put an end to the dangerous system in which he had embarked; and he told me that he had gone to Sir Walter [in 1825], taking with him all the bills he had received, and proposed to Sir Walter to give up these bills, on Sir Walter returning those Constable and Co. had given him.

'Sir Walter said he could not possibly do so [having already discounted them]; on which your father told [him] that in that case he could not meet the engagements for Sir Walter without discounting the bills granted by him. This was accordingly done, and led to discounting to an immense amount a double set of bills, which could not fail to produce, and did actually produce, the ruin of both parties.' (iii. 456, 457.)

In coming now to review these events in their more direct bearing on Constable's career, the opening paragraph of the above letter carries us back to the year 1813, and to circumstances which had a momentous influence on the subsequent history of Constable's house. In that year, Scott's publishing concern (John Ballantyne and Co.), started in 1809 in connection with the Murray alliance, was involved in difficulties so great that Scott, as we have just seen, thought it would be necessary to call a meeting of his creditors. In less than a year the Murray connection had been dissolved; and Scott in his extremity bethought him of his old friend Constable, of whose sagacity and prudence he had always, in spite of political differences, entertained and expressed the highest opinion. To Constable accordingly he appealed, though there had been a coldness between them since the rupture in 1809; and the charmer charmed

so wisely that Constable could not resist the temptation. Well had it been for him if he had resisted. Never did conscience, or prudence, whisper to any man the warning, *obsta principiis*, more reasonably, than when on this occasion we may suppose it to have hinted caution to the ambitious publisher. But the 'still small voice' was disregarded. Constable was flattered and captivated by the thought of the 'darling wizard of the north' returning to his embraces. He at once took over stock to the amount of £2,000, which he resold to the trade at a loss of 50 per cent., and 'by his sagacious advice,' Lockhart says, 'enabled the distressed partners to procure similar assistance at the hands of others, who did not partake his own feelings of personal kindness and sympathy.' It is not to be denied that Constable did much at this time out of the goodness of his heart. When Lockhart gives him credit for 'personal kindness and sympathy,' we may be sure that there was warrant for it. At the same time it is difficult to believe that he would have incurred positive pecuniary loss for these considerations. He might have given advice, he might have helped them in many ways; but we cannot see that he would have been warranted in sacrificing £1,000 (and for aught he knew it might have been more), unless he could calculate on deriving from the transaction some ultimate gain. And the gain on which he reckoned evidently was, bringing Scott under obligations which would attach him to Constable's house. Writing to his partner on 17th June, 1813, Constable says he has 'no sort of wish to be rapid in being either off or on' with Scott's proposals. Writing again on the 21st June, he thus summarizes a new letter from Scott, 'which rather perplexes' him. 'He (Scott) makes two distinct propositions, and adds that in the event of neither being accepted, he must apply to Longman and Co. and Murray.' Scott knew full well how to 'govern the ventages' of his 'recorder.'

Constable's services did not end here. A few months later, a further advance became necessary; the publishing house was still 'a labouring concern.' Scott had recorded but a short time previously his decided repugnance to a renewal of his alliance with Constable, saying that his objections would yield only 'to absolute necessity, or to very strong grounds of advantage,' and he added 'I am persuaded nothing ultimately good can be expected from any connection with that house, unless for those who have a mind to be hewers of wood and drawers of water.' Yet he has again recourse to Constable, and by his aid and counsel Scott is

enabled to open a credit account with Constable's London bankers, the Duke of Buccleuch being his security.

This was in the meantime a great triumph for Constable's diplomacy. Once more Scott was his friend, bound to him by the strong tie of obligation; and as the Longman alliance had been renewed a short time previously, Constable's position seemed to be at its strongest. In the following year 'Waverley' was published, and a new and prosperous career opened up before both author and publishers. But a dark shadow clouded their bright prospects; that was 'accommodation.' Constable and Ballantyne had been accustomed to deal in accommodation bills for small sums before the breach in 1808. The practice was resumed very soon after the reconciliation in 1813; and before the end of 1814, Constable's house had become 'seriously embarrassed by the extent of accommodation afforded to Mr. Scott.' Their bankers remonstrate with Cadell, and Cadell remonstrates with Constable, expressing his wish to pay them off and get rid of the connection. Constable acquiesces so far. 'We must cut all connection *that is possible* with the Ballantynes and Mr. Scott;' but he is evidently chary of offending the latter, by whom he thinks 'we are this next half-year to be benefited greatly.' At the same time his situation is 'certainly deplorable,' and he would give anything to escape from it. By-and-by, however, he comes to take a more hopeful view of matters. He has not the same horror of 'assisting credit' as his partner. 'If the thing [their business] is still going on prosperously, why should we experience GREATLY LIMITED ACCOMMODATION?'

Constable, however, was not to have it all his own way. The circumstances attending the publication of 'Guy Mannering,' in 1815, exhibit Scott in a sorry light, and show that the whole affair was a complicated game of chess, from which 'dodging' was not excluded. 'Guy Mannering' was published, not in Edinburgh, but in London. The reasons which led to this are bluntly expressed by Scott in a letter to John Ballantyne. It was necessary, he said, 'to propitiate the Leviathans of Paternoster-row;' and he added, 'my reason for letting them have this scent of roast meat is in case it should be necessary for us to apply to them to renew bills in December.' Thus did Scott prostitute his great intellect to suit the exigencies of his bill-book. The only condition he made was that Constable should have the Scottish sale.

This plan of 'extending the sphere of his publishing relations' having succeeded so

well, Scott resolved to adopt the general principle of making new and good stock carry off old and heavy. Lockhart condemns the practice as unfair to Constable, gives John Ballantyne the credit of proposing it, and blames him for concealing from Scott the extent of his obligation to Constable in enabling the house to carry on. But it is only too plain from the correspondence that the idea originated with Scott himself, and that it was at his instance that the plan was extended. Longman having been 'propitiated' with 'Guy Mannering,' it was resolved to attack Murray next. Accordingly, in 1816, the first series of 'The Tales of My Landlord' was offered to Murray and Blackwood, who agreed to all the author's conditions, and also relieved John Ballantyne and Co. of stock to the value of £500.

These lessons were not thrown away on Constable, who, when the second series of 'The Tales of My Landlord' was about to be published, expressed a hope that they might be produced under the same auspices with 'Rob Roy,' which had been published by him in the interval. Taking advantage of his eagerness, Ballantyne told him that it would only be given 'to publishers who should agree to take with it *the whole* of the remaining stock of "John Ballantyne and Co."' Constable, Lockhart says, was 'so worked upon by his jealous feelings,' that he at once agreed to the extravagant terms, 'and at one sweep cleared the Augean stable in Hanover-street of unsaleable rubbish to the amount of £5,270.' According to Lockhart, this transaction was concluded in November, 1817. Mr. Thomas Constable, proceeding on a letter of Cadell's in January, 1818, is of opinion that the clearance was not made till a later period. There is no doubt, however, that it was made, and that it was prompted by the considerations above referred to; for in the conclusion of his letter Mr. Cadell says, 'We will thus lay a strong claim on the author of the novels to prefer us to all others in time coming.'

Constable and Co. were now fairly in the toils. Scott's 'dodges' had entirely succeeded; and they had sold themselves, soul and body, to the author of 'Waverley.' So matters continued till the end; but our space will not allow us to go into details.

'Twere long to tell, and sad to trace,
The path from glory to disgrace.'

One thing is plain, that Scott's publishers always had present to their minds the fear of his being carried off by rival publishers, as he had been in 1815 and in 1816. Thus Robinson, Constable's London agent, writing to him in 1822, says: 'Nothing is so

clear as that the author of "Waverley" should hold his hand for a year or two; but this I fancy can't be attempted without great danger that he might be induced to offer some new work to Murray and Longman.' It is now sufficiently plain, surely, that this inordinate fear of rivalry was the bugbear which haunted Constable through his whole life, and which led him into the extravagances and indiscreet speculations which ultimately ruined him. In the end of 1822, the difficulties of the firm seemed to Mr. Cadell to be insuperable, and he proposed to save himself by a dissolution of partnership. His scruples were, however, overcome; and 'despite all difficulties, their vessel, under skilful steerage, moved gallantly forward, amid shoals of bills, and quicksands of accommodation—the anticipated profits of contracts unfulfilled. But for the wreck of another craft, with whose crew they had unhappily become too closely connected, their ship might ere long have glided into smoother water.' This is, at the least, doubtful; but it is a case in which few will be inclined to deny the plaintiff the benefit of the doubt.

The 'craft' referred to is that of Hurst, Robinson, and Co., Constable's London agents. The speculative mania of 1824, and the commercial crisis of 1825, are matters of history. Robinson had embarked largely in the bubble schemes of the day. He lost heavily, and appealed to Constable for help. Constable was so entirely dependent on wind-credit, that he could render no substantial assistance. Scott was appealed to, to give his name for a large sum, which might have prevented the immediate crash; but Scott refused. The crash came, Robinson fell. He brought down Constable; and with him fell Ballantyne, and of course Scott.

No one, surely, can say that the result was surprising. It was the natural consequence of the game which the chief parties concerned had been playing during the previous fifteen years. The wonder is that it lasted so long. It is not difficult now to see—and the publication of Constable's memoir enables us to see more clearly than before—wherein each of the unfortunate sufferers erred, and to apportion the blame accordingly. No one will be inclined to judge Scott harshly. Love of the man, appreciation of his splendid genius, and admiration of the noble heroism which led him, at the sacrifice of his life, to make a stupendous effort to redeem his credit, alike prevent this. But the truth must be spoken. And the truth is that Scott the man of business, as distinguished from Scott the author

of 'Waverley,' allowed himself to be driven, by his pecuniary necessities—all of which had their origin in his ambition to become a great Border laird—into a system of shifts, and feints, and dodges, which were barely consistent with commercial morality. No doubt he received yeoman service in these proceedings from the Ballantynes, both of whom—but John in particular—were quite as reckless as he was. Scott is as much to be blamed for having allowed himself to be played upon, as for playing, as he did. The fact, however, is that Scott dominated the literary market, and used the power which that position gave him with his eyes open; and it is truly pitiable to see, as we have seen, a man of Scott's genius condescending to the trick of playing off first Murray, and then Longman, against Constable—giving them, as he coarsely expressed it, 'a smell of the roast meat'—for the avowed purpose of securing an extension of accommodation.

Such being the forces with which Constable had to contend, his position becomes quite intelligible. His great and consuming weakness was his determination, at all hazards, to keep fast hold of Scott. In his infatuated desire to keep his adversary's king in perpetual check, he sacrificed all his men, and exposed his own position beyond hope of reclaim. This, and nothing else, led him to clear John Ballantyne's Augean stable, and to grant to the Ballantynes, and to Scott himself, unlimited accommodation. This induced him to contract with Scott for works which were so entirely *in nubibus*, that some of them had not been entered on when the final crash came. This was the absorbing idea which led him to disregard alike the remonstrances of his bankers, and the apprehensions of his astute but selfish partner, Robert Cadell. It was this charmed bond, moreover, that chained him to his London agents, with whom at the last he found that he must either stand or fall.

Well had it been for Archibald Constable had he acted on the principles which, profiting perhaps by his sad experience, the brothers Chambers adopted for their guidance. 'At the outset,' says William Chambers, in his interesting and instructive memoir* of his brother, 'we laid down these rules, which were inflexibly maintained. Never to take credit, but to pay for all the great elements of trade in ready money; never to give a bill, and never to discount one; and never to undertake any enterprise for which means were not prepared. Obviously by no

* Memoir of Robert Chambers, with Autobiographical Reminiscences of William Chambers, p. 298. (Edinburgh, 1872.)

other plan of operations could we have been freed from anxiety, and at liberty to make use of the leisure at our disposal.' And when a great and trying crisis in their London agency came in 1852, it was their recollection of the calamity 'of Scott and the Ballantynes' that led them at once, though at tremendous loss, remorselessly to cut away the diseased member.

Constable's misfortunes, however, should not blind us to the services which he rendered to literature. Great innovators have generally been great martyrs. And though Constable fell a martyr to an idea, that idea, in his struggle to attain it, went far to establish the glorious freedom of authorship, which is a marked feature of our time. More than this, even Lockhart was forced to admit, before he died, that Constable's dream of a popular literature which should count its supporters, not by hundreds but by thousands, not by thousands but by millions, had already begun to be realized. How fully that dream has been realized since his day, in spite of the 'chaff' and ridicule with which Lockhart, and, if we are to believe him, Scott also, at first received its narration, no man living probably knows better than William Chambers.

ART II.—*The Antiquity of Man.*

- (1.) *The Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man, with an Outline of Glacial and Post-tertiary Geology, and Remarks on the Origin of Species; with Special Reference to Man's First Appearance on the Earth.* By SIR CHARLES LYELL, Bart., M.A., F.R.S. Fourth Edition, Revised. 1873. Murray.
- (2.) *L'Homme pendant les Ages de la Pierre dans les Environs de Dinant-sur-Meuse.* Par M. E. DUPONT. Second Edition. 1872. Muquardt, Bruxelles.
- (3.) *Congrès International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistoriques.* Cinquième Session à Bologne, 1871; Sixième Session à Bruxelles, 1872.

Our age is to be defined from those that went before quite as sharply by the careful search after all traces of man's sojourn upon the earth, as by the more striking discoveries in physics and chemistry by which our material prosperity has been so enormously advanced. Among the leaders of thought in

this direction Sir Charles Lyell is deservedly prominent as a man who has caught up floating ideas and isolated facts, put them together, and placed them in an intelligible form before the general public; standing in the same relation to geological theory as Dr. Tyndall stands to physics, as a systematizer rather than as an original discoverer. His 'Principles of Geology' have reached their eleventh edition, his 'Elements' a sixth, and 'The Antiquity of Man,' published ten years ago, has now grown to a fourth edition, rewritten and revised. Since the appearance of the last work in 1863, a vast archæological literature has sprung up, and the caves and river deposits of Europe have furnished materials by which the history of the sojourn of man in Europe is daily growing into shape. We propose, in this essay, to see how far the last edition represents the knowledge of to-day, and to test the arguments bearing upon 'man's first appearance on the earth;' as well as to give our readers an outline of the progress in archæology which has been made since it was treated in these pages in October, 1872. We shall also attempt to answer the question as to whether it is possible or not to measure the antiquity of man upon the earth by the historic unit of years.

We must confess to a feeling of disappointment that Sir Charles Lyell has not altered the plan of his work. In the fourth, as in the first edition, there is the same disproportionate relation of parts; and the physical problems involved in the consideration of the glacial period, and of the origin of species, occupy more than one-half of his pages, at the expense of the recognition of the new facts which have been discovered in various parts of the world, directly relating to the antiquity of man. The last is an independent criticism of the views of Mr. Darwin, which have little, if any, connection with the subject.

Before we approach the immediate subject before us, it is necessary to examine the classification of the tertiary strata, in the more modern of which the remains of man lie buried.

We owe to Sir Charles Lyell the classification of the rocks which have been accumulated in Europe during the long period known as the tertiary or kainozoic. So long ago as 1830 they were divided into three great groups, according to the percentage of living mollusca, which was presented in a comparison of 3,000 fossil with 5,000 living forms. The eocene, or the earliest group, contained about three and a-half per cent. of living species; and thus, to speak metaphorically, was characterized by the dawn of

the testaceous fauna now living. In the miocene the living forms were far more abundant, being considerably less than one-half, while in the upper group, termed pleiocene, they varied from thirty-five to fifty, or even ninety per cent. The vast number of fossil species which have since been added to those which formed the basis of this classification has not materially altered its value, but merely rendered it impossible to define with strictness the percentages in each group.

This classification, based on the examination of marine creatures, cannot be strictly applied to the deposits of rivers and lakes, or the bone-caves, because the highly organized land animals have changed with greater rapidity than those more lowly organized in the sea. In the eocene strata, for example, no living species of mammal has been discovered in any part of the world, and the same is the case in the miocene. Nor does it apply to the tertiary vegetation. The laurel, sequoia (*Wellingtonia*), and poplar, found in the chalk of Kansas and Nebraska, by the American geological surveyors, are so like those which flourished in Europe during the miocene age that Professor Heer, the highest authority on tertiary botany, had no hesitation in assigning them to the miocene age. Many other cases might be quoted to prove that in the long periods of time represented by the rocks the change in the land-animals has been swifter, while that of the vegetables has been slower, than those changes which are traceable in the marine mollusca; and that, therefore, a classification based upon one of them is not applicable to the rest. Nevertheless, the names are so useful that they have been universally adopted, without any idea of percentages. They enbalm the important truth that life has undergone great changes in past time and they remain in the literature of geology as an enduring monument of the sagacity of their inventor.

So far the nomenclature is very simple, and accepted by all naturalists; but we venture to think that the names of the divisions by which the pleiocene is linked on to history are very complex and badly defined. Sir Charles Lyell in this, as in his previous works and editions, makes the tertiary age to end with the pleiocene, and draws a hard and fast line between it and what he terms the 'post-tertiary period,' which certainly ought not to be drawn; because there is no break, in either the marine or terrestrial life, of sufficient magnitude to indicate the close of a great life-era. Most of the shell fish living in the sea, if not all, are to be found in the pleiocene

strata, and several of the land-animals now living—such as the horse, leopard, and axis-deer—are found associated with pleiocene mastodons and elephants. On the other hand, large numbers of pleiocene species survived those physical changes which destroyed their contemporaries, and lived on into the pleistocene, or the first stage of Sir Charles Lyell's post-tertiary period.

The pleiocene, therefore, cannot fairly be taken to be the closing stage of the tertiary period, but the latter term must be extended so as to embrace the lapse of time from the eocene down to the present day. To speak in general terms, the opinion of Professor Huxley and other eminent palæontologists is undoubtedly true, that there is no break of continuity in the successive changes of life from the miocene down to the present day. If the animals of two successive periods be compared together, it will be found that some are common to both, and in comparing all of them together it cannot be denied, that they are so interlaced, that any line of demarcation between them and those creatures now living on land and in sea is, to a great extent, arbitrary.

If there be any marked break of continuity in tertiary life it is to be sought at the close of the eocene period, when the palæotheres, anoplotheres, and other tapir-like creatures yielded place to those genera which are still living. Sir Charles Lyell's division between tertiary and post-tertiary is therefore not merely artificial, but contrary to his own principle of classification, according to the percentages of living forms.

We are glad to see that in the present edition Sir Charles Lyell has reverted to the use of his term 'pleistocene,' as the exact equivalent of 'post-pleiocene,' which is used in all his recent works.

The classification of the tertiary groups of life down to the pleistocene is based on the recognition of the gradual evolution of animals, which bear an increasing resemblance to those which are now alive. At this point, however, this principle of classification is valueless, since from the pleistocene to the present day there is no evidence of the addition of wild species to the existing fauna, with the exception of the common rat, and possibly the true elk. The present wild animals of Europe are merely the survivors of a large and varied group that lived on the pleistocene continent, the characteristic members of which have either migrated to other regions, or become extinct. And yet there is a striking difference, which cannot be overlooked, between the pleistocene and the succeeding life-periods. In the introduction to the *British Pleis-*

tocene Mammalia,* and subsequently at greater length in the 'Proceedings' of the Prehistoric Congress,† the post-pleistocene phenomena are classified strictly from the stand-point offered by history. All those of which there is any record are termed historic, while those which lie outside history are termed prehistoric.

The prehistoric extends from the borders of history back to the pleistocene period, and is characterized by the advent of the hog, dog, sheep, goat, and the domestic horse and oxen into Europe, under the care of man. The invasion of Europe by this group of animals is, from a zoological point of view, of the very highest importance; since from that time the domestic species and varieties have been in continual rivalry with the wild, and have gradually encroached on the ancient haunts of the latter. It requires no extraordinary foresight to see that this process will go on, until the few wild animals left to represent the pleistocene fauna will be preserved in Europe merely for the sport and luxury of the wealthy classes. The beginning of this revolution in animal life is the great event which distinguishes the prehistoric from the pleistocene period, and, coupled with the disappearance of the characteristic animals of the latter, such as the mammoth and woolly rhinoceros, constitutes a difference of very high classificatory value. There is, to say the least, as much difference between the prehistoric and pleistocene mammalia as between the latter and the pleiocene.

Sir Charles Lyell masses together the prehistoric and historic divisions, under the head 'Recent,' using the term in relation to the enormous antiquity of the preceding geological period, and giving, as a characteristic difference, the absence of all the extinct mammalia. The presence, however, of the extinct Irish elk in the peat bogs of Ireland, Scotland, and England, which form one of the recent divisions, renders it impossible to accept the definition. It seems to be far more convenient to draw a distinc-

tion between the prehistoric and the historic animals than to mass them together in one group. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the only difference between them is presented by the gradual disappearance of the larger wild animals from certain areas, the extinction of one, the Irish elk, and the importation and naturalization of a few species, such as the buffalo in Italy and the fallow deer in Britain, by the hand of man.

The prehistoric period includes the age of polished stone, or the neolithic, the bronze and the iron ages, since the prehistoric animals are found in and around the dwellings and the burial places of the men who lived in those times.

The historic period embraces the lapse of time from the first authentic record of any given country down to the present day, and its beginning necessarily varies in different regions. In Britain it would begin with the first invasion of the Romans; in Gaul with its conquest by the Roman legions; and in Germany with the pages of Caesar or the Annals of Tacitus. In the countries, however, bordering on the shores of the Mediterranean, in the great centres of civilization, Rome and Greece, it would extend much further back from the present day, and would embrace a time during which there were no records of the regions lying to the north, that is to say of Central and Northern Europe. It is a most important thing to bear in mind that there is no absolute historic period applicable to all parts of Europe. While the master minds of Greece were earning imperishable fame by their writings, the rude nations of Gaul, Germany, Britain, and the North were probably constructing the dwellings, tumuli, and stone circles which excite our admiration. It would be as unfair to call the Parthenon prehistoric as to term the Pfahlbauten of the Swiss lakes historic, although it may be that both were in existence at the same point of time.

The following are the divisions of the tertiary or kainozoic period which we shall adopt in this essay:—

Deposits containing Mammalia.

- | | |
|---|---|
| I. Historic = recent in part of Sir Charles Lyell. | I. Caves, peat bogs, alluvia. Refuse heaps, graves, houses. |
| II. Prehistoric = neolithic, bronze, iron ages = recent in part of Sir Charles Lyell. | II. Caves, peat bogs, alluvia, dwellings, and burial places of man. Refuse heaps. |
| III. Pleistocene = quaternary of French geologists = post-pleiocene of Sir Charles Lyell = palæolithic age. | III. Caves, brick-carths, and ancient river gravels. Refuse heaps. Glacial deposits. |
| IV. Pleiocene. | IV. Deposits of river and ancient lakes, estuarine deposits. River deposits. Marine deposits. |
| V. Miocene. | V. Ditto. |
| VI. Eocene. | VI. Ditto. |

* Palæontological Society, 1866.

† 'Norwich volume,' 1869, p. 269.

* It will be unnecessary for us to say anything further of the three older stages of the tertiary period, since man has not been proved to have been then an inhabitant of Europe, or even to have been alive on the earth. Nor shall we treat of the historic or latest stage, because that has little or no relation to the inquiry into the antiquity of man.

If we turn now to the prehistoric portion of the recent period of Sir Charles Lyell we are disappointed to find the most important discoveries, made since the first edition, passed over without notice, although they are directly related to the subject of the work. The group of sepulchral caves,* for example, at Perthi Chwareu, near Llandegla, discovered and explored in 1869, 1870, and 1871, prove that a race of men, in the rude neolithic stage of civilization, lived in the caverns of North Wales, and subsequently used their habitations for family tombs. They were crowded with skeletons of all ages, and were in the immediate neighbourhood of a refuse heap, which had been accumulated in the open air by their inhabitants. The human skeletons were examined by Professor Busk, and shown to belong to a small, long-headed race, which Professor Huxley and Dr. Thurnam believe to be represented at the present time by the modern Basques.† Thus, in the very country of the Silures, who, according to Tacitus, were related to the Iberians, we have evidence, from the stature and form of the skull, not merely that that race actually existed in those regions, but that it existed during the remote age known as the neolithic. These cave dwellers were also identified with the builders of the chambered tombs in this country, which are now being so energetically explored in Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Sussex, Wilts, and Cornwall. Again, a similar discovery, made by Dr. Broca, in the 'Grotte de l'homme mort,'‡ in Southern France, in which the same class of human remains was found, along with neolithic implements, is also omitted.

We seek also in vain for any reference to the neolithic cave-dwellers of Gibraltar, described by Captain Brome, Dr. Falconer, and Professor Busk, or to the extraordinary group of remains found in the caves of Andalusia,§ by Don Gongora y Martinez, consisting of human skeletons associated

with polished stone axes, rude pottery, flint flakes, a golden tiara, and most beautifully woven baskets, with sandals and ornaments of esparto grass. From a comparison of the skulls found in all these widely-separated spots, with those obtained by Dr. Broca from the Basque cemeteries of Guipuscoa and St. Jean de Luz,* and now in the collection of the Anthropological Society of Paris, it has been proved that the Basque, or Iberian race, lived in ancient times, not merely in the Iberian Peninsula, but far to the north, away from the boundary of Cæsar's province of Aquitania, where the small, swarthy race is still ethnologically distinct from the taller, light-haired Celt, at least as far as Great Britain. In Wales it is recognised in the small swarthy descendants of the Silures, and in Ireland in the 'dark Celts' living in the district to the west of the Shannon. Thus the Basque element in the existing populations is shown to date back as far as the neolithic age, during which it was dominant over the area in question, before it was disturbed by the invasions of the Celts. The non-recognition of the important ethnological bearing of these discoveries seems to us a grave fault in a work which treats of the 'Antiquity of Man' in Europe.

The climate of the prehistoric age must have been cooler than within the time of which we have historic records in this country, since the remains of the reindeer have been obtained from the layer of peat underneath the alluvium of the Thames at Crossness, as well as in a second locality at Walthamstow, in association with the remains of the horse, short-horned ox, and the true elk. The animal has also been found in the peat of Yorkshire, and in several places in Scotland and in Ireland.† When it ranged as far south as London, the temperature must have been similar to that of the regions in which it now lives. This severity of the prehistoric climate may have been due, in part, to the then enormous stretch of forests and morasses untouched, or scarcely touched by the hand of man; but it was probably also due to that much debated cause, which produced the intense cold of the glacial period, from which time, down to the present day, the climate has gradually become warmer.

Sir Charles Lyell points out that the geographical changes which took place in the prehistoric division of the 'recent' period have been by no means inconsiderable. In the Carse of Stirling, a low tract of land about

* 'Ethnological Journal,' January 1871: 'Platyceneic Men in Denbighshire.'

† 'Anthropological Memoirs,' vol. i. pp. 120, 459.

‡ 'Prehistoric Congress,' Brussels volume, p. 182.

§ 'Antigüedades Prehistoricas de Andalusia,' Madrid, 1868.

* 'Mémoires d'Anthropologie,' t. i. 1871.

† 'Popular Science Review,' January, 1868, p. 34.

twenty feet above high-water mark, several skeletons of whales have been discovered, some at a distance of seven miles from the sea, in association with cut and pointed implements of stag's horn.

'The position of these whales, and their association with human implements, imply that at the time when they were cast ashore by a tide rising twenty or thirty feet beyond the present high-water mark, man was already an inhabitant of Scotland; and their great size indicating that they belonged to the Greenland whale—which only frequents seas of floating ice—would point to an arctic climate in these regions before the last change of level occurred. "This inference," says Mr. Milne Home, "agrees with a conclusion come to by the late James Smith, of Jordanhill, who, on the lowest ancient beach on the West of Scotland, found a large ancient boulder, which could not, in his opinion, have come there except on floating ice." ' (Lyell's 'Antiquity of Man,' p. 60.)

While we accept the evidence of this elevation, offered by the above discoveries, we cannot admit that they throw any light on the climate, since the common, or Greenland whale (*Balena mysticetus*), is a member of the present British fauna, and haunts the coast of Zetland, and is from time to time stranded on our shores. (Bell, 'British Quadrupeds,' p. 518.) It would probably abound in all our seas, were it not gradually retreating, before the harpoons of the whalers, further and further to the north. Whether this elevation of twenty-five feet took place in the age of stone, bronze, or iron seems to us doubtful. Sir Charles Lyell can hardly intend to say what may be inferred from pp. 60-1, that an arctic climate prevailed in Scotland during the time that metallic implements were in use, that is to say the iron implements found in the Carse of Gowrie, or the iron anchor in the Carse of Stirling, mentioned in the first edition. It is incredible that a change from arctic to temperate conditions could have been produced in the comparatively short time represented by the iron stage of civilization in Europe before history began. The argument in favour of elevation since the Celtic invasion, based upon the Celtic name Inch being given to hillocks in the alluvium of the estuary of the Tay, seems to us doubtful, since their names may be due to the marshes by which they were insulated, and which have now been drained. In the South of England many cases might be given, such as Chedzoy (Chads' eye, island), Othery, and other spots of rising ground surrounded by morasses, now drained, which have ceased to be islands, not by change of level, but by drainage and cultivation.

If Scotland may be said to have emerged in part from the waves in the prehistoric age, there is proof of a movement in the opposite direction in the South of England. In the year 1868 flint flakes associated with the bones of the small domestic ox (*bos longifrons*), stag, sheep, and goat were discovered,* lying round piles in a submerged forest, between high and low water mark, at Barnstaple. The forest lay buried under an accumulation of marine mud, and the spot had evidently been inhabited by man, in a rude state of culture, before it was covered by the sea, as well as before the deposit of the overlying mud. The occurrence of the remains of the small domestic ox, which was unknown in Europe in the pleistocene age, coupled with the absence of any remains which would bring the refuse heap into association with any historic record, stamp the time when that spot was inhabited as belonging to the prehistoric age. But this discovery of the works of man in a submarine forest does not stand alone. In 1869, the Rev. H. H. Winwood and Mr. Boyd Dawkins† discovered flint flakes on the coast of Somersetshire, between Porlock and Minehead. They dug through the overlying marine mud, containing *scrobicularia piperata*, in three spots removed from each other, and thus obtained proof that the flakes had not been introduced after the submergence; and that therefore man inhabited the forest at a time when it was elevated above high-water mark, or from twenty to twenty-five feet above its present position. In both these cases rude splinters of flint do not afford the means of deciding whether the ancient dwellers in the submerged forest were in the neolithic or bronze stage of culture. They, however, probably belong to the former.

This submerged forest is to be observed at the same horizon on the opposite coast of South Wales, whence it sweeps northwards by St. Bride's Bay, where it excited the wonder of Giraldus Cambrensis in the twelfth century, at least as far as Morecambe Bay, where it is of considerable extent. Southward it is represented by patches wherever there is a shelving coast, at least as far to the east as Hastings, and it is to be met with also in patches on the eastern coast, and underneath the alluvium of the mouths of nearly all our rivers, such as the Thames and the Ouse.

There is, therefore, reason for the belief that in the prehistoric age Scotland was ris-

* 'Prehistoric Congress,' Norwich volume, p. 89.

† 'On the Discovery of Flint and Chert under a Submerged Forest in West Somerset,'—'Ethnological Journal,' p. 141, 1870.

ing, while the greater part of England was being depressed; just as the Scandinavian peninsula is slowly rising in the North and sinking in the South at the present day. Could we then have transported ourselves to the present English coastline, our eyes would have wandered over a low shelving plain covered with a dense growth of oak, yew, and Scotch fir, with the more marshy spots marked by willows and alders, in which lurked the bear, the stag, and the runaways of the small domestic ox, and which offered man shelter and food. The precise limit of the prehistoric coastline for England cannot be fixed with accuracy, and there may have been oscillations of level; but the submarine forest in question demands a minimum of twenty-five feet of elevation by its position about low water mark and below, and its seaward extent has not been ascertained. It may exist fifty or one hundred feet beneath the present level of the sea. The former of these estimates would profoundly modify the shape of our island. The area of England would then be far the larger, that of Scotland smaller than it is at the present day.

In attempting to measure the amount of time consumed in the production of physical changes in the prehistoric portion of the recent period, by the historic unit of years, Sir Charles Lyell bases his argument on the assumption that the physical agents have operated uniformly, and that therefore their results are to be measured by our experience. For example:—

‘The most elaborate calculation is that made by the late M. Morlot, respecting the delta of the *Tinière*, a torrent which flows into the Lake of Geneva, near Villeneuve. This small delta, to which the stream is annually making additions, is composed of gravel and sand. Its shape is that of a flattened cone, and its internal structure has been laid open to view in a railway cutting one thousand feet long, and thirty-two feet deep. The regularity of its structure throughout implies, according to M. Morlot, that it has been formed very gradually, and by the uniform action of the same causes. Three layers of vegetable soil, each of which must at one time have formed the surface of the cone, have been cut through at different depths. The first of these was traced over a surface of 15,000 square feet, having an average thickness of five inches, and being about four feet below the present surface of the cone. This upper layer contained tiles and a coin, supposed by M. Morlot to belong to the Roman period. The second layer, followed over a surface of 25,000 square feet. In it were found fragments of unvarnished pottery, and a pair of tweezers in bronze, indicating the bronze epoch. The third layer, followed for 35,000 square feet, was six or seven inches thick, and nineteen feet from the surface. In it were fragments of rude

pottery, pieces of charcoal, broken bones, and a human skeleton, having a small, round, and very thick skull. M. Morlot assuming the Roman period to represent an antiquity of from thirteen to eighteen centuries, assigns to the bronze age a date of between 3,000 and 4,000 years, and to the oldest layer, that of the stone period, an age of from 5,000 to 7,000 years.’ (Lyell’s ‘Antiquity of Man,’ pp. 29, 30.)

For this calculation to be of value it must be proved that the rainfall in the basin of the *Tinière* has remained constant for the vast period of from five to seven thousand years. That this is an impossible assumption is demonstrated by an appeal to regions in which the rainfall has varied. In the great desert of Sinai the wadies and precipitous ravines, excavated by the streams which have long disappeared, attest the former presence of a rainfall, which at the very least has not been felt in that district since the days when the Egyptians worked the turquoise mines with flint implements,* and accumulated the masses of *débris* in which wooden tools are preserved in as great perfection as the day in which they were thrown away. The neighbouring region of Palestine no longer enjoys the rainfall which rendered it so fertile in the days of the Jewish kings, and Persia also is said at the present time to be losing its rain, and to be passing into the condition of a desert. The destruction of the forests in Spain has robbed a large tract of land of its rain, and thus reduced to a minimum the erosive action of the streams, and their power of carrying sediment. Or again, supposing that we take the varying amount of rain in Great Britain, ‘where the average fall at London is twenty-four and a-half inches as ascertained at the Greenwich Observatory, there is such irregularity in some districts, that while at Whitehaven in Cumberland there fell, in 1849, thirty-two inches, the quantity of rain in Borrowdale, near Keswick (only fifteen miles to the westward), was no less than 142 inches,’ (Lyell’s ‘Principles,’ i. p. 329.) From this it follows that the rate of accumulation of sediment by the streams of Borrowdale is more than four times as fast as those of Whitehaven. From our experience, therefore, we are justified in concluding that the present rate of rainfall observable in any given country is not invariable, and that the annual amount of sediment brought down by the present streams does not afford a means of arriving at the age of their ancient accumulations, by the easy method of a sum in division.

* ‘Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society, Manchester,’ December 14, 1869, p. 48.

On these grounds we repudiate the accuracy not merely of the calculations of the Swiss archæologists as to the dates of the ages of stone and of bronze, but also those by which the accumulation of the delta of the Mississippi is supposed to have occupied 50,000, and that of the Nile more than 30,000 years. The sediment brought down by the first of these rivers, during the time that its upper valleys were occupied by the glaciers, which have left such unequivocal marks behind, must reasonably be supposed to have been far in excess of its present burden, and an increased rainfall in the African uplands would destroy the latter computation.

In like manner the estimate that the beds of marine shells, elevated six hundred feet above the level of the sea in Norway, have arrived at their present position at a uniform mean rate (p. 64) of two and a-half feet per century, and that they may therefore be 24,000 years old, is rendered uncertain by our ignorance as to whether the rate was uniform or not. For aught we know to the contrary, some portions of the rise may have been produced as suddenly as that of a tract of land 1,000,000 square miles in extent in Chili from two to seven feet in 1822, or that of the Ullahbund in the Gulf of Cutch in 1819. (Lyell's '*Principles*,' vol. ii. p. 96, *et seq.*) In all these cases a mere local experience for a comparatively short time can obviously afford no measure of a change in which the factors are variable, and fluctuating in their operation. The general impression left on our minds is that these changes were not probably produced in a short time, but that it is impossible to ascertain their age by an appeal to physical causes. Indeed, outside the frontier of history, as we have already remarked,* to attempt to form a chronology in terms of years is a hopeless task, and we are compelled to confess that both the archæologists and geologists to the question 'how long?' can give no more accurate answer than 'long, long ago,' before, and after certain events which can be proved to have occurred in orderly sequence. If they attempt to answer in terms of years, their chronology stands on exactly the same unsatisfactory footing as that of Archbishop Usher, the assumption, that all the necessary factors are present in the calculation, being common to both.

We must now pass on to the examination of the traces of man associated with the extinct mammalia, in the caves and river-deposits of the pleistocene age.

It was not until the close of the eighteenth century that the exploring of caves was car-

ried on systematically, or their contents examined with any scientific precision. The caves of Franconia, in the neighbourhood of Muggendorf, were described by Esper in 1774, by Rosenmüller in 1804, and six years later by Dr. Goldfuss. The most important was that of Gailenreuth, both from the vast quantity of remains which it was proved to contain, and the investigations to which it led. The bones of the hyæna, lion, wolf, fox, glutton, and red deer were identified by Baron Cuvier; while some of the skulls, which Dr. Goldfuss obtained, have been recently proved by Professor Busk to belong to the grizzly bear. They were associated with the bones of the reindeer, horse, and bison. Rosenmüller was of opinion that the cave had been inhabited by bears for a long series of generations; and he thus realized that these remains proved that the animals found in the cave had once lived in that district, and had not been swept from the tropics by the deluge. The interest in these discoveries was at its height in the year 1816, when Dr. Buckland visited the cave, and acquired that knowledge of cave-exploring, which he was subsequently to use with such good effect in this country. From that time, down to the present day, no new fact of importance has been added to our knowledge of caves by explorations in Germany.

The first bone-cave systematically explored in this country was that discovered by Mr. Whidbey in the Devonian limestone at Oreston, near Plymouth, in 1816; and the remains obtained from it were identified by Sir Everard Home as implying the existence of the rhinoceros in that region. This discovery followed close upon the researches in Gailenreuth, and was due in some degree to the request, which Sir Joseph Banks made, that Mr. Whidbey, in quarrying the stone for the Plymouth breakwater, should examine the contents of any caverns that he might happen to meet with. It preceded Dr. Buckland's exploration of Kirkdale by about four years.

In the summer of 1821 a cave was discovered in a limestone quarry at Kirkdale, in Yorkshire, which was found to contain bones and teeth of animals. On hearing of the discovery Dr. Buckland posted at once from South Wales to the spot, and published the result of the explorations in the '*Philosophical Transactions*' for the next year. He brought forward evidence that the cave had been inhabited by hyænas, and that the broken and gnawed bones of the rhinoceros, mammoth, stag, bison, and horse belonged to animals which had been dragged in for food. He also established the fact that all

* '*British Quarterly Review*,' No. cxii. p. 236.

these animals had lived in Yorkshire in ancient times, and that it was impossible for the carcasses of the hyæna, rhinoceros, and mammoth to have been floated, from those regions where they are now living, into the position where he found their bones. He subsequently followed up the subject by investigating bone-caves in Derbyshire, South Wales, and Somerset, as well as in Germany, and published his great work '*Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*' in 1822, which laid the foundations of the new science of cave-hunting in this country. The exploration of Kirkdale followed closely upon that of Gailenreuth, and was merely the application of those principles of research which had been discovered in Germany to caves in a new district.

From this time forward bone-caves were discovered in Great Britain in increasing numbers, and explored by many independent observers. The famous cavern of Kent's Hole, near Torquay, furnished the Rev. J. McEnery, between 1825 and the year 1841, in which he died, with the first flint implements ever discovered in a cave along with the bones of extinct animals. He recognised the fact that they may be proof of the existence of man during the time that those animals were alive; but the scientific world was not then sufficiently educated to accept the antiquity of the human race on the evidence brought forward, and Dr. Buckland himself was so influenced by the opinions of his times, that he refused even to entertain the idea. Although the discovery was verified by the independent researches of Mr. Godwin Austin in 1840, and by the Torquay Natural History Society in 1846, the force of prejudice was so strong that the matter was not thought even worthy of investigation. Mr. McEnery's manuscripts were lost until the year 1859, when an abstract of them was published by Mr. Vivian. Subsequently they were printed in full by Mr. Pengelly, the able superintendent of the exploration, which has been carried on by a committee of the British Association since 1865, who has obtained several thousand flint implements, under the conditions pointed out by the Rev. J. McEnery and Mr. Godwin Austin, along with the extinct mammalia.

While the important question of the antiquity of man was being passed by as of no account, other caves were being examined in this country. Those of Banwell, Burrington, Sandford Hill, Bleadon, and Hutton, in the mountain limestone of the Mendip Hills, were being worked by the Rev. J. Williams and Mr. Beard, and furnished the magnificent collection of mammalian bones now in the museum at Taunton. In North Wales, also, Mr. Lloyd discovered a similar suite of

bones in the limestone caves in the neighbourhood of St. Asaph, at Cefn, and in South Wales numerous remains were obtained by many explorers in those of Pembrokeshire and Gower.

The result of these discoveries was the proof that certain extinct animals—such as the woolly rhinoceros and the mammoth—had lived in this country in ancient times, along with two other groups of species which are at present known only to live in hot and cold climates, the spotted hyæna and hippopotamus of Africa, with the reindeer and the marmot of the colder regions of the earth.

The discovery in 1858, and the exploration of the now famous cave of Brixham by the Royal and Geological Societies, marked the dawn of a new era in cave exploration. Under the careful supervision of Mr. Pengelly, flint implements were discovered underneath stalagmite, and in association with the remains of the hyæna and woolly rhinoceros and mammoth, in undisturbed red loam, under conditions that prove man to have been living in Devonshire at the same time as those animals. This singularly opportune discovery destroyed for ever the doubts that had overhung the question of the antiquity of man, and of his co-existence in Europe in company with the animals whose remains occur both in the caverns and river-deposits.

The exploration of the hyæna den at Wookey Hole in December, 1859, followed closely on that of Brixham, and afforded evidence of the same kind. In Gower also many ossiferous caves were investigated, by Colonel Wood and Dr. Falconer, and in one of them flint implements were obtained along with the remains of extinct animals. In 1865 Kent's Hole was taken in hand by the British Association, and yields annually a vast quantity of bones and teeth of hyæna, rhinoceros, cave bear, horse, and other animals, along with flint and bone implements. The most important discovery which has been recently made in it, is the presence of the ruder and larger flint instruments, which are characteristic of the river-deposits, in the lowest stratum of breccia, which is of considerable thickness, and marks an epoch in the history of the cave when it was inhabited by bears.

In France, during the first sixty years of the present century, many ossiferous caverns were explored, which furnished the same results as those of Germany and Britain; and during the last thirteen years have proved, not only that man co-existed with the extinct mammalia, but that he was closely related in blood to the Eskimos.

The very many cases which might be cited of the occurrence of implements, fashioned by the hand of man, in undisturbed strata in caves over such a wide area in Europe, renders it impossible to doubt that he was an inhabitant of Europe during the pleistocene age. The evidence, on the other hand, offered by the discovery of human bones in caves, in support of such a view, seems to us, in most cases, to require authentication. The human skull, for example, found by the side of a tooth of a mammoth in the cave of Engis by Dr. Schmerling, and a second, which lay 'buried five feet in a breccia, in which the tooth of a rhinoceros, several bones of a horse, and some of the reindeer, together with some ruminants occurred,' are considered by Sir Charles Lyell to be of the same antiquity as the extinct mammalia. They may, however, be the traces of interments which were made at a much later date, and the subsequent discovery by M. Dupont* of pottery in the same breccia, implies that they are probably not older than the neolithic age, since the potter's art, in the opinion of Mr. John Evans and other authorities, was unknown in Europe before that age. No potsherd has been discovered in any pleistocene stratum, except under circumstances which render it very probable that it was subsequently introduced. The more perfect of the skulls is of the long type, known to have spread over France, Belgium, Spain, and Britain in the neolithic age. The breccia may have been consolidated by the infiltration of carbonate of lime in comparatively modern times; and since it is to be observed in all limestone caverns, where the drip falls upon a similar mass of materials, it is no test of antiquity. In the Ingleborough cave it is being accumulated at the rate of nearly one-third of an inch per annum.

The famous human cranium, discovered in the Neanderthal cave near Dusseldorf, which has given rise to so much discussion, is almost universally assumed to be of the pleistocene age, without any satisfactory reason being assigned for the conclusion. It was merely discovered in a muddy deposit at the bottom of a fissure, unassociated with any of the extinct animals, and it may be of comparatively modern origin. And although we agree with Professor Huxley that it is the most 'pithecoïd of human crania yet discovered,' it offers no evidence in favour of the progressive development of man out of an ape-like condition; since, as Professor Busk remarks, we do not know

whether the 'conformation be merely an individual peculiarity or a typical character.' The view taken in 'The Antiquity of Man,' that if it be of pleistocene age it is a link between man and the ape, or if it be comparatively modern, that it is a case of reversion to an ancestral type, seems to us to be based on the assumptions that it may be taken as a representative cranium, or that all cases of cranial deformation are the results of atavism. Each of these assumptions has yet to be proved to be true, before any such dilemma can be fairly put to the reader.

Nor can the human skeletons recently discovered by M. Dupont, in the Trou du Frontal,* one of the many caves in the valley of the Lesse, be proved to belong to the pleistocene age. They belong to sixteen individuals who had been buried in a small cave, with the entrance blocked up by a slab of stone, and along with them were flint flakes, perforated ornaments of shell and stone, and a round vase with holes at the side for suspension, like some of those met with in the pile dwellings of the Swiss lakes. The traces of a fire, and the remains of animals which had been eaten—such as the reindeer and chamois—were met with at a little distance *outside and below* the slab. Sir Charles Lyell has overstated the case when he quotes these animals as associated with the interments in the sense of their being contemporaneous. They form a small portion merely of a vast accumulation of the relics left behind by the palæolithic men, in the caves and rock-shelters in the neighbourhood, but they do not stand in any necessary relation with the interments in point of time. Were the same test of age applied to some of our London cemeteries, we might prove that the mammoth and reindeer lived in London in the nineteenth century, since human interments of that date have been made in the same beds of gravel as that in which the remains of those animals are discovered. M. Dupont argues the pleistocene age of the interments from the associated pierced shells and flint flakes, but his argument is worthless, because those articles are frequently met with around neolithic dwelling and burial places. The vase also is of the neolithic type, and the skulls, which are not Mongoloid, as M. Dupont believes, belong to a well-known form discovered by M. Broca in the neolithic caves and tumuli of France, and which was observed by some of the members of the Prehistoric Congress at Brussels in 1872 on the shoulders of some of the living Belgian peasants.

* 'L'Homme pendant les Ages de la Pierre dans les Environs de Dinant-sur-Meuse,' p. 9.

* See 'Les Temps Antehistoriques en Belgique,' 1871, p. 106, *et seq.*

The skeleton of the so-called fossil man, obtained by M. Rivière from the cave of Cavillon, near Mentone,* and now preserved in the Jardin des Plantes, Paris, is also of equivocal age, since it occurred in an accumulation not regularly stratified. It was buried in the crouching posture so characteristic of neolithic interments; and, so far as we have any evidence, need not be related in point of time to the bones of the extinct animals, flint implements, and the like, found in the deposit, more closely than the bodies in a graveyard are to the fossils which happen to occur in the stratum in which they rest. The cave of Cavillon had been inhabited by palæolithic men; but there is no means of ascertaining the length of the interval between the period of habitation and of burial. Burial in caves was universally practised by the neolithic European populations, and Diodorus Siculus, writing of the Ligurians in this very region, remarks that they lie in the fields, and 'most commonly in hollow rocks and natural caves, wheresoever they judge there may be a convenient shelter for them; and much after this manner they do in all other things, living after the old and sordid and barbarous manner.†' The skull is of the long Iberian or Ligurian type, and lends a high probability to the supposition that the body was that of an ancient Ligurian, possibly of the neolithic age. It is hardly necessary to remark, that, had the interment taken place while the cave hyænas were living in the neighbourhood, that is to say in the pleistocene age, the body would speedily have been dug up and devoured.

In all these cases Sir Charles Lyell seems to us to have assumed that the interments are of the age of the extinct mammalia on insufficient data. We are glad, however, to observe in the present edition that he has seen the force of the arguments against the pleistocene age of the interments in Aurignac, and that he has modified his conclusions as to the burial of the dead, and the belief in a future state of palæolithic man.‡ On these deeply interesting points we hold that there is a total want of evidence, and we cannot see that this want is fairly met by the supposition that the carvings in the reindeer-caves of the Dordogne are 'such proofs of the intelligence of palæolithic man, as render it far from improbable that he should

have advanced sufficiently to manufacture rude pottery such as that found associated with unpolished flint implements in the Trou du Frontal, or to burn or bury his dead, or even to have a belief in a future state.' ('Antiquity of Man,' p. 133.) It is perfectly true that palæolithic man may have been sufficiently intelligent, but we seek in vain for any proof that his intelligence was exercised in these directions, except that alleged to be offered by the equivocal group of caves under consideration. We have to balance the negative evidence of some hundreds of palæolithic caves scattered over the face of Europe, with the doubtful testimony of about half a dozen, some of which, as Aurignac, were imperfectly explored, and others, as the Trou de Frontal and Cavillon, have been assumed to be palæolithic without satisfactory proof.

We by no means deny that the bones of palæolithic men have been discovered in caverns, but in all the cases, such as that of the lower jaw in the Trou de Naulette, or the few teeth in the reindeer-breccias of the rock-shelters of the Dordogne and Vézère, they are too fragmentary to give sound basis for arriving at any sweeping conclusion as to the physique of man at that time. In the former case the canines were remarkable for their size. If we reflect that in those days the hyæna was very abundant, one of the most obvious reasons of the non-discovery of human skeletons is to be referred to the bone-devouring habits of that animal. And it is quite incredible that the devourer of all the marrow-containing bones of rhinoceros, lion, bear, elk, and other large and powerful creatures, would have spared the highly organized and comparatively delicate framework of man. On the other hand, flint implements are almost indestructible, and the articles fashioned by man are not such as to tempt the teeth of any carnivora. They are therefore met with in great abundance, and testify to the existence of a rude race of hunters and fishermen in Central Europe in the pleistocene age. It is unnecessary in this place to discuss their habits and modes of life, because no new discovery has been made since they were treated in a recent number of this *Review*.*

We must now see whether man had arrived in Europe before or after the lowering of the temperature, which has left its mark both in the pleistocene fauna and in the phenomena known as glacial. This question is ably treated by Sir Charles Lyell, and forms by far the most important portion of

* 'Congrès International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistoriques,' Brussels volume, 1872, p. 164, pl. vi.

† Pengelly: Cave-Man of Mentone. 'Transactions of the Devonshire Association,' July, 1873.

‡ See 'British Quarterly Review,' No. cxii. p. 240, *et seq.*

* No. cxii. p. 238, *et seq.*

his work. The European climate during the pleiocene age was sufficiently warm to allow of certain deer, such as the axis and rusa, now living only in India and the Malayan Archipelago, to flourish in the valley of the Arno, in the neighbourhood of the great lakes, and then active volcanoes of Central France, as well as on the plains which then connected Norfolk and Suffolk with the continent. Speaking in general terms, all the animals are either extinct, or merely represented by those creatures which now dwell in the warmer regions of Asia. At the close of this age new forms begin to appear, for the most part derived from northern Asia. The roe, the stag, the extinct Irish elk, and the woolly mammoth—all of which have been met with in the living or fossil state in Siberia, occur in the pre-glacial forest bed of Norfolk and Suffolk, associated with the survivors out of the pleiocene fauna capable of withstanding the change of temperature, by which the new immigration was probably caused. Then the reindeer and the urus make their appearance in the deposits underneath the boulder clay of Scotland, and the musk-sheep, most arctic of known animals, in the valley of the Thames at Crayford. In Scotland, and on the east coast, the strata in which these discoveries were made were covered by the boulder clay, and show that these animals invaded Europe in the pre-glacial age. The association of the musk-sheep with pleiocene forms at Crayford renders it probable that the fauna, of which it formed a part, belonged to an early stage of the pleistocene. As time went on, the vast herds of red-deer, which lived in the valley of the Thames, yielded place to those of reindeer, and that animal, along with the musk-sheep and glutton, ranged over the whole of Europe north of the Alps and the Pyrenees.*

The existence of an arctic group of animals, such as this, in those latitudes can only be accounted for by the hypothesis that the climate was arctic in those regions, and they could not have migrated to Great Britain unless at that time the continent had extended sufficiently far to the west as to embrace Ireland. The ancient seashore at this time was probably represented by the hundred-fathom line, and our readers may gather a fair idea of the ancient land surface of the British area by a reference to Sir Charles Lyell's map, Fig. 44, which more correctly represents the soundings than that

which he has published in the preceding editions.

On the other hand, associated with these arctic animals, both in caverns and river deposits, are animals now only to be met with in the tropical regions of Africa. The spotted hyæna and the hippopotamus in those times ranged as far to the north as Yorkshire, and the former animal as far to the east as the Altai mountains. It is incredible that the hippopotamus should have flourished in the same climate as the reindeer, although its remains lie side by side with those of the latter, under conditions which show that they inhabited the same area at approximately the same time. This association of tropical with arctic forms of life may be satisfactorily explained by the view that in those days the European climate resembled that of Siberia, in which the winters are extremely severe, and the summer heat intense. As the snows of winter retreated from the region north of the Alps and Pyrenees the hippopotamus commenced its northern migration from those regions in the south where it usually lived, and as the frosts of winter approached it retreated again, yielding place to the reindeer and other animals, who made the same area their winter quarters. The objection raised by Mr. James Geikie to this view, that the hippopotamus is not a migratory animal, is satisfactorily met by the evidence brought forward by Sir Charles Lyell, p. 208, that it migrates from one region to another in Africa at the present time.

Pleistocene Europe has been divided into three great regions by the examination of the fossil remains; the northern, into which no southern animal penetrated; the southern, in which no arctic animal has been discovered; and the middle, in which the remains of both are found lying side by side.*

The physical changes which went on while these animals were in possession of Europe, are most conspicuous in Great Britain. As the climate gradually grew more severe, the areas to the north of a line passing between Chester and York, as well as the whole of Wales, were covered with a vast sheet of ice, like that in Greenland at the present time, which passed over the crests of some of our higher hills, leaving deep grooves and vast masses of rock behind to show its direction, and carving out that flowing contour which is so characteristic of a large portion of our scenery. In all probability the land at this time stood at

* See an article in the 'Geological Journal,' Nov., 1872, 'Classification of the Pleistocene Strata by means of the Mammalia,' §§ 15, 16.

* See map in 'Quarterly Geological Journal,' 1872, p. 436.

the very least six hundred feet, if not more, above its present level.

Ireland was unfortunate, even at this remote time; for the ice-sheet, in its passage down to the sea, ground away a large portion of its coal-field, leaving merely a few scraps here and there, as mournful relics of its former mineral wealth.

Then followed a period of depression, during which the whole of the area north of the valley of the Thames was submerged, to the depth of at least 1,200 feet in Wales and Derbyshire, and about 2,000 feet in Scotland, the level being indicated by the strata of marine shells and shingle which have been left behind. Great Britain at this time, as Sir Charles Lyell has well shown in his map (p. 325), was represented by a cluster of small islands.

Subsequent to this, the land rose again above the waves, and glaciers flowed down from the higher hills of Wales, Cumbria, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Scotland, leaving behind grooves parallel with the direction of the valleys, and as they retreated, moraines both terminal and lateral.*

On the continent of Europe, two, at least, of these changes of climate have been observed. The Swiss geologists have shown that the Alpine glaciers extended further than they do at the present time, and that they present two stages of extension, the first of which is of greater magnitude than the second. And the Alpine blocks and moraines have been traced far down into the plains of Lombardy, into the valley of the Rhine, and in France as far south in the valley of the Rhone as Valence. The admirable essay and map brought by MM. Falsan and Chantré, before the last meeting of the French Association for the Advancement of Science at Lyons, show that there were two periods of glaciation in the valley of the Rhone, the one being due to the movement of an ice-sheet irrespective of the lower hills, the other being merely the work of the glaciers localized in the valleys. These, in all probability, correspond in point of time with the like stages of the complicated phenomena known as 'glacial' in Britain. At this time the glaciers of the Pyrenees, now so small, extended at least from thirty to forty miles from their present position down into the plains, leaving behind most astounding evidences of their presence in the valley of the Garonne and elsewhere. One of the precipitous sides of the valley, near the Pont du Roy, for example, is so smoothed and polished that it is 'bare of

vegetation except in the deep grooves, which offer a precarious support to the roots of ferns and of stunted beeches.

The traces of a greater severity of climate than that which is now to be met with in Asia Minor and Northern Africa have been recorded by several observers. Dr. Hooker, in his journey to Syria in 1860, discovered that the cedars of Lebanon grew on the moraines of ancient glaciers, which descended to a level of about 6,200 feet above the Mediterranean. At the present time there is no perpetual snow even on the loftiest peaks. More recently, Mr. Gifford Palgrave has shown that ancient moraines and travelled blocks are to be met with in the mountains of Anatolia, near Trebizonde, where no glaciers now exist, at a height of 5,000 feet above the sea,* while in Northern Africa Mr. George Maw has met with similar evidence of the glaciers in the Moroccan Atlas, at about 6,000 feet above the level of the sea.† In all these cases the temperature was probably lowered during the time of the maximum extension of ice in Northern Europe—that is to say, during the first stage of the glacial period, as represented by the ice-sheet in Great Britain.

It is, in our belief, idle to speculate on the cause of this great physical change, which was so widely spread, not merely over the old world, but over the new; but we would remark that an elevation of the land would produce the same climatal effect as that which is sometimes accounted for by the shifting of the earth's axis, or by the interruption of the Gulf Stream, or the varying relations of land to sea. A general elevation of 2,000 feet would probably restore a large portion of Europe to glacial conditions, and yet, in the Mediterranean area, the passage of European animals into Africa, and of African animals into Europe, shows that there was even a greater elevation at that time.‡

The general idea which we may gather from the examination of all the facts relating to the pleistocene animals and the glacial period, is somewhat of this kind—that as the temperature gradually became lowered, the arctic animals advanced southwards and eastwards, until they were capable of living even in Southern France; and that during the time of their sojourn in those regions,

* 'Vestiges of Glacial Action in Anatolia,' by Gifford Palgrave, *Nature*, October 31, 1872.

† 'A Journey to Morocco and the Ascent of the Great Atlas.' A Lecture delivered before the Birmingham and Midland Institute.

‡ See 'Physical Geography of Mediterranean during the Pleistocene Age,' *Popular Science Review*, March, 1873, p. 159, *et seq.*

* See 'Popular Science Review,' October, 1871, p. 78.

the cold was sufficiently intense to cover all the higher mountains and some of the valleys with ice. Their furthest southern range probably coincided in point of time with the period of maximum cold, which has left its mark in the great ice-sheet of Northern Britain. When the climate began to change, and the ice-sheet shrank until it was represented by comparatively few and small local glaciers flowing down from the higher ground, the reindeer and its allies probably returned northwards again, occupying the regions through which they had passed in their southern advance, and leaving their remains behind in the river deposits of sand and gravel, which rest upon the boulder-clay as at Hoxne, and are, therefore, post-glacial. There is reason, however, for the belief that comparatively large areas in Great Britain and Ireland were occupied by glaciers after the close of the pleistocene age, since the river gravels in them contain no remains of the pleistocene animals, which abound in similar deposits almost everywhere else.

What is the relation of the ancient man who lived in the pleistocene age to the glacial period? Did he flourish in Europe before or after? In discussing this question Sir Charles Lyell seems to us to have laid too much stress upon the post-glacial evidence. It is perfectly true, that the flint implements found in many of the river gravels of Great Britain, imply that man was an inhabitant of this island after the first and second stages of the glacial period, marked by the ice-sheet and the marine depression. And his non-appearance in the areas of local glaciation, in common with the other pleistocene animals, may be accounted for by the hypothesis, that the access of both was forbidden by the glaciers. But these facts by no means establish the conclusion that in other regions man is also of post-glacial age. For example, there is no physical evidence, as Mr. Pengelly mentioned at the last British Association, to forbid the view that man inhabited Kent's Hole before the period of intense cold had set in, or that he may have lived there during the enormous interval represented by the three stages of the glacial period, which have left no traces in that district. And it seems to us extremely probable, that the palæolithic Eskimos had possession of the caves in Southern France during the period of the ice-sheet, that they arrived in that area before the ice-sheet had been formed, along with the arctic animals on which they preyed, and that they lived there after its disappearance. It is evident, therefore, that the glacial period cannot be assumed, as it very generally is assumed, to be a hard and fast line dividing one fauna from

another, and the occupation of Europe by man from the occupation of Europe by the pleistocene mammalia. If man be treated, as in such a question as this in our opinion he should be, merely as one of a fauna, he probably invaded Europe with the arctic group of animals—the musk, sheep, the woolly rhinoceros, and the like, at the beginning of the glacial period, and retreated northwards and westwards with the animals by which he was surrounded in Europe, when those physical changes were wrought by which the pleistocene animals were either banished or exterminated.

Nor are we without some few traces of the sojourn of man in Europe in pre-glacial times. Professor Busk has identified a fragment of bone from the Victoria cave, near Settle, as an abnormal human fibula. It was associated with the gnawed remains of the animals found in the lowest stratum, which are probably pre-glacial. A second case is afforded by the discovery of a flint flake in the fluviatile deposit at Crayford in Kent, by the Rev. Osmond Fisher, which is considered by some of the highest authorities to contain a pre-glacial fauna.

But, whether this evidence be accepted or not, the researches carried on during the last fifteen years have established the fact, that man lived in Europe at a time the remoteness of which is to be measured by the sequence of those changes in mammalian life and physical conditions, of which we have given an outline. The date of his arrival is, in our opinion, hopelessly and irretrievably lost, and not to be ascertained by any of those uniformitarian methods by which it has been approached by Sir Charles Lyell. We merely know, from the rude implements and works of art left behind in the caves and river-deposits, that he was in the same kind of social condition as savage tribes now upon the earth; and we are totally without proof that he was more closely akin to the higher apes than the existing races, as Professor Vogt and others assert. We have no facts before us, from the study of his remains, bearing upon the argument for or against the Darwinian hypothesis of 'Natural Selection,' or that wider and more generalized view which may be summarized as natural selection plus the unknown quantity x , termed evolution.

We would also remark, in conclusion, that the question of the antiquity of man in Europe, as proved by geological inquiries, is quite distinct from that of man's 'first appearance on the earth.' So far as relates to the latter we have absolutely no facts before us. When we have traced man back to the remote pleistocene age, we are as far removed from the solution of his absolute antiquity

ty as ever. His birthplace has yet to be found. He may have lived, as Dr. Falconer suggested, in the meiocene ages, but up to the present time no older signs of his presence than the above have been discovered in any part of the world.*

ART. III.—*The Prospects of Persia.*

- (1.) *Reports by Her Majesty's Secretaries of Embassy and Legation on the Manufactures, Commerce, &c., of the Countries in which they reside.* 1872.
- (2.) *Reports of Her Majesty's Consuls on British Trade Abroad.* Part II. 1873.
- (3.) *The History of Persia, from the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century to 1858.* By ROBERT GRANT WATSON, late Attaché to Her Britannic Majesty's Embassy in Persia. London. 1870.
- (4.) *A General Sketch of the History of Persia.* By CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, C.B., F.R.S. London. 1874.
- (5.) *Persia: Ancient and Modern.* By JOHN PIGGOT, F.S.A., F.G.S., F.R.G.S. London. 1874.
- (6.) *Three Years' Diplomatic Residence in Persia.* By EDWARD B. EASTWICK, F.R.S., F.S.A. London. 1864.
- (7.) *A Journey through the Caucasus and the Interior of Persia.* By AUGUSTUS H. MOUNSEY, F.R.G.S., Second Secretary to Her Majesty's Embassy at Vienna. London. 1861.
- (8.) *Tour in Persia during the Famine.* By A. C. BRITTLEBANK. London. 1873.

PERSIA, it is scarcely necessary to state, is but a fragment of the great empire which once bore that name. In the fifth century B.C. we know that its king reigned over 'an hundred and twenty provinces, from India even unto Ethiopia.' Its extent before the Macedonian conquest is vaguely described in the speech which Xenophon puts into the mouth of Cyrus, when addressing the Grecian generals whom he had taken into his service in the expedition designed to wrest the empire from his brother, as 'stretching towards the south to where men cannot dwell by reason of the heat, and extending in the direction of the bear to regions where

it is impossible to live, on account of the cold.' 'The limits of the kingdom, in its most prosperous state,' says Sir John Malcolm, 'may be easily defined: the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean to the south, the Indus and the Oxus to the east and north-east, the Caspian Sea and Mount Caucasus to the north, and the river Euphrates to the west.' Vast territories must, however, be struck off from this extensive outline in describing the present boundaries of Persia. It does indeed still reach to the Caspian Sea and Mount Caucasus to the north, and to the Persian Gulf on the south, but the wild regions of Beloochistan separate it from the Indian Ocean and the delta of the Indus, Afghanistan cuts it off from the higher portions of that river, and the country of the Usbeks and Turcomans interposes a broad and formidable barrier between Persia and the Oxus. Russia has advanced south from the Caucasus, Georgia, and Armenia, as far as the river Aras, on the west Persia is restricted by its Turkish neighbours to a natural mountain boundary, and to the east by the Tigris and its tributaries, until the Persian Gulf is approached. Although the countries passed over in the famous retreat of the ten thousand, do not, with a trifling exception, now belong to Persia, the facts stated by Xenophon in his 'Anabasis,' with respect to their resources and population, may be considered as equally applicable to those provinces which now form the Persian kingdom, as they then formed part of the great Persian empire. We read that they were full of corn and cattle, oil and wine, and that the tables of the peasantry were well provided with the flesh of lambs, kids, calves, and swine, and with wheat and barley bread. The Greeks had no difficulty in procuring supplies during their retreat, buying them in the open markets, taking them by force when necessary, or obtaining them in the form of presents from the provincial governors.

Of all the eastern kingdoms which have left their mark in history, Persia alone retains many of its ancient customs and institutions. It is this, combined with its great historical antecedents, which has recently attracted to it so large a portion of public attention. It is the only monarchy referred to in the Bible which exists at the present day; and notwithstanding the lapse of centuries and the changes of dynasties, many of its usages are identical with those recorded in the Book of Esther, when a beautiful Jewess became the Queen of King Ahasuerus, and Mordecai the minister of the mightiest potentate on the earth. The immutability of Persian customs is strikingly illustrated by an incident re-

* Mr. James G. McKie's work on 'The Great Ice-Age' has appeared since this article was in type; a notice of it will be found in the Contemporary Literature.

lated by Xenophon. When Cyrus entered the city of Tarsus in Cilicia, he summoned the prince of the country to his presence, and, soliciting his assistance in the enterprise in which he was engaged, he presented him with a horse with a golden bit, a chain of gold, bracelets of gold and precious stones, a robe of honour, and a golden scimitar. Such are precisely the presents which a sovereign of Persia would consider at the present day as most suitable to his dignity as marks of his royal favour and esteem.

Little was known of modern Persia until the diplomatic mission of Sir John Malcolm, to whom we are indebted for nearly all the trustworthy information which we possess respecting its social state, until of late years, when several intelligent travellers have visited it and diplomatists have recorded their opinions of its political condition. The writers on Persia in the seventeenth century—Tavanier, Olearius, Sir John Chardin, Sanson, Tomalli, and Sir Thomas Herbert—throw considerable light upon the state of the kingdom at that period; but their works, although curious, possess but little present interest. The writers of the eighteenth century—Hanway, Bell, and Franklin, relating to the period of Nadir Shah—do not afford much information and have but little application to the country at the present day.

The area of modern Persia is about equal to that of France and Spain, and is roughly estimated to possess about 4,500,000 inhabitants, but of these fully one-third are nomads. The description of Persia by a Scottish traveller is not without some humour and considerable truth. According to him the country is divided into two portions—one desert with salt, and the other desert without salt. The general aspect of Persia is one of extreme barrenness, although corn is extensively cultivated around the villages, and in some districts large plains of barley and wheat are to be seen; but the traveller passes over plains of apparently boundless extent, entirely destitute of cultivation. The great salt desert of Iran, or so much of it as is contained within the boundaries of Persia, is 250 miles in breadth. The character of this desert varies in different places. In some the surface is dry, with a saline efflorescence; in others it is marshy, and in winter the melting of the snow causes a great accumulation of water. In the hot months much of this is evaporated, and leaves behind it a deposit of salt upon a bed of mud. In some places sand predominates, in the form either of level plains or wavelike hillocks, the drift from which is extremely dangerous to travellers, who are not unfrequently buried

alive. In several parts of this desert hills rise abruptly, although in general only to a moderate elevation. They usually form short ridges, and serve as places of refuge for robbers, and between these ridges are occasionally small cultivated plains or oases, of which there is a series between Herat and Ispahan. The city of Yezd is situated in one of these plains. The Persian deserts have a natural tendency to extend themselves, and districts which once teemed with fertility now produce nothing. The greatest care is required to prevent the cultivated land from being inundated by the sand billows which are raised by the wind, but the sparseness of population restricts the area of the production, which diminishes rather than increases from year to year. Persia possesses only seven inhabitants to the square mile, and the general depopulation is so great that the inhabited villages are from twenty to forty miles apart.

The kingdom may be considered generally as an elevated table-land sloping towards the Caspian Sea on the north for about two-thirds of its area, and for the other third towards the Persian Gulf. This table-land is very sparingly watered. The southern mountains are too bare of wood and too low to attract sufficient moisture to form perennial streams. The northern mountains give rise to numerous water-courses; but before they enter the plains, the small quantity of water which they bring down, if not utilized by irrigation works, is speedily absorbed. Persia, however, notwithstanding the general sterility which characterizes its table-lands, presents in some favoured spots scenes of striking beauty and fertility. The charms of Ispahan and its surrounding country have from time immemorial been the theme of poets. But the descent from the high table-land which borders the Persian Gulf, and which consists of series of terraces, with stupendous cliffs, gradually descending in gigantic steps to the sea, is perhaps the most picturesque portion of Persia. It is covered with the most brilliant and luxurious vegetation; on its grassy prairies the oleander, the myrtle, and the locust tree grow wild; masses of variegated stocks, petunias, lupins, geraniums, ranunculus, and convolvulus mingle their bright hues with the green of fennel, wild rhubarb, and the liquorice plant; while interspersed amongst fields of corn are patches of scarlet, white, and lilac poppies, giving to the landscape, when lighted up by the sun, an appearance like that of the richest Persian carpet, but intensified in colour and beauty.

The climate of Persia is characterized by great heat and great dryness, and without

an artificial supply of water the greatest portion of the country would be altogether uninhabitable. But these defects were counteracted in former ages by a very complete and extensive system of irrigation, which sufficiently explains its former fertility and populousness. The country in all directions is intersected with the remains of 'kanats,' or underground canals. Great ingenuity has been displayed in their construction. A kanat is a subterranean aqueduct, often forty miles in length, which has its source at the base of a mountain, and shafts or wells are sunk as required along its course. The greater part of Persia is covered with the remains of these kanats. The soil in the valleys and plains is naturally good, and when water, the indispensable condition of cultivation, can be obtained, the production is said to be prodigious. Grain in years of abundance is so cheap as to bear, in the country districts, almost a nominal price. The fruits of the country are unequalled in any part of the world. Melons can be eaten in perfection only in Persia, and fields of this fruit, three or four miles in length, and a mile and a half in breadth, are far from uncommon.

The prevalence of salt has been noticed, and the few lakes which exist, with two or three exceptions, are saline. The most considerable of the inland waters, that of Urumiyeh or Shahee (the Spautia of Strabo) is more than eighty miles in length, and thirty in its widest part. The water is much saltier than that of the ocean, and its specific gravity is said to be 1.165, while that of the Atlantic Ocean, near the equator, is only 1.040. A vessel of 180 tons draws only from three to four feet; a violent gale raises the waves only a few feet, and they quickly subside.

The whole elevated plateau of Persia must once have been covered with great lakes which have dried up during a subsequent gradual elevation of the land. It is impossible to doubt that a gradual change in the climate of Central Asia has taken place from the time when the great plain north of Persia was under water, the Black, Caspian, and Aral Seas were united, and the plains of Mesopotamia formed part of the Persian Gulf. This gradual drying up of the country was thus connected with the elevation of the steppe region of Central Asia and the southern coasts of Persia. To the same cause is probably due the gradual contraction of the Caspian and the Sea of Aral, and the disappearance of lakes which once undoubtedly covered no small part of the interior of Persia. It is equally clear that Persia has undergone a gradual process of change from a

moist to a drier climate simultaneously with the elevation of large portions of its surface, resulting in the conversion of old river valleys into enclosed basins, containing large lakes, many of them brackish or salt. Then, as the rainfall diminished, most of the lakes dried up, becoming desert plains. The great central plain of Persia having been barometrically surveyed in various places, it has been found that much of it is of a lower level than any part of the surrounding country.

The climatic conditions of the country must be very trying, for great extremes of heat and cold are experienced. On the elevated table-land, water in winter becomes almost instantaneously ice when poured into tumblers on the dinner table, although placed close to the fire; bottles of wine, although covered with straw, are split by the expansion of their contents; and eggs become solid as marble.

The sparseness of the settled population in proportion to the vast area of Persia is one of the chief causes of its remarkable decline. The dreadful invasions to which it has repeatedly been exposed explain to a certain extent the cause of the paucity of its inhabitants. It appears incredible, in the present condition of Central Asia and Persia, that such regions could ever have furnished those vast armies which Cyrus and Xerxes and other great monarchs were able to muster. The conquests of the Mongols, and the more recent ravages of the Turkomans have doubtless contributed to reduce the country to its present depopulated state; for wherever the ferocious hordes of Gengis Khan and Timur penetrated, the indiscriminate slaughter of old and young of both sexes followed as a matter of course; and large numbers of Persians of both sexes have, down to a recent period, been systematically carried off and reduced to slavery. Hence, in many districts, may be seen villages without inhabitants, towns only half peopled, bazaars without traffickers, mosques without worshippers, and palaces of oriental splendour without an occupant. It is difficult to realize the actual condition of Persia. India possesses population, industry, fertility; in Persia all is comparatively depopulation, sterility, desolation, and decay.

After making all due allowance for the calamities which Persia has endured from external enemies, such are the recuperative powers of nature when fairly treated, that a country capable, as we know from history, of supporting a very considerable population, could not have been reduced to its present condition without the most culpable misgovernment.

The government of Persia is a pure des-

potism. A Persian king is the impersonation of the principle of absolute sovereignty, and both in ancient and modern history he appears as the pivot upon which the whole political machinery of the state turns. This theory of government has always commended itself as at once simple and intelligible to the oriental mind. The Asiatic rejoices in the knowledge that he has a powerful master; and, so long as that master rules firmly, no severity however great will either shock or surprise him. The Persian conception of a great reign is not that of a sovereign who has been humane, merciful, and beneficent, but of one who has shown himself inflexible in judgment, stern in resolution, swift in vengeance, and strong to strike the mightiest wrong-doer down. This veneration for the sterner attributes of power, while it is a tower of strength to the ruler, operates in such a state of society as that of Persia as a real and substantial security to the mass of the people. The king is a sure refuge from the oppression of nobles, magistrates, and subordinate officials of all denominations. Complaints carried to the foot of the throne (and it is approachable by the humblest) meet with prompt attention, and the sovereign is both by interest and inclination ready to embrace any opportunity of increasing his popularity by the summary punishment of any offender, especially as by doing so he can often add to the accumulations in the royal coffers by confiscating to the use of the state the whole of his subject's ill-gotten wealth. The Shah alone is irresponsible in Persia. There is no council but one of his own selection to direct him, and he is the sole ultimate receiver of all the revenues of his kingdom. His will is supreme; but it is most frequently felt in its full significance by the members of his family, by his domestics, and by his ministers, any of whom he can beat, torture, imprison, banish, or put to death by a word or a sign at his pleasure.

The judicial system of the country, however, is more in accordance with European opinion and precedent than the administrative; for the nation is practically governed, as were the Hebrews of old, by a written code. What the law of Moses was to the Israelites under their monarchy, the Koran is to the Persians since their conversion to Islamism. In Persia this sacred written law, with its unwritten traditions, is administered by the clergy, and forms a protection against any flagrant abuse of power by the sovereign himself. Mahometanism, too, in Persia has undergone some modifications. The Sheah sect, to which the Persians belong, differs from the Soonnee, or orthodox Maho-

metan faith, in having rejected much of the traditional teaching of the priesthood; a species of rationalism, termed Soofeism, has accordingly sprung up among the educated classes, and several of the Persian sovereigns have been suspected of favouring it. The strict prohibition in the Koran, for instance, of the use of wine, has for centuries been evaded or defied in Persia, and the open legalization of its use is said to be one of the innovations contemplated by the present Shah. The customary law, denominated the Urf, is administered by secular judges. It is, like our common law, the unwritten law of the land, and is supposed to be a remnant of the institutions of Zoroaster, which the nation has inherited from its great religious reformer. Thus, a temporal and a spiritual jurisdiction has grown up side by side in Persia. The administrators of the Sherrah, or divine law, have been inclined to claim authority over all causes, civil and ecclesiastical, and to regard the jurisdiction of the secular courts as a usurpation; but the temporal tribunals have, with the encouragement of successive sovereigns, prevailed, and have restricted the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts to disputes respecting religious ceremonies, inheritance, marriage, and divorce, reserving to themselves all cases of murder, theft, fraud, and such offences which can be regarded as tending to a breach of the peace.

No Asiatic people, with the remarkable exception of the Japanese, have ever manifested any desire for representative government; and certainly such an idea as that of parting with the power of taxation has never entered the mind of any oriental sovereign. Sir Harford Jones, British minister at the court of Tehran early in the present century, relates a conversation which he had with the Shah on the subject. After explaining to his Majesty the principle of the British Constitution in reference to the right of the House of Commons to grant supplies, and its control over the public expenditure,

'I can easily conceive,' the Shah replied, 'how a country such as you represent England to be, may be governed by limited monarchical institutions; but if we were to attempt to do the same thing here, I have no idea how we should all live, or how there would be any government at all. Supposing I were to call a parliament at Tehran, and surrender to it the whole power of taxation, I should then never get a penny; and more than that, the khans (nobles) would be for making the buckalls (burghers) pay all, and the buckalls would be for doing the same by the khans. It must take a long time to make such a government and such a people as yours. Our government is simple, and the people know all about it in a day. Our laws are much simpler than yours,

and so far they are better; and I know by experience that under these laws, and under this government, Persia has very much improved since I came to the throne.'

The people of Persia, like every other Asiatic race, are powerfully impressed by external appearances. 'If you wish a Persian to understand you,' said an experienced British diplomatist, 'speak to his eyes, not to his ears.' All ranks in Persia are taught from their infancy to admire show, and their judgments of men and things are the result rather of imagination than reason. To this passion must be ascribed the gorgeous decoration of the royal person, for even Solomon in all his glory seated on his golden throne was not arrayed in such dazzling splendour as is the Shah of Persia when he presents himself on ceremonial occasions to the delighted eyes of his people.

The bracelets and armlets worn by a Persian king are very ancient symbols of royal dignity. They were worn by the Israelitish kings, as appears by the account of the death of Saul, when the Amalekite took the crown from off the head of the slain monarch and the bracelet from his arm. Sir Harford Jones, who had an opportunity of examining the Persian regalia at leisure, says that the crown was excessively heavy, owing to the massiveness of the gold and the great size of the jewels which adorned it. He estimates the value of the crown jewels, after making every allowance for imperfection of water and colour in some, at not less than £15,000,000. Among them was the 'sea of light,' a diamond weighing 186 carats; another, the 'crown of the moon,' weighing 146 carats, and a pair of bracelets valued at £1,000,000. Many of these jewels formed part of the spoil brought from Delhi by Nadir Shah. The estimate of the Shah's jewels by Sir Harford Jones is doubtless exaggerated. Mr. Mounsey reckons them as worth about £2,000,000.

The account given by Mr. Eastwick, the secretary of the British legation at Tehran in 1862, of the royal jewels, differs both from that of Sir Harford Jones and Mr. Mounsey.

'I went,' he says, 'with the Turkish minister, an Italian, and a Russian lady to see the Shah's jewels, which are certainly the greatest sight in their way that the world can show. We presented ourselves at the palace, and were received by Yahya Khan, who took us out of the second and inner great court of the palace, into a small quadrangle, not far from the sacred precincts of the harem. We then went up a steep staircase to a small room about 20 feet by 14, where jewels to the value of six or seven millions were laid out on carpets at the

far end of the room. Near the jewels, on a chair, sat the Mustaufi Mamalik, or Persian Chancellor of the Exchequer, and being a Saiyid, wore the sacred colour.

'In such a show of gems as seemed to realize the wonders of Aladdin's lamp, the eye was too much dazzled and the memory too confused for description to be possible. But I remember that at the back of all was the Kaianian crown, and on either side of it two Persian lambskin caps, adorned with splendid aigrettes of diamonds. The crown itself was shaped like a flower-pot, with the small end open and the other closed. On the top of the crown was an uncut ruby, apparently without flaw, as large as a hen's egg. In front of the crown were dresses covered with diamonds and pearls; trays, with necklaces of pearls, rubies, and emeralds; and some hundreds of diamond, ruby, and turquoise rings. In front of these, again, were gauntlets and belts covered with rubies and diamonds; and, conspicuous among them, the Kaianian belt, about a foot deep, weighing perhaps about eighteen pounds, and one complete mass of pearls, diamonds, emeralds, and rubies. Still nearer to us stood a drinking bowl, completely studded with enormous jewels; a tray full of foreign orders set in brilliants; and in front of all lay a dozen swords, one or two of which are worth a quarter of a million each. Along with these were epaulettes covered with diamonds, and armlets so contrived that the brilliants revolved, and kept up a continuous scintillation.

'It was difficult among so many to single out particular gems. Perhaps, however, the first place ought to be assigned to the famous "Darya-i-Nor," or "Sea of Light," the sister diamond to our Punjab trophy the "Koh-i-Nor," or "Mountain of Light." It is an inch and a half long, an inch broad, and three-eighths of an inch thick. It has the name Fath Ali Shah on one side, and the inscribing this name reduced the value of the diamond, so at least said Yahya Khan. It is a monstrous diamond, but not very brilliant. The Persians say that the "Sea of Light" and the "Mountain of Light" were jewels in the sword of Afrusiab, who lived three thousand years B.C. Rustum took them from Afrusiab, and they continued in the crown of Persia till they were carried away by Timour, from whom they descended to Mohammed Shah, King of Delhi, and Nadir brought them from India; but when he was slain, Ahmed Shah Abdalli carried off the Koh-i-Nor, which descended to Shah Shuja, and was taken from him by Runjet Singh. The Darya Nor remained in Persia with the greater part of the other gems that Nadir brought from India.

'Among the rings is one in which is set the famous Pitt diamond sent by George IV. to Fath Ali Shah.* Another very large diamond is the Taji Hama, or Diadem of the Phoenix. It

* This must be a mistake, for the Pitt diamond is known to be in the possession of the French Government, and forms one of the ornaments of the imperial crown. It was sold to the Regent Duke of Orleans by its owner for £135,000.

seemed as big as the top of a man's thumb. There is also the finest turquoise in the world, three or four inches long, and without a flaw; and a smaller one of unique beauty, three-quarters of an inch long and three-eighths of an inch broad. The colour was lovely, and almost as refreshing to the eye as Persian poets pretend. There are also many sapphires as large as marbles, and rubies and pearls the size of nuts; and I am certain that I counted nearly a hundred emeralds from half an inch square to an inch and three-quarters long, and an inch broad. In the sword scabbard, which is covered with diamonds, there is not perhaps a single stone smaller than the nail of a man's little finger. Lastly, there is an emerald as large as a walnut, covered with the names of the kings who had possessed it.'

The Persian aristocracy consists of the khans or nobles, the heads of tribes, and great officers of state whom the Shah has raised to dignity and importance. In the selection of his ministers the sovereign is not restricted to any special class of his subjects, and the liberality shown in public appointments promises well for the administrative reforms which are said to be in contemplation. Individuals have been often raised from humble and even menial positions to high official station simply for their personal abilities. A prime minister of the present Shah's predecessor had been a schoolmaster; the governor of Ispahan in the same reign a menial servant, and the minister for foreign affairs was originally a coffee-dealer at Tabreez. Obscurity of birth, therefore, offers no impediment to advancement in Persia; nor does a spirit of exclusiveness ever prevent the right man from being put in the right place. Most Persian dignitaries possess sonorous titles. The master of the ceremonies is called 'the support of the kingdom;' the minister of agriculture 'the arm of the state;' the minister of war 'the shield of the empire;' the commander in chief 'the sword of the state,' and so on.

The knowledge of even the higher classes is said, with some exceptions, to be very limited, their geographical and political information scarcely extending beyond Russia and Turkey.

'Persians,' to quote Mr. Mounsey, 'have very vague ideas of the geography of Europe and the relative strength of European powers. Russia is generally considered the most powerful, and has, it is said, by her recent conquests in Central Asia, somewhat dimmed the prestige which England enjoyed from her possession of India. Turkey from its vicinity is known to be formidable; but the other countries of the West are supposed to be little more than petty principalities, whose princes are ever warring upon each other, and whose overcrowded inhabitants are worked like slaves in

manufactories. As to their own country they think there is none like it. Its king is the "king of kings," its mountains are the highest, its plains the vastest, its climate the best, its horses the fleetest, its women the most beautiful, and its fruit the most delicious in the world. There is no place like Iran.'

The prevalence of such ideas is not surprising when the geographical isolation of Persia is considered. The number of Europeans who visit it is very small, and their intercourse with the natives extremely limited. Few of the inhabitants have ever been west of Constantinople and Nishni Novgorod, or east of Bombay, and the accounts which these bring back of what they have seen are always sufficiently toned down to flatter the national vanity. Books relating to foreign countries hardly exist, and caravans and monthly couriers of the French and English legations afford the only means of communicating with them. The Shah is probably the only person in his kingdom who reads foreign journals. The *Tehran Gazette* was, Lady Sheil says, in her lively work on Persia, published some years ago, under the management of an English gentleman, whose duty it was to translate extracts from European papers suitable to Persian ideas. This gentleman enjoyed no sinecure; for, besides the *Gazette* for the public, he was the editor of another newspaper designed only for the eye of the Shah and his ministers. Probably a great improvement will take place in the tone of Persian thought and the range of Persian information consequent on the visit of their sovereign to Europe. He is, it is well known, profoundly conscious of the disadvantages under which his country labours, and of the true mode of removing them. The elevation of the mass of the people first, by material prosperity, and then by education, are, it is believed, the main features of his programme.

The peasantry of Persia have been described as the Irish of Asia, never labouring beyond what is necessary to obtain a bare subsistence, which, except in years of drought, they can easily do by simply scratching the soil after the melting of the snow; they must, therefore, be actuated by new wants and desires before they can be expected to overcome their habitual indolence. These will doubtless now be supplied by increased commercial intercourse, and the importation of European commodities suited to their requirements. The stimulus which will be imparted to agriculture by the renovation of the works of irrigation will also greatly conduce to the improvement of the people.

The position of Persia in Asia is one of close juxtaposition with our Indian empire

but the danger to her independence is not from the south or from the east, but from the north. The advances made of late years by Russia in Central Asia, and the encroachments which at various times have been made by that power upon Persian territory, indicate but too clearly the danger to which she is exposed.

The Caspian Sea washes the coasts of the Persian provinces, Talish, Geelan, Mazenderan, Asterabad, and Persian Turkomania. Persia, although now the most unnautical nation in the world, was once supreme on the Caspian, and even forced the Russians to lower their flag as a symbol of maritime inferiority. A little more than a hundred years ago, a Persian fleet, commanded by an Englishman of ability, cruised in this inland sea. In the year 1813, when Persia was struggling for her very existence in the iron grasp of Russia, she was under the cruel necessity, in order to retain even the semblance of political life, to sign the treaty of Gollistan*, by which she bound herself not again to maintain any ship of war on the Caspian, which thus became a Russian lake. This treaty was more humiliating to the pride of Persia than injurious to her interests; it nevertheless enforced a restriction which, on Russia's own principles, as avowed in her recent declaration in regard to similar stipulations in reference to herself in the Black Sea, no power could be expected permanently to endure; and the natural rights of Persia in the Caspian are as unquestionable as those of Russia in the Black Sea. If the exclusion of her vessels of war from the Black Sea by the Treaty of London proved so intolerable to the pride and self-respect of Russia that she took the earliest opportunity of declaring that she no longer held herself bound by that treaty, she could not consistently condemn Persia for profiting by the lesson, and asserting, should she be so disposed, her maritime rights on a sea which washes so considerable a portion of her territory. A small, sandy island, Ashurada, situated in the bay of Asterabad, about twelve miles from the part of the coast which is nearest to that city, was taken possession of by Russia in the most summary manner in 1841, and has been erected into a naval station. It commands the entrance to the bay, is a standing menace to that portion of the Persian coast, and intercepts the commerce with Mazanderan, on which the stationary Turkoman tribes in that district chiefly depend for subsistence, and upon

whose territory Russia is believed to have long cast a covetous eye.

It was the Treaty of Turkoman Chae, however, the result of the war of 1826-28, which inflicted the deepest humiliation upon Persia. By it Russia exacted from the Shah the sum of two millions sterling, the accumulated savings of a long reign, for the expenses of a war provoked by her own domineering attitude, and by the seizure as a 'material guarantee' of a portion of Persian territory. By this treaty Russia extended her boundaries to the river Aras, thereby obtaining easy access to the cities of Tabreez and Khoe, and to the valuable provinces of Ghelan and Azerbejan.

Persia has derived advantages from Russian aggressions in Central Asia, which ought not, however, to be overlooked. The weakness and degradation to which Persia had gradually fallen after the reign of Nadir Shah is strongly exemplified by the fact that Khiva, Yarkand, and Bokhara have long been supplied with both male and female slaves from the kingdom which was once ruled by Cyrus and Xerxes. Thousands of these victims have been annually carried off by the wild Turkoman hordes, and sold in the neighbouring countries, and it is but simple justice to Russia to acknowledge that wherever she has carried her arms in Central Asia, her influence has been exerted in the cause of humanity. This was eminently the case in her recent occupation of Khiva, when she at once availed herself of the right of a conqueror by demanding the liberation of all the Persian slaves, to whom she generously supplied the means of returning to their native country.

The Turkomans are the traditional kidnappers and slave-dealers of Central Asia. They are organized marauders, plundering principally with a view to human spoil. Their attacks are generally sudden, and they bear away their captives on the fleetest of horses. The condition of the districts which are most exposed to these disastrous inroads may be easily conceived. These savage horsemen commit the most revolting atrocities, destroying villages, massacring the old and feeble, and carrying off the young and beautiful. Arrived in the Turkoman country, parents are separated from their children, and husbands from their wives. Young female captives are exposed naked for the inspection of Khivan and Bokharan slave-dealers, and are sold into hopeless bondage. If resistance is attempted they are subjected to the most shocking indignities even before the eyes of their nearest relatives.* The re-

* Renewed by the treaty of Turkoman Chae, 1828.

* The price of a Persian girl is said to vary from £10 to £40.

duction of these lawless hordes to order, and the suppression of this abominable traffic will be an object worthy of the arms of a resuscitated Persia. She has a long series of injuries to avenge, and if her separate action in a region so near to the Russian frontier should be distasteful to that power, it is to be hoped that an understanding may be arrived at by which the co-operation of the two governments may be arranged for an object which both must desire.

The future of Persia will probably depend upon the success of the plans formed by Baron Reuter for its improvement, of which irrigation is said to be one of the principal. Without an adequate supply of water it is impossible for agriculture to flourish in that country. If the irrigation works could be restored, the products of Persia would be enormous and varied, but two or three generations of good government will be required to restore population to the country. A portion of the soil consists of clay and loam of great fertility, but the population has so diminished that the decay of the ancient works of irrigation has been the result. Irrigation, however, depends upon rainfall and the melting of snow upon the mountains. Persia has from the remotest times been subject to periodical visitations of famine, and almost the whole of Central Asia is more or less afflicted with droughts. In Balkh, Vambéry informs us, famine prevailed to such an intensity in 1650, that 1,000 rupees, equivalent to £100, were given for an ass load of corn. During a famine in Persia in 1827 mothers were known to have eaten their children, and goats' blood was sold by the ounce. In 1862 famine again prevailed, and such was the scarcity of food that the ties of nature were disregarded, and daughters were freely sold by their parents to the Turkoman slave dealers to procure the necessities of life. Serious riots occurred at Tehran, and the bakers' shops were plundered under the very eyes of the Shah. The dead body of the kalantar, or mayor of the city, was dragged naked through the bazaars, and on the following day the Shah appeared dressed in red, to indicate that should the disturbances continue, the severest measures would be resorted to for their repression, and, if necessary, the streets should run with blood. The dreadful famine which has recently afflicted Persia was caused by the small snowfall in 1870, and by the want of rain in 1871. The rainfall is never considerable on the plains, but the melting of the snow in ordinary years supplies a large quantity of water, much of which is lost or wasted before it reaches the great salt desert, distant twenty miles from Tehran. This

applies with even greater force to other parts of the country. The snow-water, if collected in reservoirs, which could be easily constructed, would, in ordinary years, not only be sufficient for the irrigation of the land already under cultivation, but would also be the means of permanently reclaiming vast tracts which are now a complete desert. Mr. Watson suggests the expediency of planting the slopes on the southern side of the Elburg mountains for the purpose of attracting moisture, and there seems no reason why this should not be gradually effected. At present, we are informed, water is only stored in the tanks for drinking purposes.

The Shah, warned by the terrible mortality which followed three consecutive years of famine before his recent visit to Europe, had anxiously turned his attention to the improvement of the means of communication between the different provinces of his kingdom. The routes of commerce in Persia, as in other countries, have been determined by the physical character of the country, and being adapted solely for caravan travelling, they have remained in the same state from the earliest period to the present time. These roads, it need not be said, are wholly inadequate to open out the resources of the country, and to place it in connection with other states. The actual commencement of the railway from Rescht to Tehran, a distance of 220 miles, under Baron Reuter's concession, promises well for the future of Persia, but the object of the Baron is understood to be for the present confined to the development of northern routes, the result of which will be to throw the monopoly of the carrying trade into the hands of Russia, who can, by the imposition of heavy duties in her Caucasian provinces, place a virtual prohibition on the importation, by that route, of European goods into Persia. A railway which would place the interior of the country in communication with the Persian Gulf, or one connecting it with the Mediterranean, would be to the obvious interest of Persia, by making her independent of Russian ports and custom houses. A line from Ispahan to Shuster, where the Karan river is navigable to the sea, would accomplish these objects, more especially as all the great roads of Persia converge on Ispahan. When the railway is completed to Tehran it will not terminate there, but will be continued to Ispahan, although the engineering difficulties between Ispahan and Shuster, the country being mountainous, are supposed to be considerable.

There are at present two principal currents of trade which set into Persia, one by the Persian Gulf on the south, the other by the

Black Sea. All the raw cotton produced in the northern maritime provinces goes to supply Russian manufactures, and a fleet of thirty steamers plies between Rescht and the neighbouring ports to Astracan and the Volga. The policy of Russia is to shut the merchants of the West of Europe completely out of the North Persian trade. Persia produces cotton equal to any American except the Sea Island. The want of railroads is the great obstacle to its increased export, but water carriage is available in many parts of Southern Persia. The northern carrying trade, which formerly centred in the Turkish port of Trebizond, has now, in consequence of Turkish apathy, passed to the Russian port of Poti. Russian merchants have thus gained complete possession of the northern carrying trade, while they retain the route of the Volga for their own commerce with Persia.

The value of the Persian trade to Europe and India is difficult to ascertain in consequence of the irregular manner in which the custom-house accounts are kept, and the extensive contraband trade. Few Persian products can, with the present means of communication, support the expenses of transport to European markets. Silk has hitherto been the most valuable of her productions which Persia could offer in exchange for foreign commodities. The larger portion of the produce is exported to France and Russia. The chief silk province is Ghilan, but in Mazanderan, and in almost every part of Persia, silk is produced. Most all the silk fabrics produced in Europe are manufactured in Persia, and although inferior in gloss and finish, are strong in texture and brilliant in colour.

The silk production of Persia received a severe check at the breaking out in 1865 of the silkworm disease in Ghilan. In the previous year the exportation of raw silk from that province was of the value of £1,057,310, but it gradually fell so low as £140,307. The production had so much diminished in 1871 that Messrs. Ralli and Co., the great Greek merchants at Rescht, were obliged to wind up their business and quit the country.

The Persians have always manifested a high capacity for works of art. The productions of the country in metal, ornamental carpentry, and decorative furniture, are of remarkable excellence and beauty. The glazed tiles, which are so conspicuous in the houses of the wealthy, were long peculiar to Persia. They are used to decorate the interior walls of the apartments which, panelled in various colours and patterns in arabesque, intermixed with flowers in mosaic, are exceedingly beautiful. The celebrated palace

of Tamerlane at Samarcand, of which the Persian '*pish tak*,' or verandah, towered above the rest of the building in the form of a half dome or alcove, was richly decorated with these tiles in gold and blue, and must have given it a most gorgeous appearance. These ornamental tiles are still manufactured, but owing to the impoverished state of the country the demand for them has greatly fallen off. The Persian glazed earthenware, says Mr. Piggot, is distinguished by the great brilliancy of its enamel colours, the principal of which are a deep lapis lazuli blue, turquoise, a vivid emerald green, a red of a dark orange tone, buff, purple, olive green, and black. The lustres are a rich orange gold, a dark copper colour, and a brass lustre. Many of the mosques of Persia are decorated with beautiful tiles; the earliest of these are of the tenth century.

Another Persian artistic specialty is the illumination of manuscripts. As, remarks Mr. Piggot, in the beautiful production of this character in Europe in the middle ages, the illuminated decorations were painted by artists who had nothing to do with the text, of course it would have been a waste of time for such artists to have written the book, and that work was accordingly given to inferior men. The illuminations in Persian MSS. exhibit the same faults of perspective as their pictures, but they are effective from the brightness of the colours which are heightened with gold. The borders are also ornamented with arabesque designs in gold and colours. The penmanship of these MSS., and also of those not so ornamented, is very beautiful, the Persian characters being well suited for calligraphic display. It is the appreciation in which these MSS. are held which has been the chief bar to the employment of printing to any extent in Persia. Lithography is more suited to the purpose. Very large prices are often paid for examples of writing by celebrated penmen. Sir J. Malcolm says he had known £7 given for four lines written by Dervish Mujid, a famous calligrapher.

Of the textile manufactures of Persia the most important is that of carpets, which possess a durability and richness of colouring which are unrivalled. The colours are permanent, and great ingenuity and taste are displayed in the patterns. The best are made at Yezd and in the neighbourhood of Kermanshah. Each side of a real Persian carpet is equally presentable. If a piece of red hot charcoal is placed upon one of the finest quality it will be singed and marked with a brown spot, but when it is brushed not the slightest trace of the spot remains. This is said to be the test of a good carpet.

Large numbers are made in the villages by women and children. The mechanism is very simple, consisting of four stakes fixed in the ground, which serve to twist the woollen threads together.

Mr. Piggot, who gives much the best description of Persian manufactures which we have met with, thus refers to certain other artistic and industrial productions for which the country is celebrated :—

‘Mohammed forbade his followers to make the likeness of living things; but the Shiahhs do not consider that this prohibition refers to pictures, and the Persian palaces are accordingly adorned with frescoes, generally illustrating court life of a previous period. Unfortunately, Persian artists do not understand perspective, and therefore their skill in the manipulation of colours is not seen to the best advantage. Sculpture, of course, they do not allow, but it is interesting to notice in their paintings some of the same principles observable in ancient Persian sculptures. For example, in the painting where the king is represented, he is delineated as of great size compared with his courtiers, and when Europeans are introduced they are also made of smaller proportions than the Persians. This system of indicating royalty by size is a prominent feature of ancient Persian sculpture. Some of the *kalmāns*, or pen cases, made of *papier mâché*, are often exquisitely ornamented with miniature paintings. Small articles are also made of a wooden mosaic work or marquetry, like our Tunbridge ware. But it is perhaps in enamelling that the Persian artificer displays most artistic taste. This is chiefly applied to the heads or bowls of *kaleons*, which are generally of gold, silver, or copper. The devices on these are often of great beauty.’

The Caspian provinces, from their great fertility and varied produce, seem to offer the fairest prospect of increased wealth to the kingdom. The climate of Mazanderan is very similar to that of Lower Bengal, and the province resembles it in its natural productions. Rice and cotton could be cultivated to a great extent, and the forests are rich in valuable timber. An enterprising Frenchman lately explored the district successfully in search of walnut trees, the wood of which, from its great consumption in ornamental furniture, has become very scarce in Europe. Dense jungles cover large portions of this province, and, like those of Bengal, they harbour tigers and wild boars.

Large quantities of sturgeon are caught in the rivers which enter the Caspian, and caviare and isinglass are prepared and exported by the Russians, in whose hands the fisheries chiefly are. This is a source of wealth from which Persia has as yet derived scarcely any advantage.

Numerous references have been made from time to time to the mineral wealth of Persia, which has, up to the present time, remained almost entirely undeveloped. The district of Karadagh abounds in copper and iron, which are procurable to an amount almost unlimited. The iron ore is reputed to be so pure that the mountains may be almost said to consist of that metal. Within thirty miles of Tehran coal can be obtained in abundance for the cost of working it. These mines have hitherto been neglected, as charcoal and wood are in general use as fuel, but the introduction of railways, and the probable influx of European artisans in connection with Baron Reuter's concession, will doubtless effect a considerable change, by gradually accustoming the people to the consumption of a cheaper fuel, for any further destruction of forests for the production of charcoal is greatly to be deprecated.

The famous turquoise mines in the province of Khorasan, the only mines from which these stones are now to be obtained, have been worked for centuries, and the district is covered for miles with the refuse. The cost of working has been constantly increasing, but the rubbish on being sifted is still found productive. Dark blue is the colour preferred, and the inferior stones are made into rings, which find a ready sale among the Arabs. The most valuable stones are either purchased by Persian nobles or exported to Europe. The mines must be of great antiquity; for the Greek historians represent their countrymen as being struck with admiration at the sumptuous gold armour of the Persians, richly ornamented with these beautiful stones. Persian lapidaries are said to be very expert in inlaying them, but they are apt to cut designs and inscriptions upon them to conceal natural imperfections. The stones which Sir John Charden saw in the treasury of Ispahan astonished him equally by their quantity and beauty; he saw vast numbers in their rough state, piled high on the floors, like heaps of grain; while the polished specimens filled innumerable bags, weighing from 45 to 50 lbs. each. It has always been the custom for the best stones to be presented to the Shah.

The imports to Persia consist chiefly of cotton goods, broadcloth, hardware, sugar, and tea; but the broadcloth, which formed an important article in the early trade of the East India Company with Persia, is now supplied wholly by Germany. Hardware is chiefly obtained from the foundries and manufactories of Russia. It is said to be of a very rude and inferior workmanship, but its cheapness recommends it to Persian

buyers. The consumption of Manchester goods is considerable. Novelty of design is much sought after, and indeed each season requires a fresh variety. Cheapness is indispensable, but it can only be attained by the sacrifice of quality. A few years ago when the chintz goods imported from England were found to be very inferior both in texture and colour, the merchants of Tabreez presented a petition to the Czar begging him to remonstrate with the British Government for permitting such manufactures to be sent into the country. 'As early as the year 1849,' says the Consul-General of Persia, 'Mr. Consul Stevens called the attention of the Manchester Commercial Association to the inferior quality of the British cotton goods exported to Persia, and represented that unless the manufacturers discontinued supplying such, British prints would gradually fall into disuse, and be superseded by the fabrics of the country.' In reply it was stated, 'That no deception whatever was practised with reference to the goods in question, it being a matter of perfect notoriety to the trade generally that the printed and other cotton goods supplied to the Persian market were of a most inferior quality, and that they must continue to be so was equally obvious, unless remunerating prices were paid to the manufacturers where better articles were required.' A merchant, of the highest respectability, largely engaged in the Persian trade, remarked at the same time—

'The producers of goods at Manchester for the Persian market formerly sent out good qualities both in cloth and printing, up to the year 1844-45, since which period some exporters commenced sending out inferior goods, and the Persian buyers gave them a preference on account of their cheapness; heavy losses being sustained by holders and parties continuing to ship good qualities; the buyers refusing to pay the difference in proportion to the relative value of the goods, all importers were forced to unite in sending out goods of inferior qualities and prints of loose colour. The low prices having produced increased consumption, the exports have been proportionately augmented to a very considerable extent. Notwithstanding the very low prices, the Persian buyers are still wanting the goods cheaper and cheaper; and exporters, in order to meet the demand, have been obliged to send out worse and worse qualities every year. It follows, therefore, that as long as they refuse to pay the value of better qualities of goods, the existing evil cannot be remedied.'*

The above seems to afford a satisfactory explanation of the practice of which our

* 'Report by her Majesty's Consuls on British Trade Abroad.' Part II., 1873.

manufacturers have been frequently accused of sending out inferior goods to foreign countries, the fact being that for certain markets such goods only can be exported with any hope of a remunerative return. British manufactures intended for the Persian market are generally shipped from Liverpool to Constantinople, and conveyed thence to Trebizond; or from London by the Russian company's steamers to Poti, in Georgia. All imported and exported goods are subject in Persia to a single duty of 5 per cent.

The chief cause of the inelastic character of the Persian trade is the want of staple exports. The generally heavy balance against Persia must accordingly be paid in coin, and the country is thus becoming drained of its specie. The distances to be traversed, moreover, are so great, and the mode of transport is so tardy and expensive, that, with the exception of silk, few Persian products can at present be profitably placed in European markets. It is only in the neighbourhood of the chief towns, or near the caravan roads, that farmers and proprietors grow more corn than is necessary for their own consumption; and it not unfrequently happens that the occupier only reaps what he requires for the wants of his household and permits his cattle to feed on the remainder, for he can find no market for any surplus produce.

There is no apparent reason why a country abounding in grapes of the finest quality should be unable to produce good wine. That of Shiraz has indeed a wide reputation, and the wine of Ispahan is said to be but little inferior. The Persians have the credit of being extremely fond of wine, and in all the chief towns a large quantity is annually stored, which certainly cannot be intended for the sole use of Armenians and Europeans. The manufacture as at present conducted is of the rudest kind, the bunches of grapes being collected without selection or the removal of unsound fruit, are thrown into presses, and the juice is trodden out by naked feet. Being generally used too soon, the common wines of Persia are said to be neither wholesome nor palatable. The Persian nobility certainly prefer European wines to their own, although few are willing to incur the expense of importing them. On public occasions the Persian nobles and gentry for obvious reasons refrain from wine, but are said to indemnify themselves in private for this restraint. Count Gobineau, for some time secretary of the French legation at Tehran, has ungallantly, and we believe unjustly, accused the ladies of Persia of generally leaving the dinner-table in a mud-

dled condition—a reflection which drew upon the Count the marked displeasure of the present Shah.

The monarchs of the Suffairan dynasty are believed to have freely indulged their taste for wine, and their subjects partook more openly than at present of the forbidden enjoyment. In a picture belonging to one of the royal palaces of Ispahan, the Shah, who resided in that capital three hundred years ago, is represented as entertaining his refugee guest, Humaiyun, the son and successor of Baber, when he was driven out of India. The courtiers are seated in a circle, and wine flasks and drinking cups are not wanting. In another picture, the great Shah Abbas himself is represented as engaged with the Turkish ambassador at a drinking bout; the Turkish and Persian courtiers are carousing side by side, and some of them are portrayed in a state of advanced intoxication.

The Persian army, although not large, is capable, if well organized, of becoming a very respectable force. Service is compulsory. There is no regular cavalry, with the exception of the body-guard of the Shah; but 50,000 irregular horse are available in time of war. These troops are on much the same footing as the Cossacks of the Caucasus. The government allows each man seven toman (about £2 18s. 4d.) towards supplying his horse, arms, and equipment. The artillery consists of 30 well-equipped field guns, and some smaller pieces mounted on camels. The infantry battalions are from 800 to 1,000 strong. Each battalion is called by the name of the district from which its ranks are drawn. There are seventy-one battalions, each commanded by an officer with a rank corresponding to that of a major, with eight captains, eight lieutenants and eight sub-lieutenants under him. The physique of the men is said to be good, they march well, and are very orderly in their conduct. No irregular troops, whether Koords, Arabs, Affghans, or Turkomans, says Colonel Shiel, who was some years ago employed in organizing the Persian army, can contend with the disciplined forces of Persia.

The position of Persia with respect to our Indian empire has always pointed her out as our natural ally in the East. We have interests in common; and whatever conduces to the strength of Persia must be advantageous to England. The progress of Russia in Central Asia, bringing her as it does by constantly advancing steps nearer to the Indian frontier, has been thought to justify the anxiety of this country; but it is scarcely worthy of a nation which has ap-

propriated India and a large portion of the world besides, to display any petty jealousy of Russian progress in that part of the globe. By systematic insults and affronts, by imprisoning peaceful merchants, and even reducing them to slavery, the Khan of Khiva had multiplied his offences towards the Russian government until punishment and redress were inevitable. There was nothing in the character of the Khan or in his acts to call for forbearance, and he has been treated accordingly. He is now reduced to the condition of a Russian vassal. His position as an hereditary ruler gives him a certain utility in the administration of the government; therefore, instead of being removed he is permitted, while acknowledging himself 'the obedient servant of the emperor of all the Russias,' to remain at Khiva with only the semblance of power. He renounces his sovereign rights of making war and peace, and is not allowed even to regulate his commercial relations with his neighbours; and the most populous and fertile portion of the Khanate has been annexed to Russia, to be forthwith transferred to Bokhara.

This treaty, although a partial departure from the diplomatic declaration made by Russia on entering upon the Khivan campaign, will undoubtedly confer immense benefits upon the Khanate of Khiva by the establishment of a Russian protectorate in that country; but commercial rather than political objects are believed to be the actuating motives of the Central Asiatic policy of Russia. It is to be regretted that a spirit of exclusiveness should characterize it, but it is proper to take into consideration the narrow and unenlightened views of her manufacturers who have long looked forward to obtaining a monopoly of the trade of Central Asia. Neither should it be forgotten that Central Asia is capable of greatly increasing its production of raw cotton, of which Russia is much in need, and that she is thus actuated by a powerful economical motive for extending her influence in that direction, and for availing herself of any fair opportunity, even of obtaining an increase of territory. We have seen it stated that, out of a population of fifty-five millions, two-thirds of the Russian people are clothed chiefly in cotton, sheep-skins being of course used in winter as an outer covering.

The acquisition by Russia under the recent treaty of the exclusive use of the great river of Central Asia, is of more serious importance than any accession of territory could be in that part of the world. 'Russian steamers and other ships will,' in the language of the treaty, 'enjoy the right of

free navigation of the river' (Oxus), 'and the said right will belong exclusively to the said ships.' Khivese vessels, therefore, will in future only be able to navigate the Oxus by permission of the Russian authorities. Although by a recent treaty with Bokhara, Bokharese vessels, whether belonging to the government or private owners, are admitted to the free navigation of the river, Russian merchants have the right to construct harbours on its banks, and the government of Bokhara is made responsible for their security. There is nothing now to prevent Russian gunboats from ascending the Oxus up to the Affghan frontier—an event likely to be accomplished by the exploring expedition ordered for the present year.

The importance of Khiva in reference to any possible aggression of Russia upon India has probably been exaggerated. An advance from Khiva would necessitate the passage of the tremendous defiles of the Hindoo Koosh before the forces of Russia could debouche into the plains of India; and these passes, held as they certainly would be by British troops, form a barrier which a Russian force ought to find insurmountable. From Bokhara and Khokand there are roads through Cabul and Khasgar, but the first if taken would require the passage of the Khibur, and the other the Bolan Pass. The difficulties of the Khibur Pass have been practically experienced by our own troops, and they would be too great for any army that had not first secured the neutrality or the assistance of the neighbouring mountain tribes. The Bolan Pass is well known to Affghan and Indian merchants, but the passage of an army with its *impedimenta* through its deep defiles is unlikely ever to be attempted in the face of enemies prepared to oppose every step of its progress.

There is another quarter, however, from which a Russian invasion of India might be attempted, which does not appear to have received as much attention as it deserves, and which possesses the advantage of presenting a base of operations where hostile preparations could be matured with comparative secrecy. The harbour of Ashurada, to which reference has before been made, is most advantageously situated on the Caspian for the organization of an army of invasion. To the east, and almost parallel with Astarabad, are mountain passes, practicable at all seasons, and presenting no difficulties, with no formidable mountain tribes for their defenders, and leading direct to the table-lands of Persia. A force collected at Ashurada might easily occupy Astarabad, and then march eastward on Herat. From Herat to Kurachi there are roads both by Candahar

and by eastern Beloochistan which would be available. The distance from the Caspian to Peshin in the Kej valley, within 400 miles of Kurachi, exceeds 2,000 miles, and portions of desert would have to be traversed, but mountain defiles and mountain warfare would be avoided. The political and military considerations which suggest the maintenance of friendly relations with the Affghan government and people are even more applicable to Persia, which in any attempt to invade India through her territory would be a most valuable ally, if prepared to place her whole force at the disposition of a British general. The conquest of India by Russia would imply the annexation of Persia, and the obliteration of one of the most ancient monarchies of the East from the map of the world.

It was natural and becoming that no reference should have been made by the public press during the recent visit of the Shah to the war in which England was engaged with Persia in 1857. This brief interruption of the friendly relations which had hitherto subsisted between the two countries was caused by the attitude which Persia had incautiously assumed with respect to Herat soon after the commencement of the war between England and Russia in 1854.

It is now well known that Russia, previously to her aggression upon Turkey in 1853, had solicited Persia to join her in her designs upon that country. Russia proposed that Persia should invade the Turkish territory contiguous to her own, and undertook to guarantee, at the conclusion of a peace, all the conquests which she might make. The Persian Grand Vizier on the other hand proposed to the governments of France and England to co-operate with them in the war, as Persia might possibly thus succeed in wresting from Russia her long-lost territories in the Caucasus. The Shah at first assented to this policy, but subsequently changed his mind. However, the allies, feeling that they could not effectually protect Persia if she went to war with Russia, recommended her to remain neutral. Soon after the war commenced and the state of the British army in the Crimea became known to Persia, her government, thinking that England had already enough upon her hands, conceived the design of securing Herat, which it had long desired to possess. The Shah accordingly ordered his troops to march upon that place, and take possession of the fortress. Diplomatic relations between England and Persia were immediately broken off by the retirement of the British minister from Tehran. The aggression on the part of Persia was quite unjustifiable, for the government of

that country had in January, 1853, concluded a treaty with the British minister, stipulating never to attempt to occupy Herat, unless troops from Cabul, or Kandahar, or any foreign country, should first invade that principality.*

A proclamation was forthwith issued by the Governor-General of India in Council declaring war against Persia, and stating the reasons for that measure. A force was immediately assembled for an expedition into that country, having the port of Bushire in the Persian Gulf for its base of operations. The command was taken by Lieutenant-General Outram, who had under him four regiments of native infantry, two European regiments, three regiments of native cavalry, and eighteen guns. A prompt advance was made from Bushire by this little army, which marched forty-six miles in forty-one hours, but at its approach a Persian force of 8,000 men retired, hastily abandoning its entrenchments. A few days afterwards the Persians, who advanced in order of battle, were attacked by the British force and completely routed, leaving 700 men dead on the field.

The scene then changed to a combined naval and military attack upon the town of Mohamra, which was taken with little loss. A flotilla was soon afterwards despatched up the Karoon river in pursuit of the retreating Persians, the town of Ahivaz was taken, but the Persian army being in full retreat the expedition returned to Mohamra. By this time the Persian government had become convinced of its mistake, and overtures for peace were made, which resulted in the treaty of Paris, signed on the 4th of March, 1857. By this treaty Persia bound herself to withdraw her troops from Herat, and to abandon all her pretensions to the possession of that place. Although the small Persian force, which was thus brought into collision with British troops, succumbed, as might be expected, to superior prowess and discipline, it is not therefore to be inferred that the army of Persia is not possessed of some high military qualities. A very obstinate battle was fought between the Persians and Russians in August, 1827, at Adbaran. The Persians fought most gallantly; and, although defeated, they inflicted a very severe loss on their opponents. Two Persian battalions charged two battalions of the Russian guard and were completely victorious in the encounter. In this battle 1,200 Russians were killed, and Krasowsky, the general commanding, was severely wounded.*

It is earnestly to be hoped that the government of Persia may never again give

that of England cause for hostile proceedings against her, but that they will proceed hand in hand in the march of Asiatic improvement, and in the peaceful development of the resources of the great countries committed to their charge.

Diplomatic intercourse between Persia and Great Britain has been carried on at times through the Foreign Office and at others by the India Office. It was proposed by Lord Malmesbury, in 1858, to Lord Stanley to place the Persian mission, which had been previously appointed by the Secretary for Foreign Affairs again under the India Office, and in this arrangement Lord Stanley concurred. In 1859 Lord Russell proposed to place it again under the Foreign Office, to which Sir Charles Wood, then Secretary of State for India, assented, and thus it remains. But it seems obvious that any diplomatic questions which might arise between the two countries would be better understood, and more satisfactorily settled, by ministers of large Asiatic rather than European experience, and they should therefore be nominated by the Secretary of State for India, rather than by the British minister for Foreign affairs. The practice of making expensive presents to the court of Tehran was abandoned in 1860, and it led to the resignation of Sir Henry Rawlinson, then minister at that court. A similar custom had previously been abandoned in Turkey, China, and Japan, and it has been found that neither the dignity nor the influence of Great Britain has suffered in consequence.

The finances of Persia demand a few remarks. Extensive as the Shah's dominions are, his revenue is probably less than that of the smallest state in Europe, and it is surprising that a country of such limited available resources should be able to maintain even the semblance of royalty. Persia has not yet acquired any standing in the money markets of Europe, and the public expenditure during the last Shah's reign is understood to have greatly exceeded the revenue. His present majesty is said to be in the habit of looking closely into the public accounts, and is quite as conversant with official details as any of his ministers.

The land revenue is the chief resource of the Persian government, and the impost is, as in India, essentially a tax varying with the productiveness of the land, if no fixed settlement has been made.

The following letter addressed by a Persian nobleman to the British minister at Tehran, some years ago, exposes the chief defects of Persian administration:—

'Persia was once a great and powerful kingdom. Why has it ceased to be so? With

* 'History of Persia,' by Markham, p. 395.

every natural advantage, a fine climate, a fruitful soil, an active and intelligent population, why has Persia not only stood still, but even declined, while other nations are fast increasing in power and resources? I will not quote India, with its immense army, its enormous commerce, its railways, its telegraphs. Turkey, however, is a fair parallel with Persia, from the similarity of manners, religion, and race. A few years ago they were both in the same condition; but at this moment there is as much difference between the two countries as there is between Turkey and one of the great powers of Europe. There must be a reason for the decay visible in Persia, and that reason can only be found in bad government—bad government in civil affairs, and bad government in the affairs of the army.

‘A national reform is a work of time and gradual amelioration; but there are some flagrant abuses, the immediate correction of which would be a boon to the people, and greatly strengthen the power of the government.

‘The sources of vexation and oppression which touch most nearly the population at large, particularly the peasant class, are, perhaps, the mohessil (tax-collector) and searsat (provisions levied from the people gratuitously). Almost every transaction of the government is performed through a mohessil, and every mohessil is a tyrant, an oppressor—in general a thorough ruffian. The Shah sends his mohessil to the governor of the province, the latter thereupon despatches his mohessil to the governor of towns and districts, and then finally to each separate village. It is here at its lowest stage that the system works so grievously. The mohessil makes himself lord and master of the village, and every one bows down to his caprices. It is true that the Persian peasant pays his taxes with hesitation, and that compulsion is often necessary to enforce payment. But what is the cause of this reluctance? He fears if he did not counterfeit poverty and inability to meet the demands made on him, he would be thought rich and become a mark for extortion. Let him but feel secure from arbitrary exactions, and it will be his interest to pay his taxes without delay.’

To these facts we are enabled to add, on the best authority, that relief during the recent famine had to be bestowed in bread or rice; for if money was given, the farmers of the revenue and tax-collectors immediately came down upon the poor starving peasantry and insisted upon having it to the last farthing.

There are no banks in Persia, and therefore no regular means of transmitting money from place to place. This is more particularly felt from the condition of the coinage. There are two gold pieces, the toman (value 8s. 4d.), and half toman, but they are little used. The money in circulation consists of the kiran (10d.), and the quarter kiran, both of which are silver; but the Persian who can save a few kirans hoards and buries them

in the ground. The country is thus deprived of a large amount of capital which, if confidence existed, might give life and energy to commerce and agriculture.

The collection of the customs was to be handed over to Baron Reuter on the 21st of March, 1874. As hitherto managed, there has been a total absence of system in this department. The impression seems to prevail that the revenue obtained from custom duties has little more than covered the cost of its collection, and the interest of the government has been most seriously affected by the enormous extent to which smuggling is carried on, by means of bribery, in every part of the Shah's dominions.

The opposition of the Mollahs of Persia, fearing the decay of their influence from European reforms, is to be expected; but we believe the influence of the priesthood, who are understood to be strongly opposed to Baron Reuter and his plans, has been for some years on the decline. The recent European experience of the Shah will probably tend to make him more independent of their opinion. On this subject the remarks of the British Consul-General are well worthy of attention:—

‘All Persians,’ he says, ‘concerned in the advancement of their country, have to struggle continually against the opposition of a bigoted, interested, and powerful faction. Whether it be the improvement of the currency, the importation of grain, the introduction of European capital for local improvements, it is sure to meet with the organized opposition of a certain class, supported generally by the priesthood, who foresee that the contemplated measures will curtail indirectly their peculations for the future.

‘The prospects of the country seem at present more hopeful. The chiefs of the present administration, warned by the terrible mortality which followed three consecutive years of famine and pestilence, have at length turned their attention towards improving the means of communication between different provinces of the kingdom, and providing a more abundant supply of water; casting aside the timid and jealous prejudices which have hitherto characterised every measure emanating from the Persian court, they have accepted the assistance of European capitalists, and consented that their country shall be saved by the hands of strangers.’

The first introduction of new ideas into an Asiatic State is always pregnant either with good or with evil. The nation may by its arrogance and conceit render all efforts for its improvement vain; but the willing reception of European axioms, and an acquiescence in the guidance of enlightened men, may give such an impulse to the social,

economical, and political life of the people as will lead to a combination of all that is worth preserving in the old civilization, with all that is elevating in the new. Persia has hitherto been shut out, by its geographical position, from much intercourse with Europe, but the form of Mahometanism prevailing there is, as we have before observed, essentially flexible; the task of the reformer will therefore be more easy than in countries where the ignorance or fanaticism of the people is but too ready to oppose the policy of any government more advanced and enlightened than themselves.

To raise Persia even to the level of Turkey must, we fear, be a work of time. But one lesson the Shah must assuredly have learnt from his visit to Europe. He cannot fail to have discovered that nations are prosperous, respected, and strong in proportion only as they are self-reliant, energetic, and well governed. If Persia aspires to emulate the progress of Europe, her sovereign can now at least put her in the way. If the duties of government are honestly and efficiently discharged, the pursuits of peace will be undertaken with confidence and hope. There is no other magic but industry by which a people can be rendered opulent and great. This is the true talisman which will reveal to the Persians the hidden treasures of their country.

ART. IV.—*Provision for Public Worship in Large Towns.*

- (1.) *The Census of Religious Worship and Mr. Horace Mann's Report. 1851.*
- (2.) *The Report of the Lords Commissioners on Spiritual Instruction and Worship in the Metropolis and the Mining and Manufacturing Districts. 1851.*
- (3.) *Statistical Supplements of the 'Nonconformist' Newspaper on the Provision for Public Worship in the Cities and Boroughs of England and Wales, October 20th, November 5th, and December 4th, 1872; January 8th and December 17th, 1873.*

It may be said, without exaggeration, that the year 1851 began a new era in the ecclesiastical history of this country. At the suggestion of Major Graham, the then Registrar-General, Her Majesty's Government, of which Lord John Russell was the head, had, in the preceding year, induced

Parliament to agree that Returns of Public Religious Worship in England and Wales should be added to the customary statistics at the Decennial Census of the population in 1851. The task of arranging these elaborate returns was entrusted to Mr. Horace Mann, whose masterly and exhaustive report and copious tabular statements were published early in 1854. The results thus given to the world created a profound impression. For the first time was revealed, in an authentic form, and on official authority, the actual provision made in England and Wales for public worship by all denominations, the extent of religious destitution, and the marvellous growth and extent of Nonconformity. As having a bearing upon subsequent statements, it may be expedient to refresh the memories of our readers by stating in a few words the broad deductions from the Religious Census of 1851. It was then shewn that the total provision made for public worship was equal to the wants of 49 per cent. of the community; that about five and a quarter millions who might have attended public worship on the Census Sunday did not do so; that of the actual sittings, the Established Church provided 52.1 per cent., and all other religious bodies together 47.9 per cent.; that the number of worshippers in the Church of England places of worship on Census Sunday was 51.9 per cent. of the whole, and in chapels 48.1 per cent.; but that at the most numerously attended service the proportions were 46.7 and 53.3 per cent. respectively. These returns, which pointed to such startling and unexpected conclusions, were for many months the subject of exciting controversy. Zealous champions of the Anglican Church refused to accept them as a fair criterion of the relative proportions and usefulness of the Establishment and the outside denominations. They invented all kinds of recondite theories to explain away the significance of the statistics, and several members of the Episcopal Bench openly pronounced them to be of no value. These strenuous efforts to decry Mr. Mann's deductions were only partially successful. The utmost ingenuity of partisans could not remove the popular conviction that Church and Dissent provided for the spiritual needs of the population in nearly equal proportions, and that about one-third of the community neglected to avail themselves of either. We may further remark in passing that the Census of Religious Worship for 1851 was the indirect means of promoting a religious revival of a very wholesome and abiding character. Earnest Christian men were shocked at the revelations it made of the spiritual wants of our

large town populations, and still more at the evidence thus afforded of the neglect of religious ordinances by the majority of the working classes—the most numerous section of the community. Both in the Church of England and outside its pale not only was there increased activity in the multiplication of places of worship, but in creating and setting in action such irregular missionary agencies as were adapted to reach the numerous class of absenters from public worship, and overcome their alienation from Christian institutions. The sense of responsibility in the matter became so general, that in the spring of 1858 the House of Lords appointed a Select Committee ‘to inquire into the deficiency of means of spiritual instruction and places of divine worship in the metropolis and in other populous districts of England and Wales, especially in the mining and manufacturing districts; and to consider the fittest means of meeting the difficulties of the case.’ The report of this committee, of which eight dignitaries of the Church were appointed members, is a great curiosity. The startling facts of the Religious Census, which had been before the country only four years, were completely ignored, except in so far as they afforded a general basis for the inquiry; and at one of the earliest sittings of the committee it was decided, with a perversity that borders on the ludicrous, to limit the investigation to the Church of England! Save a casual reference to ‘all the denominations’ at the outset of the report, it contained no indications that there are Dissenters in existence. The evidence was given by clergymen alone; no Nonconformist—not even the serviceable ‘Mr. Toulmin Smith’—was examined; and all the estimates and conclusions were based on the theory that there was but one Church in England and Wales, and that all spiritual provision outside of it went for nothing, albeit Lord Shaftesbury was a member of this notable committee. More clergy, with more adequate clerical incomes, more endowments, a better distribution of Church property, and ‘increased facilities for providing churches’—this was the burden of their lordships’ report, which, so far as we know, was innocent of practical results. The inquiry and its conclusions were, in fact, nothing better than a sorry burlesque. The report, however, contains one redeeming sentence:—‘We are not prepared, for obvious reasons, to recommend any application for a grant of public money.’

We recall an incident which, for the credit of the lords spiritual and temporal, cannot too soon be forgotten, to illustrate the spirit of gross unfairness which is en-

gendered by monopoly. It was a sure omen that the Religious Census of 1851—the first of its kind, and prolific of good to all religious bodies—was, so far as bishops and peers were concerned, to be the last. When in 1860 it became necessary to arrange for another census, the Episcopal Bench resolutely declined to support any proposal for ascertaining the provision made for public worship; and Lord Palmerston’s Government weakly lent themselves to the discreditable scheme of a census of religious profession. ‘Discreditable’ may seem a strong word for describing a process carried out with general concurrence in other free countries, such as the United States and Australia. Why, then, did the plan suggested by the Episcopal Bench, and accepted by Sir G. Cornwall Lewis and the Government, arouse so strong a feeling of opposition throughout the country? Simply because its main object was political and not statistical. It would have answered none of those really useful purposes which were subserved by the census of 1851, and which would have been of increasing value as an external test of religious progress during the decade, if it had been repeated with proper safeguards in 1861. It was not then denied, nor should we now question, that an ecclesiastical plébiscitum, however deceptive, would be highly favourable to a church which enjoys all the prestige of State support and favour, which wields paramount social influence, and on the side of which is arrayed the entire squirearchy of the kingdom. This seemingly innocent statistical proposal was, in reality, an insidious attempt to wrest a popular verdict in favour of the State Church, though only a few years before it had been ascertained that nearly one-third of the population held aloof from all religious bodies. The instincts of Dissenters discerned the artifice, and their resolute opposition frustrated it. Sir George Lewis was obliged to admit that Mr. Baines and his ‘twenty legions’ were too much for him, and the scheme of a census of religious profession was dropped. The authorities of the Church, aided by Lord Palmerston’s Government, failed in their Napoleonic device, but they were strong enough to defeat a repetition of the census of religious worship as desired by Nonconformists.

The sharp conflict of 1860 settled this controversy once for all—at all events, till there is no longer a dominant church which is necessarily jealous of any movement, however harmless or beneficial, which may tend to weaken its exclusive claims. ‘If you will not allow a religious census on our basis,

you shall not have one on yours,' is the decision of the Episcopal Bench. When 1870 came round, a feeble attempt was made by Mr. Bruce, the then Home Secretary, to devise some means of overcoming objections on either side, and a proposal was made for an ecclesiastical census by *both* methods. But this well-meaning suggestion was not accepted, and, indeed, deserved to fail. For ourselves, we must distinctly express our conviction that, in the present circumstances of this country, a census of religious profession would be 'a mockery, a delusion, and a snare,' and that it would be wrested by social influence and a State-created ecclesiastical machinery to decide—and on an utterly false basis—a question which should be settled in the polling-booth and in Parliament. With the *Nonconformist* we believe that such an inquiry into religious opinion, which the Government has no right to make, would, if again proposed, be as strenuously resisted by the Free Churches of England as in 1860. Nor by them alone; for we are loth to think that sincere Churchmen would care to accept the temporary aid of the non-church-going population to swell the supporters of an Establishment which, for all practical purposes, they repudiate. To try the two plans in combination would only make 'confusion worse confounded,' and we are glad it was not attempted. It may suffice to add that the one has been tried, and if not a perfect apparatus, it has been productive of beneficial results; but it was too faithful a record to suit the views of our authorities in Church and State. The other is simply an ingenious device for evolving partisan conclusions, and would be utterly useless for statistical or religious purposes.

Happily, the census of public worship taken in 1851 cannot be effaced. Though nor statesmen and prelates may unite to prevent it from being tested by subsequent inquiry, Mr. Mann's able report and analysis are a true and conspicuous landmark in the ecclesiastical history of this country, and form a solid basis on which others may build. In the hope of doing something to frustrate the manifest intention of the veto put by the Government and Parliament upon the demand for further information as to the religious resources of the country, the *Nonconformist* decided to secure by private enterprise some portion of the statistics which the authorities in Church and State had peremptorily refused. The first instalment of tables was published in a special supplement of that paper on the 15th of November, 1865, and embraced the thirty-six parishes of the metropolis. It is not

necessary to detail the results of that inquiry, especially as they were fully analyzed in an article which appeared in the *British Quarterly Review* for April, 1866.* We may, however, state the broad conclusions—which showed that for a population of 2,015,494 there were at that date 1,316 places of worship, with 917,895 sittings, being adequate to the spiritual wants of 30·4 per cent. of the inhabitants of the metropolitan area, exclusive of the provision made by preaching rooms, city mission stations, theatres, public halls, &c. In the fourteen years from 1851 to 1865, 219 places of worship, with accommodation for 219,346 persons, were erected—an increase, as compared with population, of only 2 per cent. Of the entire sittings the Established Church supplied 57 per cent., and all other religious bodies 43 per cent. Curiously enough the publication of these returns excited very little public attention. Church critics, satisfied perhaps with the numerical preponderance of the Establishment in London, unable to gainsay information supplied from Episcopal sources, and standing in no great fear at that period of external assaults, were silent. The method pursued in obtaining the statistics was not impugned, nor their general accuracy challenged; and on the whole the information was regarded as a useful contribution to ecclesiastical knowledge.

It was not till the winter of 1872 that a further attempt was made to supply the lack of precise information as to what had been done to meet the spiritual wants of the community. Between October 23rd of that year and January 8th, 1873, the *Nonconformist* published, in four special supplements, the results of local inquiries into the provision for public worship made in the eighty-four largest cities and boroughs of England and Wales, which were supplemented last December by similar statistics relative to forty-one additional towns. For some such inquiry there was an imperative need, on political as well as on religious grounds. The results of the census of 1851 had begun to fade from recollection; and taking advantage of the absence of official information on the subject, the champions of the Church of England were active in enforcing its claims as a 'national church,' on the ground that it was growing in strength and numbers, by reason of the unprecedented erection of new places of worship, and that Nonconformity was conspicuously on the decline, especially in

* This article, with the whole of the statistical tables as an appendix, were subsequently published in a pamphlet form, by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton, from whom, we believe, it may still be obtained.

the large centres of population. The leading organs of the press, which have generally a bias in favour of the Establishment, fostered the delusion, and the impression was widespread that the statistics of 1851 had lost all significance, in consequence of the prodigious expansion of the Anglican Church during the interval. One of its most zealous supporters—Mr. Hubbard, now one of the M.P.'s for the City of London—presumed so far upon the absence of authentic facts as to assert, with cool effrontery, that 'instead of Dissenters having a majority, they only constitute 22 per cent. of the population.' It may therefore be imagined that the appearance of the successive supplements of the *Nonconformist*, disclosing a state of things so entirely different, and the publication through the length and breadth of the land of the facts thus brought to light, excited everywhere the ire and denunciations of ardent Church defenders. This second laborious effort to obtain returns, which the Government had persistently refused, was received with a storm of indignant clamour and abuse from the Church journals, the *Guardian* excepted; and the unwitting compiler, whose work in 1865 had been so provokingly ignored, now found himself obliged to buckle on his armour afresh, to do battle single-handed for his statistics in the columns of the *Times*, and with the innate consciousness that, in the estimation of no small portion of his assailants, he had been engaged in a criminal and fraudulent enterprise. To a candid mind it might seem a little hard that official returns relative to the provision for public worship having been persistently refused, an honest endeavour to throw some light on the subject should have been assailed with gross abuse and the reckless imputation of dishonourable motives. But the compiler of the statistics might have found some compensation for these attacks in the conviction that the value and importance of the facts he had laid before the public were to be gauged by the virulent attacks of heated partisans. The bolt, though not aimed directly against the supremacy of the so-called national church, must have reached its mark, judging from the outcry that followed. Not thanks, but studied obloquy was his reward for supplying the Church of England with long-desired information as to her present provision for public worship in our large towns, and her comparative progress since 1851. If jealousy of the greater advance of Dissent inspired these senseless attacks, it is but an additional illustration of the facility with which those who possess exclusive privileges—ecclesiastics

in particular—become inspired with morbid antagonism against any persons who, directly or indirectly, challenge their claims.

Reserving for subsequent vindication the substantial accuracy of the statistics which provoked this storm, we now proceed to indicate their drift and meaning. In these recent supplements the *Nonconformist* has dealt with 125 cities and boroughs, with an aggregate population of 6,545,999, in which it is almost superfluous to say is comprised (apart from the metropolis) the *élite* of the intelligence, enterprise, progressive thought, and active liberalism of the nation. It is in these great centres of industrial England we should naturally expect to find the most striking evidences of spiritual as well as intellectual life. And the returns before us amply justify this conclusion. For this great population of six and a-half millions, the total number of places of worship provided (including mission rooms) is 5,590, with 3,010,778 sittings. The proportion of sittings to the population is therefore about 46 per cent., being in the aggregate 12 per cent. under the standard of sufficiency (58 per cent.), which statisticians, on the authority of Mr. Horace Mann, accept as an adequate provision. How unequally this religious accommodation is distributed will be gathered from the following table and explanation, given in the last special supplement of the *Nonconformist* :—

PROPORTION OF SITTINGS TO POPULATION.

	Prop. of Sittings. Per Cent.
1st group, towns over 100,000 . . .	36.5
2nd group, towns between 50,000 and 100,000	37.8
3rd group, towns between 20,000 and 50,000	50.0
4th group, towns between 20,000 and 50,000	54.6
5th group, towns between 10,000 and 20,000	65.8

'From this table it will be seen that spiritual destitution, so far as it is represented by the means of public worship, is largest in the greatest centres of population. Thus the towns with more than 100,000 population, fall short of the accepted standard by 21.5, while towns with between 10,000 and 20,000 inhabitants, have in the aggregate 7.8 per cent. more sittings than they need. There can be little doubt that as a rule the towns under 10,000 population, and rural parishes, will be found to be even better supplied with churches and chapels than the boroughs under review in these supplements.'

The ratio of increase in the means of public worship is a question of great interest, but, for a basis of comparison, we are unhappily obliged to go back to 1851, instead

of being able, as ought to be the case, to estimate it every ten years. Omitting places from which no returns for 1851 are to be obtained—and they are all small places—it appears that in 112 towns, during the intervening twenty-two years, there were erected 1,721 places of worship, with 915,686 sittings, all of which were the outcome of religious zeal, inside and outside the Established Church. And although, as indicated above, the accommodation is very unequally distributed, the supply of places of worship has in the aggregate been 8·1 per cent. beyond the increase of the population. At this rate of progress there can be no fear that the spiritual wants of our town populations, so far as they are represented by churches and chapels, will not be amply met by the voluntary agency of the several Christian denominations, especially when it is remembered that these statistics necessarily take no account of a variety of supplementary religious means, in the shape of town missions, theatre and cottage services, and out-door preaching.

It is quite possible that if the *Nonconformist* had at this point stopped short in its comparisons, its conclusions would have been accepted without demur, and that even those who ostentatiously deride the voluntary principle in the cry, but who zealously use it in practice, would have seen with silent satisfaction the evidence furnished of this remarkable expansion of religious resources among the urban population of England and Wales. But so long as an Established, or so-called 'national' Church exists in these realms, exclusively recognised and favoured by the State, charged solely with the duty of providing for the spiritual wants of the community, and to a large extent maintained out of the public resources, a comparison of its work with that of the Free Churches, so far from being invidious, is absolutely necessary, and involves problems of great moment for the people and their representatives in Parliament. The sum total of these statistics, as between Church and Dissent, is illustrated by the following table:—

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIVE TOWNS OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

	P. of Worship.	Sittings, 1872-3.	Percentage of Sittings Supplied.
Established Church	1,745	1,204,877	40
Non-Established Churches . .	3,845	1,805,911	60
In favour of Non-Established Churches	2,100	601,034	20

Put into a more concise form, we find

that in these cities and boroughs, containing an aggregate population of about six millions and a-half, the State Church supplies TWO-FIFTHS, and the Free Churches THREE-FIFTHS of the religious accommodation provided. We refrain for the moment from insisting on the grave importance of this revelation, if founded on actual facts.

Indirectly, this deduction is supported by the returns of 1851. At that time, in the 112 towns referred to, the Established Church was behind the denominations outside of it; the relative proportions being 43·7 to 56·3. During the interval the country has heard much of the action of religious zeal within the Church of England, and every liberal-minded Dissenter must have rejoiced at such efforts to cope with the spiritual destitution of our large towns by the same instrumentality as they themselves used. So little, however, was generally known of the work of the Free Churches that unobservant Churchmen, oblivious of past experience, rashly proclaimed that while the Establishment was 'lengthening its cords and strengthening its stakes,' Dissent was palpably on the decline. At length, by the publication of the tables of the *Nonconformist*, the real truth was revealed. The Free Churches in the towns have made much greater progress in providing the means of public worship during the last twenty-two years than the Church of England, and their relative position is indicated in the subjoined table:—

RELATIVE PROPORTION OF SITTINGS PER CENT. IN ONE HUNDRED AND TWELVE TOWNS.

	1851.	1872-3.	Increase per cent. since 1851.
Established Church . .	43·7	39·9	35·4
Non-Established Churches	56·3	60·1	58·2

It will thus be seen that while in 1851 the Free Churches in these towns provided 12·6 per cent. more of sittings than the State Church, these outside denominations, after the lapse of twenty years—during which the Government and Parliament have refused to furnish the requisite data—now supply 20·2 per cent. more of the means of public worship than the Church which is specially charged with the responsibility:—that is, the comparatively poor free Churches, recruited from the middle and poorer classes, have completely outstripped the Church of the aristocracy and the wealthy, backed by State endowments, and invested exclusively with official prestige, in the race for supplying the spiritual wants of our great centres of population.

But is this portentous allegation true? Aro

not the statistics on which it is based *ex parte*, and open to grave suspicion, having regard to the quarter from which they emanate? Such queries deserve careful consideration and a candid reply; not, indeed, to meet the silly abuse of heated partisans who have declared the information supplied by the *Nonconformist* to have been 'fabricated' and 'cooked,' but to silence the reasonable doubts of unprejudiced men. The question of the veracity of the *Nonconformist* statistics is of so much importance as to deserve full consideration. The method by which they were obtained was based on the plan pursued under official authority in 1851. As to the good faith of the compiler, it is hardly a question of confidence—for as the *Nonconformist* remarks, 'If we were bent on laying "cooked" statistics before the public, no course could be more fatuous than to marshal them in fullest detail, so that in every town local knowledge and hostile criticism could readily detect the smallest fraud or exaggeration.' It might be urged that such an inquiry is beyond the scope of private enterprise. But an undertaking of this magnitude becomes comparatively easy by a division of labour, the employment of an adequate number of trustworthy agents, and the liberal assistance of sympathizing friends. A reliable enumerator was employed in each of the 125 towns from which returns were obtained. He was instructed to observe the strictest impartiality in compiling the information, and in respect to the Church of England to err if at all on the side of liberality. Of course in the services of so many agents there would be various degrees of efficiency for the work, and the liability to error would increase in proportion to their number. But at the outset it was distinctly stated that the tables were published in ample detail in order that they might benefit by local scrutiny and correction—an honest avowal which surely should have prevented the imputation of wholesale dishonesty. The difficulty in the case of the Established Church—and we are simply repeating in our own terms the explanations of the *Nonconformist*—was not great. Most of the required information as to churches and their sittings was to be found in published documents, diocesan calendars, and the like. The statistics of Nonconformist places of worship were less accessible, but the enumerators, as in 1851, were requested to put themselves in communication with the clergy or other officials of every denomination, and to supplement and rectify the returns by personal investigation. Thus every possible precaution seems to have been taken to insure accurate returns, and the enumerators

were reminded that their work would be exposed to searching criticism. The various schedules were in due time prepared for publication by the compiler of the tables, whose corrections, when necessary, were explained in many notes,* but who, we are assured, took the Church statistics as supplied by Church authorities, even with the obvious exaggerations occasionally to be found. The same restraint was not necessary in the case of the *Nonconformist* returns, which were here and there rectified, but only in the way of *reduction*.

The first of these statistical supplements appeared towards the end of October, 1872, and a summary of its conclusions was given in the *Times* and a vast number of newspapers throughout the country. That they should be received with surprise and even incredulity was natural enough, but it was not creditable to the good faith of some of the partisan Church journals that the statistics were virulently denounced as 'fabricated' before they could *possibly* have been denounced. Obviously this device would not suffice to discredit the returns. They had been sent to all the local newspapers with a view to local examination, and very properly they were subjected to that test. In every town dealt with the statistics were overhauled. The ordeal was a very trying one. The facts stated consisted of an infinitude of details open to all the world, and exhibiting, as it were, one long continuous line, which could hardly fail to present some vulnerable points of attack. Assailants were not long in discovering the weak point of defence, which was the comparative statement between 1851 and 1872—a necessary and important, but most embarrassing feature of the compiler's plan, for it made him virtually responsible for the statistics of 1851 as well as those of 1872. Church critics hardly so much as questioned the returns for their own communion which the enumerators of the *Nonconformist* had supplied, and for the all-sufficient reason that they were based on their own official records. But they triumphantly pointed to churches indubitably erected since 1851, and asked why they were omitted in the column of 'increased accommodation' since that period. The simple answer is that they were *not* omitted, and the discrepancy may be cleared up by a single illustrative case. In Sheffield there were sixteen churches in existence in 1851, but twenty-three Church of England

* These elaborate explanatory notes, which embody much detailed information, are convincing evidence of the great pains taken by the enumerators, and afford strong *prima facie* proof of the thoroughness of their inquiries.

'places of worship' returned—the balance being district preaching rooms *used* while seven permanent churches were being erected, and which were *disused* when the churches were completed.

'Those who thought it their interest to decry these statistics,' says the *Nonconformist*, 'instead of making such inquiry as would have explained the apparent discrepancy, forthwith proceeded to denounce us for having defrauded Sheffield of nine churches, though they have not attempted to show that there are more churches or church sittings in the town at the present time than are stated in our table—viz., twenty-eight. Precisely the same kind of objection was taken to the statistics of Liverpool, Manchester, Bradford, Bristol, Blackburn, Plymouth, Devonport, and other places, though it has been shown in repeated instances that all the new churches erected since 1851 were included in our enumerators' returns for 1872. For the object intended—viz., to make it appear that our statistics were "garbled," this course was exceedingly well adapted. To raise a hue and cry against us for publishing "cooked statistics" was a much easier task than to investigate the actual returns. Nearly the whole of the monthly organ of the Church Defence Institution for December was taken up with these specious charges founded upon the comparative statement, hardly a line being given for the purpose of challenging the returns as compiled for us.'

This vindication disposed of nine-tenths of the charges brought against the *Nonconformist* returns, and we leave our readers to decide whether or not it is adequate. We now briefly advert to the others. The redoubtable Dr. Hume, of Liverpool, entered the field, and a controversy arose between him and the compiler in the columns of the *Times*, seasoned on his side with unworthy imputations. This astute but scurrilous statistician fiercely complained that Liverpool had been defrauded of 'thirty-six churches' in the statistics for that town; to which it was replied—(1) that the Church of England got credit for all that it claimed for itself in the *Liverpool Directory*, and (2) that the omitted places were mostly mission rooms, of which, as stated in the original table, no account was taken, either on the one side or the other, the rest being the chapels of prisons, workhouses, asylums, &c., supported out of the rates and not in any sense 'public places of worship' belonging exclusively to the Episcopalians. But the *Nonconformist* having obtained a revised return from Liverpool, including all the known mission rooms in the town, accepted under protest Dr. Hume's figures; and the amended table (which showed that twenty-eight Dissenting mission rooms, with 6,761 sittings, had not been hitherto taken account of) was pub-

lished on the 8th of January last year, together with revised tables for Bristol, Wolverhampton, Halifax, and Nottingham, and revised totals for all other places, so far as palpable errors had been detected. It is these corrected statistics, supplemented by those published last December, which furnish the basis on which the above conclusions are founded.

Indirect but weighty evidence of the great pains taken by the enumerators of the *Nonconformist*, and indeed of the value of their labours, is afforded by the record given of mission rooms. Some 600 or 700 of these useful agencies are referred to in the tables. Most of them have sprung up since 1851, and they are partly the result of the stimulus given to such special modes of reaching the poorer classes by Mr. Mann's revelations of the alienation of the working population from the ordinary means of public worship. Such places had to be diligently sought out by the agents employed in each town, and their number affords gratifying proof of the zeal of all religious bodies in the creation of new machinery adapted to meet the needs of those who held aloof from churches and chapels. Many of the enumerators also furnish particulars of the large sums expended since 1851 in the erection of places of worship, which are also embodied in the notes.

We hope some further reference to the authenticity of these statistical tables may be pardoned. Their entire value must depend upon their correctness in detail. Unfortunately, the subject is less interesting than important; and to compare great things with small, even the fancy of a Whittle Harvey and the genius of a Gladstone have been sorely taxed to make statistics of the pension list and finance palatable to the general public. The returns of the *Nonconformist* were, it seems, sent by the President to the superintendents of the Wesleyan Methodist Circuits for verification, with a view to denominational purposes, and with hardly any variation they were pronounced to be reliable, and have been accepted as such at the Centenary Hall. It was natural that the issue of the supplements should put the Church Defence Institution in a flutter, and its committee somewhat rashly pledged itself to follow in the track of the *Nonconformist* in every town, and bring out its own series of tables as to the state of religious accommodation. But the threat or promise was not fulfilled, and would, indeed, have been an undertaking more onerous than the original plan. It was ere long superseded by a proposal, originally made by Mr. John Flint in the *Times*, that there should be a joint commission for testing the authenti-

city of the statistics in five selected towns—viz., Birmingham, Bradford, Norwich, Macclesfield, and Tynemouth. The suggestion was in principle accepted as a reasonable one, as coming from a party which could hardly be expected to accept the *Nonconformist* as an unquestioned authority on Church matters; and the Church Defence Institution was thus afforded an opportunity of testing the entire series of statistics got together with infinite care and labour, by inquiries, at little cost and trouble, in only five towns. Mr. Flint himself, who is both a competent and fair-dealing man, was appointed its commissioner, and authorized to settle the preliminaries with the representative of the *Nonconformist*; who on his side, received from the Committees of the Congregational Union and of the Deputies of the Three Denominations the promise of their co-operation in the shape of liberal grants to defray the pecuniary expenses of the second commissioner. Mr. Flint and the gentleman responsible for the statistics conferred together, and at the suggestion of the former, and, after friendly discussion, agreed upon a series of rules for the guidance of the two commissioners in pursuing the joint inquiry. These were not accepted by the Committee of the Church Defence Institution, who substituted instructions founded on a different basis, and laying down definitions which departed from the original proposal of testing the veracity of the *Nonconformist's* tables. Endeavours were, however, made to reconcile the two documents, and there were concessions on both sides. But the negotiations were impeded by illness, and by the necessity of having recourse to written communications, in consequence of Mr. Flint not being invested with plenary powers to settle anything. At length the Committee of the Church Defence Institution sent an *ultimatum*, which contained proposals for conducting the inquiry to which the compiler of the statistics found it impossible to agree. One of these was that the sitting capacity of every place of worship in the five towns (some 600 in number) should be measured afresh; to which it was replied that the task was too great to impose upon the two commissioners, but that it would quite meet the case to allow them discretion to accept jointly what official statements they chose, and to measure all places respecting which they were unable to agree. This compromise, proposed with a view to save needless trouble, was not accepted. Next the Committee required that every place of worship and mission room not actually 'registered' should be excluded. But on the other side

it was contended that the inquiry had reference to actual facts, to which the question of official recognition, which might or might not have taken place, was not relevant. Then the Committee insisted on their right to publish, in addition to the joint report of the commissioners, a separate report from their own commissioner. This proposal the compiler of the *Nonconformist* statistics absolutely declined, on the ground that such a procedure would materially tend to frustrate the primary object of the joint inquiry, which should necessarily be final, and not open to be explained away on the one side or the other. In replying to the final memorandum of the Committee of the Church Defence Institution, that gentleman pointed out that, although they had not thought it expedient to accept the instructions agreed to by Mr. Flint, or those subsequently modified to meet some of their views, it was quite within the competence of the Committee to pursue the investigation in the towns specified according to their own rules, and to publish whatever they pleased on the subject without restriction; but that if they still desired a joint inquiry it could only be prosecuted with the limitations already referred to. To this letter, dated July 12th, 1873, no reply was received, and the negotiations for a test inquiry have come to naught.

While this correspondence was proceeding a new statistical table for the borough of Gateshead—the product it was said of just such a joint inquiry—was published, and it showed an extraordinary disparity with the conclusions stated by the enumerator of the *Nonconformist*. This 'corrected return' was copied into the Church newspapers, and sent as a handbill to all parts of the country. The Gateshead enumerator, however, took up the challenge, went over the ground afresh, and his revised information was published with great minuteness in the *Nonconformist* of May 7th last year. The counter-return for Gateshead referred to, had been triumphantly quoted by the Church Defence Committee as a specimen of what would probably be the result in the five specified towns if the joint inquiry had been prosecuted. To this convenient assumption the compiler of the *Nonconformist's* statistics replied as follows, in his final letter to Mr. Flint relative to the proposed joint inquiry:—

'Our Gateshead enumerator was charged with omitting eleven places of worship with 1,049 sittings belonging to the Church of England. What is his reply? That one of these "places of worship" is "a cellar kitchen;" a second a schoolroom, where there has been no

service for two years; a third a cottage, where no Sunday service is held; a fourth, "no preaching for a long time;" a fifth opened only a few weeks, and of course not a place of worship in December, 1872; a sixth a room where no service has ever been held; a seventh, ditto; an eighth opened since the *Nonconformist* returns were published; and one or two others where there is a service on one weekday evening, but not on Sunday. It is also worthy of note that, in the "corrected return," no Sunday-schools, cottages, or cellars on the Dissenting side are reckoned by the joint enumerators. Our own enumerator, moreover, did not include such places on *either side*, and I gather from your letter that your committee would, without hesitation, exclude them. I may add that none of our agents in any one of the eighty-four towns dealt with felt warranted in returning Sunday schools, cottages, cellars, nor indeed theatres where services are held, as "places of worship." It is quite possible that the proposed test inquiry in the five towns on the basis laid down by your committee would, as you say, have produced similar results to those of Gateshead. But would such results have been trustworthy? Would they not have been invalid according to the instructions proposed by your committee?

We have thus endeavoured—at the cost, we fear, of our readers' patience—to give legitimate reasons why the tables of the *Nonconformist* may be accepted as substantially accurate, and to set forth and rebut the charges brought against them generally and in detail: with what success the public must determine. But before leaving this subject, it is essential to advert to one respect in which these statistics fall short of the census of 1851. Mr. Horace Mann's tables included elaborate returns of attendances at places of worship, and thus the one set of tables elucidated the other. This is an undertaking that no private resources could compass. Church critics, knowing that the defect cannot be made good, make the most of the omission. 'Supposing your information as to Church accommodation were correct,' it is argued, 'that proves nothing as to the number of Dissenters.' But the objectors conveniently forget that, as a rule, Nonconformists

cannot build, still less maintain, places of worship, unless there is need for them. Their ministers have no endowments, and ministers and services can be sustained only by the voluntary contributions of those who require them. The absurd notion of Dissenters—mostly persons of moderate means—erecting places of worship by the score on mere speculation, and keeping them open without congregations to support them, could only enter the minds of controversialists utterly at a loss for valid arguments. Every tyro in ecclesiastical information ought to know that when Dissenting places of worship 'cannot be made self-supporting after fair trial, they are closed or sold. A writer who can allege—as is alleged in *The National Church* for February—that to draw definite conclusions from sitting accommodation 'is about as accurate as if the forms in a school were to be taken to represent the number of scholars attending it,' is guilty of penning pure nonsense, so far as Dissenters are concerned. But although there is no detailed information as to the present attendance at places of worship, we have fortunately some guidance that may help us to a general conclusion. The records of the census of 1851 still exist, and in them we may find the necessary help. The evidence is the more striking, inasmuch as it applies not merely to large towns, but to the *whole* of England and Wales:—

'At the most numerously attended service on the Census Sunday, 1851—varying in the case of different bodies—there were in the

Churches of the Establishment	2,971,258 persons.
Non-Established places of worship	3,384,964 „

'Mr. Mann supposes that one-half of those present in the afternoon, and one-third of those attending in the evening, were new attendants; and on that basis he computes the number of worshippers in churches to have been 3,773,474, and in chapels, 3,487,558. In Wales alone the preponderance of Dissent was enormous, as will be seen from the attendance at each of the services:—

WALES.

	Morn.	After.	Even.
Attendants at Non-Established Chapels	247,394	134,835	324,850
„ „ Churches	85,089	40,525	31,454
Dissenting preponderance	162,305	94,310	293,405

And in Yorkshire and Lancashire the attendants were:—

YORKSHIRE.

	Morn.	After.	Even.
Dissenters,	220,977	185,992	215,740
Churchmen,	168,712	120,751	53,280
Dissenting preponderance,	52,265	65,241	162,460

LANCASHIRE.

	Morn.	After.	Even.
Dissenters,	264,279	104,564	144,343
Churchmen,	192,170	118,661	70,719
Dissenting preponderance,	72,109	73,624	73,624

This, it may be said, was nearly twenty-three years ago, and have not the conditions of the problem essentially altered? We say no, and have good reason for the allegation. It was only a few weeks ago that the Right Hon. H. C. E. Childers, at a foundation stone celebration at Knottingley, gloried in the progress of Church extension. The Church, he declared, was never in a better position than at the present time, as attested by the number of new edifices being erected—at the rate of 120 a year. And we may remark in passing that if Mr. Childers, who bewails the want of information on the subject, had consulted the statistical supplements of the *Nonconformist*, he would have seen that in 112 towns alone of England and Wales there have been built (after deducting mission rooms) some sixty churches per annum on the average since 1851—making a total of about 660 during that period of twenty-two years. But to return to our point. The right hon. gentleman claims this activity in church extension as the sign of religious vitality. Now, if we may venture to use the same test in relation to the denominations outside the Establishment—but applying it as the gauge rather of the provision of religious machinery than of actual spiritual life—these sects have, in combination, done far more than the Anglican Church since 1851 to furnish the means of public worship. They have in the interval built quite double the number of places of worship, though upon that, for obvious reason, we do not lay undue stress. The true test is the accommodation they provide, and, as we have seen, while the Church of England has increased its sittings since 1851 at the rate of 35·3 per

cent., the Free Churches have augmented theirs 58·1 per cent.—the balance in their favour being more than half a million of sittings. What is the import of this fact? Bearing in mind that in 1851 the worshippers in church and chapel for the entire country, the rural parishes included, were nearly equal, does this great preponderance of Dissenting religious machinery at the present time mean a proportionate increase in the adherents of the Free Churches? If this deduction be denied, we are then driven to the conclusion that all these years the relatively poor denominations have been continuously spending vast sums in erecting places of worship for nothing, and that these extra half million of sittings are merely an interminable array of desolate pews! Such a conclusion is so manifestly absurd, that even zealous Churchmen must perforce accept the other alternative, and admit that in the main the growth of Dissenting appliances means a proportionate increase of Dissenting worshippers.

We are not, however, as to this attendance question, wholly shut up to logical deductions, which if not actual facts hardly fall short of practical demonstration. The *Nonconformist* furnishes some fragmentary information on the subject, which, as far as it goes, is in strict harmony with the statistics of 1851. It is stated that for the large town of Newcastle-on-Tyne the average attendance for morning and evening service in every place of worship was given by the enumerator, though not made use of in the table published on October 20th, 1872. This information we collate with that supplied by the Religious Census of 1851:—

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

	1851.			1871.		
	Population,	Sittings.	Most numerous-ly attended service.	Population,	Sittings.	Most numerous-ly attended service.
Church of England, .	11	9,928	7,202	16	14,499	8,950
Non-Established Churches,	40	18,878	11,508	83*	32,221	18,330

From this table it appears that in 1851 the non-established churches contained 61·5 per cent of the total worshippers; in 1872, 67 per cent.; or, if we deduct 5 per cent. for a possible over-estimate, the ratio of at-

tendance is still higher than in 1851, viz., 62 per cent. Newcastle is a first-class town. Let us now take a borough of the secondary rank for a comparative statement of the same kind:—

LEICESTER.

	1851.			1871.		
	Population,	Sittings.	Most numerous-ly attended service.	Population,	Sittings.	Most numerous-ly attended service.
Church of England, .	9	8,828	6,884	15	18,178	8,500
Non-Established Churches,	26	16,180	10,930	38	24,909	19,550

In this case the attendance at the Free Churches in 1851 was 60 per cent. of the

entire attendance; in 1872 it had risen to 70 per cent.

* This large number of 'places of worship' for 1872 is due to the inclusion of mission rooms, of which there are twenty-one.

One more illustration may be given from a third-class town :—

WARRINGTON.						
1851.				1871.		
Population, . .		22,894		Population, . .		32,083
Places of worship.	Sittings.	Most numerous-ly attended service.	Places of worship.	Sittings.	Most numerous-ly attended service.	
Church of England, . .	4	5,010	8	7,100	2,580	
Non-Established Churches, . .	11	5,245	20	8,601	4,620	

In this borough the non-established churches provided 52 per cent. of the worshippers at the most numerous attended service in 1851, and 60 per cent. of the average attendance in 1872.

Unless we are to assume that these three towns of different sizes and populations are to be regarded as quite exceptional—for which there is not the shadow of a reason known to us—the deductions from the foregoing tables are very striking. Taking them together, the Free Churches supply 67 per cent. of the accommodation, and 68 per cent. of the worshippers. Even if 5 per cent. be deducted on the score of probable exaggeration in the number of attendants, there will still remain 63 per cent.—that is to say, 13 per cent. beyond a moiety of the worshipping population attend Divine service in the places of worship outside the Established Church in these three boroughs, taking the most numerous attended services as a standard of comparison. The argument of Church critics who contend that Dissenters erect places of worship which are scarcely frequented by the population, is therefore not only theoretically absurd, but is disproved by the statistics of 1851, and entirely breaks down when the test of the actual facts, as revealed in 1872, is applied.

Of the illustrations we have given above in this matter we may fairly say—*ex pede Herculem*.

A subsidiary but interesting feature of these statistics is the view they give of the relative strength of the leading religious bodies of England and Wales in the towns dealt with, so far as it can be measured by the accommodation they respectively supply. The fourteen principal denominations in the 125 towns are represented as follows :—

	Sittings.
Church of England,	1,204,877
Wesleyans,	376,738
Congregationalists,	349,459
Baptists,	251,691
Primitive Methodists,	150,015
Roman Catholics,	147,145
United Methodists,	112,444
Presbyterians,	82,641
New Connexion Methodists,	77,558
Unitarians,	42,549
Society of Friends,	32,401
Calvinistic Methodists,	30,810
Plymouth Brethren,	22,460
Bible Christians,	10,183

‘The relative increase of the twelve principal religious bodies, as compared with 1851, can only be stated in the case of 112 towns, the other thirteen being without any returns for that year. We subjoin the result :—

	1851.	1872-3.	Increase per cent in 22 years.
Church of England,	828,873	1,122,366	35·3
Wesleyan Methodists,	261,428	351,448	34·4
Congregationalists,	208,431	330,396	58·5
Baptists,	156,355	239,471	53·2
Roman Catholics,	78,882	140,491	78·1
Primitive Methodists,	68,373	137,986	101·8
United Methodists,	51,753	108,382	107·5
New Connexion,	44,219	59,119	33·7
Presbyterians,	33,222	78,261	135·6
Unitarians,	30,877	40,765	31·4
Society of Friends,	28,531	30,911	8·3
Calvinistic Methodists,	11,819	32,062	171·2

It is hardly necessary to observe that these percentages must be taken *cum grano*. The Wesleyans, though still standing second to the Church of England in point of religious accommodation, have not increased in these towns so fast as some other bodies, owing to the secession which took place many years ago, and which resulted in the union of the Wesleyan Association and Wesleyan Reformers, under the name of the

United Methodist Free Churches. In any estimate of progress it is therefore only fair that the two bodies should be combined; in which case the increase per cent. rises to 46·7. Taking the whole Methodist family together, they represent 688,997 sittings, being a little more than two-fifths of the number supplied by the Church of England, and about 24 per cent. of the entire accommodation. The rapid increase of the Prim-

itive Methodists, who have doubled their means of public worship in twenty-two years, is especially gratifying; this indefatigable body being the poorest of the several denominations, and finding their sphere of labour almost exclusively among the lower strata of society. Relative to the other denominations, the *Nonconformist* remarks:—

* 'Twenty years ago the Presbyterians were comparatively weak in England, and have in the interval trebled their means of public worship. They are here included in one body, though consisting of three, the Church of Scotland, the English Presbyterians, and the United Presbyterians—the latter two verging upon amalgamation. Congregationalists and Baptists stand nearly in the same relative position as in 1851, though the increase of the former has been somewhat more rapid. As to the Roman Catholics, we can only repeat that their considerable increase is mainly owing to continuous Irish immigration, and that the accommodation of their places of worship represents a larger constituency, in proportion to other denominations, in consequence of its being more utilized. It is further to be observed that while the comparison between two distinct divisions like the Established Church and the Free Churches, as a whole, is perfectly fair for statistical purposes (and quite natural, so long as the former is placed in a position of supremacy), the increase per cent. is not an infallible test, when applied to the Church of England and the several denominations singly. The larger a religious body the smaller is likely to be the rate of increase per cent. This consideration ought to be borne in mind in examining the above totals.'

A further point remains to be considered, on which, in the absence of complete statistics, speculation is both legitimate and pertinent. Seeing that the Established Church was in 1851 the church of barely more than half the worshippers on Census Sunday, and that in 1872, as it has been shown, the same church provided only two-fifths of the sitting accommodation among our town population, does that Church still represent an absolute majority of the population? The compiler of the *Nonconformist* statistics is of opinion that it does not. Including the metropolis—which he assumes, for the purpose, to represent the same relative proportions as in 1865, the known Church increase since being to some extent counterbalanced by the large increase of only one denomination, the Wesleyans*—the statistics of cities

and boroughs, containing nine millions and three-quarters, have been taken. This would make the proportions—Church of England, 44 per cent.; Free Churches, 56 per cent.—a balance of 12 per cent. against the Establishment. Is that disparity made up in the rest of England and Wales? It is contended that in the towns not dealt with—those under 10,000 inhabitants—the comparison would be in favour of Dissent, though by a smaller percentage than in towns with a population over 10,000. Then in respect to the country parishes, the Church accommodation has grown very little, because it has not been wanted, and is indeed in many districts largely in excess of the decreasing population. On the other hand, since 1851, Dissent has been rapidly growing in the rural districts, as the records of the leading denominations abundantly attest. Such are the conditions of the problem. Our readers can weigh them, and draw their own inferences.

But, recognising only actual facts, the enormous expansion of the Free Churches of England and Wales, actual and relative, since 1851, following upon the evidence afforded of a similar state of things during the first half of the present century, is a phenomenon of the highest significance in relation to the religious, ecclesiastical, and political life of the nation. Passing over the first on the present occasion—for Church opponents have persisted in ignoring the spiritual aspects of the statistics under review—we may again briefly point, for a specific purpose, to the wonderful revelation they make of the power of the voluntary principle, which has provided in 112 of our towns 1,721 additional places of worship, with 1,660,750 in less than a quarter of a century, and 12·3 per cent. faster than the increase of population. Now, the larger proportion of this increase is clearly due to Nonconformity—for the most part a more tolerant, cultivated, and broader type of that antique Puritanism, out of which have sprung so many elements of England's national greatness. Unprejudiced Churchmen, aye, and thoughtful statesmen, may well rejoice that while sacerdotalism is eating into the heart of the Anglican Establishment, and a majority of its clergy seem to be travelling Romeward, Protestantism is renewing its life and multiplying its adherents outside the pale of the 'national church.' What, it may be asked, would be the position of the

* We understand that since 1867 the Wesleyans have erected 16 large chapels in and around London, each with seat accommodation for 1,000 persons, besides one or two about to be opened; also 22 small chapels or iron structures, for 6,500 worshippers; making a total of about 27,500 sittings. Besides this, 15 sites have been secured, on which large chapels are in due time to be erected.

This movement is a splendid memorial of the enterprise of the Wesleyan Chapel Building Society, and of the munificence of Sir Francis Lytett, whose liberal pecuniary contributions and promises have been its mainspring. by Google

diminishing and discouraged Evangelical party within the Episcopal pale, without the tacit alliance of the growing army of Nonconformist Protestants outside that pale, whom they alternately woo and disparage? But if Dissent is in the truest sense the bulwark of Protestantism in England, how important that the adherents of a religious faith which discards tradition and repudiates priestism, whether inside or outside the Establishment, should be able to measure the strength of that Dissent, and find reason to rejoice in its healthy progress. Nevertheless, the *Nonconformist* has been bitterly denounced by undoubted Protestants for presuming to supply such information.

To a superficial observer it might appear that if the Free Churches of England and Wales are indeed, as these statistics imply, a most formidable political power, the recent general election bears few traces of its pervading influence. Why, we hear it said, have so many of the towns in which Nonconformity has so great a numerical preponderance returned Conservatives to represent them in Parliament? This is a large and complicated question, more adapted for specific treatment by itself than for fragmentary notice at the close of this article. It may suffice to say that Dissenters are not in a political sense a separately organized party; that, while generally agreed in upholding the principle of religious freedom, and able to exert a paramount influence upon the national will on critical occasions—as when the fate of the Irish State Church was at stake—they for the most part merge their distinctive views in their duties as citizens, or as members of the Liberal party; that they are like other electors, swayed in political life by a variety of motives; that their influence in the constituencies is often overshadowed, except on great occasions, by the social preponderance of a State Church, jealous of its monopoly, and instinctively Conservative, and is not seldom overborne, when such cries as ‘the national church and the national beverage’ are heard on the other side; and that they are reluctant—too reluctant some would say—to urge distinctive claims, however well-founded, when they are ignored by the leaders who shape the policy of the Liberal party, and when not held to be ripe for legislative treatment. But we forbear to discuss in this place the remarkable political phenomena of the general election of February, though the result of the appeal to the country does not in the least shake our conviction that, whensoever Nonconformists have placed again before them any urgent question that affects their principles, they will give practical proof of their paramount in-

fluence in the borough constituencies. Though hardly as yet conscious of what they could do unitedly, their strength is maturing; their cause, by its inherent rightness and the force of events, is being gradually disentangled from merely party objects; and some day, not far distant perhaps, an outburst of enthusiasm will unite them in one common phalanx, and supply the motive power to carry forward their principles to a legislative triumph. Who can say how soon the exigencies of the Liberal party will furnish such an opportunity to the Free Churchmen of England and Wales?

To return from what might be regarded as a digression, we may conclude by briefly indicating the scope of the foregoing remarks. The census of 1851 revealed to the country for the first time the growing numbers, religious vitality, and self-sacrificing zeal of the Free Churches of England and Wales, which neither the efforts of hostile partisans, nor the contemptuous disregard of the House of Lords could discredit. The statistics of the *Nonconformist*, obtained by the same method, based on the same plan, and in harmony with the conclusions of the statistics of 1851, showed that in all the towns with more than 10,000 inhabitants—comprising in the aggregate six millions and a-half of the population—the non-established churches supply three-fifths of the religious accommodation; a greater increase by 12·8 per cent. since 1851 than has been made by the Church of England. The many charges brought against the *Nonconformist* of not crediting the Episcopal Church with large numbers of places of worship are examined and refuted, and the break-down of the test inquiry proposed by the Church Defence Institution is explained. Various reasons are also given for the assumption that the attendance at places of worship is in about the same ratio as in 1851, and that the number of worshippers in the Free Churches is in proportion to the accommodation provided. The general inference is that a majority of the church-going population of England and Wales is to be found outside the Established Church; and it is shown that the chief safeguard against the sacerdotal reaction is to be found, not within the Anglican communion, where indeed Sacramentarianism and Ritualism have lately made rapid progress, but in the numerous and extending Protestant denominations outside, the constitution of all of which is adverse to the theory of a priestly caste, and based upon the recognition of Christian freedom and independence. It is, moreover, claimed for the Free Churches that they are not only the champions of a pure Christianity and free religious thought, but

the zealous supporters of political progress, and a liberal policy in national affairs. If the large towns are the chief centres of industrial enterprise and intellectual activity, it is reasonably concluded that, as the Nonconformists preponderate in all of them, they will, even more than has been the case heretofore, materially help to mould the national life, and preserve it from that putrefaction which arises from the injurious influence of a numerous sacerdotal class, favoured and sustained by the State, coincident with the perils which are entailed by the enormous increase of wealth and prosperity among the population.

ART. V.—*Aspects of the Agricultural Labour Question.*

- (1.) *The 'Romance' of Peasant Life in the West of England.* By FRANCIS GEORGE HEATH. Second Edition. Cassell, Petter, and Galpin. 1872.
- (2.) *The English Peasantry.* By FRANCIS GEORGE HEATH. Frederick Warne and Co. 1874.

It is now a little more than two years ago that a 'strike' of agricultural labourers in Warwickshire had the effect of forcibly arresting general public attention and of taking everybody by surprise. There was something novel—something, indeed, almost comic—in the fact that a little knot of farm labourers had boldly ventured all at once to assume a defiant attitude towards their employers. The public, generally speaking, do not sympathize with 'strikes.' The gas stokers' strike, for instance, excited universal indignation. People associated the strikes of colliers with the recent 'coal famine,' and they associate strikes in general—and rightly so in most cases—with high prices and dear living. But the peculiarity of the Warwickshire strike was, that it excited for the men who had struck universal sympathy, which was expressed in the eminently practical shape of substantial aid in money. Referring to this fact, the *Times* of the 18th March, 1872, said, 'The labourers receive a vast amount of popular support, and every post brings letters of sympathy and assistance from various parts of the country.'

A few days later on, a leading article in the *Times* commenced as follows:—

'A "strike" of agricultural labourers, such as that we hear of in Warwickshire, is a very different affair from a strike of spinners, weavers, lace makers, artisans, miners, pitmen, or

even of men employed on the railway or the telegraph. The British public has a much deeper sympathy with the rural labourer than it has with any one of those other classes, but then it does not regard him as a man to strike, and that is one of the reasons—perhaps the chief reason—why it has so much sympathy for him. When people can take care of themselves, and do, in fact, take good care of themselves, they so far repel sympathy and forfeit it. We are profoundly moved and deeply interested for those who are cast on our pity and benevolence. This is the special case of the rural labourer.'

This quotation from the leading journal embodies a very clear as well as a perfectly accurate view of the position occupied by the rural labourer at the time when the movement in Warwickshire first directed to his class the marked attention of the public. The position of the agricultural labourer was, in fact, quite exceptional. Whilst the prosperity of every other section of the working classes in this country had become increased with the increase in the national wealth and the advance in the national prosperity, the condition of the tillers of the soil had for a very long period remained unchanged. And yet none of the labouring classes were so wretchedly circumstanced as these rude sons of toil. The urgent necessity for improvement had not operated in the direction of reform, and our peasants had patiently and uncomplainingly borne their hard lot.

Dwellers in towns knew little of the condition of the agricultural labourer, except what could be gleaned during occasional visits to the agricultural districts. But this slight acquaintance had sufficed to produce a favourable impression in the minds of townspeople, who not only pitied, but liked the farm labourer. Hence the 'letters of sympathy' and the 'assistance' which poured in upon the Warwickshire peasants when they had determined to adopt the expedient which the common sense of right-thinking men ordinarily condemns—namely, that of a 'strike.'

It is curious to notice how this movement in Warwickshire first began. The present century has not seen, and probably will not see a more remarkable, or a more important movement. A tiny spark may cause a great conflagration; a small force may suffice to bring down an avalanche. Something of what Mr. Disraeli has called 'the spirit of the age,' seems to have crept into the village of Weston-under-Weatherley, near Leamington, in the early days of the month of February, 1872, and in spite of the damp, and characteristic cheerlessness of the weather, to have inspired two or three farm

labourers with the feeling that their condition was not *quite* what it ought to be. These men had somehow—and, as it seemed, spontaneously—become sensible that the outside world was enjoying an unusual amount of prosperity. Together with this feeling came a sort of spontaneous longing for a little—a very little—of this prosperity which was overflowing upon others.

The turn of the tide, in fact, had at length come for these poor toilers. The long lane of semi-starvation and misery was about to end. The feudal grip was relaxing its hold. The healthy commercial spirit of the age had begun to breathe upon poor Hodge at last. He was tired of being 'grateful' for making the fortunes of farmers, and receiving, for his share in the profits, twelve shillings a week, on which to support himself and his wife and family; to house, feed, clothe, and educate them. The line must be drawn somewhere. The 'national prosperity' had increased the distance between the poor farm labourer and the rest of the world. He could endure destitution up to a certain point; he had, in fact, patiently endured it so far. But the cruel contrast became at length too galling. The crumbs which fell under the table seemed too infinitesimal when compared with the piled up luxuries which graced the sumptuous board.

So thought the peasants of Weston-under-Weatherley; and they ventured to take, after due deliberation, the bold but legitimate course of writing to a local newspaper a letter, in which, after stating their case, their work, their earnings, and their hardships, they asked whether a discriminating public would not be willing to concede that half-a-crown a day was not an excessive rate of pay for an able-bodied farm labourer. It matters not how this celebrated letter was indited. Its style was doubtless very primitive, but in substance it was such as we have indicated. The letter was published. It was read; and amongst the readers were some other farm labourers living in the neighbouring village of Charlcoate. These men held a little conference, and one of their number, who had heard something of the trades' unions, took the liberty of proposing that they—the labourers of Charlcoate—should combine. The same labourer suggested that they should all sign a paper binding themselves to form a sort of club or union. The suggestion was adopted. The little band of farm labourers—eleven in number—signed the proposed paper, and each paid a sort of entrance fee into the new association. It seems that at this time these men had no very definite idea as to

what particular step they ought next to take. They had started a union, but were somewhat puzzled to know where it would lead them, or what it could do for them.

Meanwhile, the news of the very bold proceeding which had been adopted quickly spread to the surrounding villages. The example of the Charlcoate peasants proved contagious, and great excitement prevailed. Now, for the first time, the eleven original conspirators felt the weight of the responsibility which rested upon them. They seemed almost frightened at the success of their undertaking, but they nevertheless determined to proceed with it. Then it occurred to them to seek the assistance of Joseph Arch, of Barford. Arch, like themselves, was employed in agricultural labour, but was superior in intelligence to most of their class. Having been a preacher among the Primitive Methodists, he was a fluent speaker. He accepted an invitation to address a meeting of farm labourers, arranged to be held in the village of Wellesbourne. This meeting, which was attended by about 1,000 labourers residing at Wellesbourne and the surrounding villages, duly took place.

From this moment Joseph Arch was tacitly acknowledged as the leader of the new movement. He attended and addressed a number of meetings which were subsequently held in various parts of Warwickshire. A month after the first meeting at Wellesbourne the celebrated 'strike' of 200 farm labourers took place in that village.

Up to this point the movement had been purely local, and its originators had not even dreamed that the union to which it had led was about to become the nucleus of a great national organization. But the 'strike' had piqued the curiosity of the public. Straightway the graphic pen of the 'special correspondent' was called into requisition, and ere many days had passed the readers of the daily newspapers from one end of England to the other were made familiar with the miserable circumstances of the Warwickshire peasants.

The movement reached its first important stage on the 29th of March, 1872, when the several unions which had been formed in Warwickshire were amalgamated into one union for the county, under the name of 'The Warwickshire Union of Agricultural Labourers.' From this moment the new organization became rapidly developed, and two months afterwards the local union was made national, and was established upon a permanent basis. Since its establishment it has extended its ramifications so rapidly that at the present moment it has branch and dis-

strict unions in almost every county of England. It is, in fact, a great power in the land, and a power, as we trust and believe, for good. Hitherto the movements of our agricultural labourers, the first uprising, the formation of the union, and the subsequent proceedings, have been conducted with singular moderation and forbearance. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the movement has been denounced by those who ought to know better. It has been said that it was originated by 'mischievous agitators,' with the object of setting class against class, and destroying the mutual respect and confidence which formerly existed between employers and employed in the agricultural districts. The Duke of Marlborough made himself the exponent of those who entertained this unfair and erroneous view of the causes which originated the agricultural labourers' movement. Not long after the formation of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union, the Duke issued an address to his Oxfordshire tenantry, in the course of which he said, referring to the attitude assumed by agricultural labourers towards their employers, that the new 'state of things' owed its origin to none of those causes by which strikes in productive trades had generally been determined, but that it had been brought about by agitators and declaimers, who had, he said, unhappily 'too easily succeeded in disturbing the friendly feeling which used to unite the labourer and his employer in mutual feelings of generosity and confidence.' This ill-considered manifesto implied that there was nothing in the condition of our agricultural labourers that required amelioration; that the latter were not only in comfortable circumstances, but that they were paid for their labour in excess of the market rate of remuneration—what other meaning can be attached to the word 'generosity?'—and that the movement had been started upon a false issue; had, in short, been fomented, 'got up' for the purpose of the professional agitator. Views similar to these have been expressed over and over again by landowners and others. We have shown, however, how the movement of our agricultural labourers was first started—that it was originated entirely by the peasants themselves, and that professional agitators had nothing to do with it.

Such being the case, it is quite clear that as no effect can be produced without a cause, there must have been a cause for the agricultural labourers' movement. The circumstances which gave rise to the movement in Warwickshire were almost accidental, and they could not have determined its

extension to other parts of England had not the condition of the agricultural labourers in almost every agricultural county urgently required amelioration.

It is a curious fact that the Warwickshire peasants were by no means the worst paid or the most hardly used of the English agricultural labourers, although it was they who had first 'struck' against the farmers' treatment. If the agitation for higher wages and better treatment had originated where the agricultural labourer was in the worst condition, that agitation would not have sprung up in Warwickshire. It is doubtless difficult to conceive a worse condition of life for the family of a labouring man—who has hard regular daily work to perform—than existence upon twelve shillings a week. But, judged by the rule of comparison, the Warwickshire labourer was far better off than many of his class. Where, then, could we have looked for a lower depth of misery than that which forced the Warwickshire peasant to 'strike'?

Mr. Heath has told us in his 'Romance' of Peasant Life.' According to his authority, the agricultural counties of the West of England furnish an answer to the question. We learn that the worst evils of our agricultural system were flourishing in that part of England at the time of the uprising of the labourers in Warwickshire. We have heard a good deal in times gone by of the condition of the peasants in Dorsetshire. That county has obtained an unenviable notoriety for the poverty and destitution of its rural labouring population. But it seems that the condition of the peasantry in Devonshire and Somersetshire was worse even than in Dorsetshire. Let us look at this picture of 'Peasant Life in the West of England,' and let us then judge whether it reveals a state of things which only required to be let alone. First, as to the cottages. Here (page 27) is the writer's description of an agricultural labourer's cottage near Banwell, in Somersetshire:—

'Lying a little way back from the road I described what I should have thought was a pig-stye, but for the fact that a man was at a kind of door, cutting up a sheep. I called him out, and questioned him concerning himself and his cottage. I was then invited by him to visit the interior of the latter. Unless I had seen it, I could not have believed that such a place could exist in England. I had to stoop very low to get inside this habitation of an English agricultural labourer. The total length of the miserable hut was about seven yards, its width three yards, and its height measured to the extreme point of the thatched roof, about ten feet; the height of the walls, however, not being so much as six feet. From

the top of the walls was carried up to a point the thatched roof, there being no transverse beams or planks. In fact, had there been any, I could not have stood upright in this hovel. There was, of course, no second floor to the place, and the one tiny floor was divided in the middle into two compartments, each being about three yards square, one used for a bed-room and the other for a sitting-room. The ground was irregularly paved with large stones, with earth between and in their crevices. On my remarking that the floor must be very damp if not wet in winter, the man said, "Oh no, sir, it don't, 'heave' much;" by which he meant that the moisture did not come up very much between the stones. From the thatch in all directions, hung festoons of spiders' webs, intermingled with sprays of ivy, which, but for the terrible squalor of the place, would have given a romantic appearance to the hut.

'John P.—(the inhabitant of this "cottage,") was a short thick-set man, sixty years of age. He had lived there, he told me, a quarter of a century. His predecessors were a man, his wife, and six children, all of whom, he said, had slept in the "bedroom," nine feet square. John told me that he could not work now as well as he used to do; but, nevertheless, he looked strong and healthy for his age; and his principal duty—a responsible one—was to look after his master's stock. His wages were 5s. a week. Out of that he had paid his master £2 10s. a year rent for his "cottage," and 10s. a year more for the privilege of running his pig—for John had a pig, as well as some fowls—on his master's land. John also rented one-eighth of an acre of potato ground, for which—still out of his miserable wages—he paid 15s. a year.'

Mr Heath, in 'The "Romance" of Peasant Life,' gives the result of a personal visit to the agricultural districts of the West of England, in the early part of 1872: and he therefore presents us with a picture of the condition of the farm labourers in that part of England just after the Warwickshire strike, and before the establishment of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union. In most of the districts which the author visited, however, he found that since the commencement of the movement in Warwickshire the farmers had generally raised wages to the extent of about 1s. per week in the case of each labourer; that is to say, there has been a rise all round to this extent. We will give some of the author's facts in the order in which he has placed them in his ironically-styled 'Romance.'

In the Vale of Wrington, on the estates of the Duke of Cleveland, the average wages were from 11s. to 12s. a week. This appears to have been the highest average of wages in the Western agricultural counties. Nowhere does the author state that higher wages were given; but he states that in by

far the greater number of the places he visited a much lower scale of wages prevailed. The cottages of the peasantry in Wrington were very bad, and so few in number, that the population suffered greatly from the evils of overcrowding. The Duke of Cleveland had not visited his Somersetshire estates more than twice in the previous six years. Even his agent did not reside on the property, but lived at Bath. The consequence was that the physical and social necessities of the poor population of this rural district were overlooked—a state of things which is too frequently found existing on the estates of English absentee landlords. In the village of Wrington the drainage was very bad; but no attempt had been made by the responsible authorities to remedy this evil. Many of the farm labourers had great difficulty in getting allotments, as there was only a limited number in the place, in consequence of the desire of the Duke of Cleveland, or of his agent acting for him, to increase still further the size of his large farms by throwing into them every available plot of ground.

The author next proceeds to discuss 'the cider question,' as it relates to the agricultural labourer in the West of England, and he illustrates the evils of the cider truck system. The truck custom of giving beer and cider is in fact one of the greatest evils connected with the employment of agricultural labour in this country. In most of the agricultural districts this custom prevails. The labourer is supplied by the farmer with a certain quantity of liquor, either beer or cider, in part payment of wages. The quantity given out varies in different districts, generally ranging from two to four pints a day. Women and young children employed in farm work are also supplied with daily quantities of beer or cider, and under the system, therefore, children from their earliest years are encouraged to love drink. This is a matter that calls for vigorous handling by the Legislature. Apart from the moral and physical evils produced by the beer and cider truck system, the custom operates unfairly against the labourer, because the value of the liquor supplied is greatly over-estimated. This is a very important consideration for the farm labourer, as it causes his nominal wages—which consist of his money wages and the computed value of the 'truck'—to be given at a figure which does not fairly represent his actual remuneration. The Western agricultural districts, and more especially Somersetshire and Devonshire, are famed for the great number of their orchards, and the large quantities of apples which are annually grown there. In conse-

quence therefore of the great abundance of apples a very large quantity of cider is made; and it is for this reason that it is the cider and not the beer truck system, which prevails in the West of England.

Speaking of the cider system in Somersetshire, Mr. Heath gives a description of the very inferior kind of cider which is given to the agricultural labourer, and shows the superiority of the liquor which is generally consumed by the farmers themselves. He says:—

‘One great difficulty with the peasants in Somersetshire is what is called “the cider question.” This county being one of the finest cider-producing counties in England, the system prevails of giving the labourers daily, in small kegs or firkins, a certain quantity of cider, varying in different districts, but seldom less, I believe, than three pints per day. I obtained the testimony of an old man who has had fifty years’ experience as a farm labourer, and he gave me a truthful description of the horrible liquor that is given to the agricultural labourer under the ironical name of cider. It is a well-known fact that in Somersetshire and in other of the Western cider-producing counties, the farmer nearly always keeps “two taps running,” according to the expression of that part of the country; one tap for himself and his friends, and one tap for the farm labourers. The farmer’s own cider—I can speak from my own knowledge, as well as from the evidence of my informant—is most carefully made. The very best apples are selected, the manufacturing process is carefully gone through, and real cider is produced. If a stranger to the country wants to taste the best cider, the farmer will give him what he will tell him in confidence that he keeps for his “own drinking.” Now for the labourers’ cider, tap No. 2. The very worst apples are in the first place selected—the windfalls; and these, with the dirt and slugs, are ground up for the peasants. When the “windfalls” are used for feeding the pigs, the labourer has what is called the “second wringing;” that is to say, the apples for the farmer’s “own drinking” cider are put into the press, and after the best part of the juice has been extracted, the cider “cheese,” as the mass of apples in the press is called, is subjected to yet greater pressure, and what is expressed from the “cheese” on this occasion is called the “second wringing.” This is greatly inferior to the “first wringing.” To complete the process, and make a liquor worthy of tap No. 2, the following plan is adopted:—To every hogshead of the “second wringing” is added four gallons of hop water. This is added for the purpose of preserving the “second wringing,” which, without such addition, would, from its thinness and inferiority, turn to vinegar. My informant, to give me some idea of the difference in quality between the farmer’s “two taps,” said that good cider usually costs about 80s. a hogshead, whilst the “second wringing” was worth only about 10s. a hogshead.’

The author adds:—

‘There is no doubt that the cider system is a very bad one. It would be infinitely better that the peasant should have the value of the cider—which, by-the-by, is generally estimated by the farmer to be worth considerably more than it is really worth—in money. To a man with such wretched wages every penny is of value. But the system is unfair to the labourer, because under the “cider system” his wages are greatly over-estimated; and I believe the horrible compound which the farmers call cider, but which I think should properly be called vinegar, works the most pernicious effects upon the constitution of the rural labourer.’

The author gives a deplorable account of the wretched cottage accommodation, the low wages, and the general destitution of the labouring population in the districts through which he passed. He found in many cases two-roomed hovels in which large families had often to crowd. The ground floors of some of these hovels were roughly paved with stones, through the crevices of which the dampness of the ground oozed up during the winter. Then there was often only one small bedroom for the sleeping accommodation of a whole family. It is quite useless to expect any moral sensibility in people who are compelled by their hard lot to crowd together in this indecent manner. In very many parts of England—and not in the West alone—the inadequate cottage accommodation is a foul blot upon our agricultural system. It is very common indeed for the father and the mother of a family, with their grown-up sons and daughters, together with men lodgers, to be obliged to use between them one small bedroom. The thing is horrible; and it is the certain and prolific cause of great immorality. Here is a description of the interiors of some of the cottages in one rich agricultural district in the West of England:—

‘In some cottages which I visited the rooms were almost bare of furniture. The single bedrooms, which in many cases had to accommodate the whole of a family, often contained nothing but a squalid bedstead, and perhaps a small table and a broken chair, with a few ragged clothes on the bedstead, not nearly enough to keep the poor creatures warm. Clothes in fact, which would have been barely sufficient to cover one bed, had to serve also for the covering of the little ones, who had to lie about in different parts of the floor.’

Notwithstanding, however, the terrible poverty of the labourers in this particular district, the land it seems was so exceptionally rich, that it was alleged that a large farmer could make a fortune there in seven years.

It seems that 12s. a week—the smallness of which sum had caused the Warwickshire

labourer to 'strike'—was rarely obtained by the peasant in the Western counties at the period referred to. In many districts the wages were only 9s. a week ; in a few 10s. ; and in some only 8s. ; whilst in one important agricultural district a farmer is stated to have been employing able-bodied men at regular farm work, and giving them no more than 6s. a week, but in addition to these wages providing each labourer with a cottage—a two-roomed hovel—rent free, the rent being reckoned as equivalent to 1s. a week. Here is the author's description of the circumstances of an agricultural labourer in the Isle of Athelney, which, unlike what it was in King Alfred's time, has now been transformed into a modern English farm :—

'Passing through the village of Athelney, I entered a labourer's cottage. I was attracted to visit its interior by the sight of a small crowd of little children who blocked up the doorway. I passed across the tiny piece of front garden, which served to grow a few potatoes for the family, and, stooping under the doorway, entered the "basement." I was politely invited by the "goodwife" to seat myself in the chair on the stone floor. Thus shut in from the outer world I felt that it was impossible for even the most imaginative mind to suppose that there was any similarity between the peasant of to-day and the peasant of a thousand years ago. All before me was unromantic ; there was nothing present but the reality of modern wretchedness. Edwin H— was the occupier of the cottage. He was a regular farm labourer, and he received for the support of himself, a wife, and eight children, all of whom I saw, 9s. per week, from a modern English farmer. The eldest of the children was a girl of twelve ; the youngest was a baby, of three months ; seven were girls, and the infant in arms was the only boy. Five pounds a year was the sum paid to the landlord for rent, and a little more than 7s. a week was therefore left to supply the bodily needs of ten persons, with the addition of a few pence earned occasionally by the eldest girl for willow-stripping. Not one of the family had tasted animal food for about six months, except what on very rare occasions had been given by chance benevolence. Bread was the great luxury. Baker's bread, which I learnt was in Athelney 7d. the quartern loaf, was, however, an unknown delicacy in this family circle. The goodwife informed me that she could not possibly afford to buy baker's bread, but that she obtained the meal, and manufactured at home a coarser article for herself, her husband, and her little ones. The good-wife who scolded King Alfred for allowing her cakes to burn, was surely a happier being than this modern mother of eight children. The question naturally arose, how could this family exist at all under such privations ? Private benevolence was the secret. A private gentleman in the neighbour-

hood filled the kind and useful office of benefactor, and distributed gifts to the poor.'

The condition of life described in the preceding account of the circumstances of an Athelney agricultural labourer appears to have been by no means exceptional or uncommon in the West of England. On the contrary, it seems to have been the average condition of life of the peasantry in that part of England. In such circumstances it is difficult to understand how body and soul could be kept together by these poor people on such miserable pay. In some cases, no doubt, the earnings of the children might contribute something towards the maintenance of a family ; but very often, as in the particular instance quoted above, it must happen that only one or at most two out of a numerous family could enter the list of the family bread winners ; and then each of these could only earn barely sufficient for her maintenance. The mother might, by neglecting her family, earn occasionally—for it is obvious she could not work every day—her 8d.—sometimes only 7d. *per diem*. But at what a cost and risk !

Although at the period now under review the condition of the agricultural labourer in the Western counties was worse than in any other part of England, it is not too much to say that, except in two or three counties in the North of England and in the Midlands, the tiller of the soil was generally in a most miserable condition, the wages in any district rarely getting beyond the dead level of 10s., 11s., or at most 12s. a week. So that everywhere agricultural labourers were more or less dependent to a very large extent for existence either upon private benevolence, or in times of sickness upon the rates. It is scarcely worth while to take into account what are called the 'privileges' of the peasant ; because in most cases their value is so small as to make scarcely any appreciable difference in his earnings. But a good deal has, nevertheless, been made by landowners and farmers and by the clergy, of the great advantages which the agricultural labourer derives from payments in kind ; and by adding the value of these items to the money wages it is often comparatively easy to make it appear that the labourer receives much more than his actual money wages. Those, however, who have taken the trouble to enquire concerning these so-called privileges have found in most cases that their value is almost inappreciable. Mr. Stanhope, an agricultural commissioner, has given it as his opinion that throughout England the money wages may be taken to indicate the actual condition of the agricultural labourer ; and Canon Girdlestone, a great authority, has

asserted that in the West of England, more especially in the North of Devon, the peasant has no privileges whatever.

Few persons would be inclined to consider the daily allowance of beer or cider to the agricultural labourer as a privilege worth naming, although its over-estimated money equivalent is always added to the money wages in computing a farm labourer's earnings. Then in some districts there is the system of 'grist corn' in existence. Under this system the labourer is allowed by the farmer to have a certain limited quantity of corn at a certain fixed price all the year round. This price used to be 6s. per bushel, whether the market price of corn were above or below that sum. Doubtless in times of dear corn this particular privilege would be a benefit to the labourer, if the corn were of the best, or only indeed of the average quality. The fact is, however, that the peasant almost invariably gets a very inferior quality of corn known as the 'tailings,' a description of wheat which is usually unmarketable. Sometimes it is the rakings from the wheat-field that the peasant gets for his grist corn; and when this is the case, it not infrequently happens that it gets spoilt by rain, but it nevertheless comes in for the grist at the regulation price.

The only real benefit obtained by agricultural labourers, in addition to their wages, is derived from the produce of their small 'allotments.' It must be remembered, however, that the custom of allowing farm labourers to rent allotments of ground is by no means general; and even in cases where allotments can be obtained, either from the farmer or direct from the landowner, their size very rarely indeed exceeds a quarter of an acre. The farm labourer's allotment is usually a piece of ground detached from the cottage, and quite distinct from the cottage garden. The rents of these allotments vary according to the different values of land in the different districts, and according also to the disposition of the farmer or landowner. The labourer usually pays a much higher rent for his plot of ground when the allotment is held from the farmer than the farmer himself pays to his landlord. In some few cases, when the allotments are held from the landlord, the peasant may get his quarter of an acre of land at a fair rental; but this is exceptional. Mr. Heath states that, when it is the farmer who lets allotments to his men, it is by no means an unfrequent practice for the latter to be charged *three and four times* the rent which the land costs the farmer. But, on whatever terms the peasant may get his little bit of land, he tills it in his after hours,

and procures his little crop of vegetables as the result of his own small outlay and his own laborious cultivation. Hence the somewhat rare and uncertain advantages derived from the cultivation of allotments have nothing whatever to do with the rate of wages.

The advantages derived by the agricultural labourer from the village benefit clubs, where such institutions exist, are very small. These clubs, usually established to provide coal and clothing at Christmas time, are supported partly by the labourers' weekly contribution of pence, and partly by charitable subscriptions. The small funds collected in this way during the year are annually invested in coal and clothing, which are given out to the labourers' families at Christmas, because that is the time of the greatest need.

But when the utmost value has been put upon the 'privileges,' such as they are, enjoyed by the farm labourer, it cannot be said that they add very materially to his weekly wages; and it is a curious, though a painful fact, that in those districts where the wages of the peasantry are the lowest, there is a total absence of privileges.

We have now, as briefly as possible, described the condition of our agricultural labourers at the period of the Warwickshire 'strike.' It is not too much to say that at that time the tillers of the soil in this country were, with few exceptions, in a condition worse than that of paupers. Yet, with one noble exception, no one had put forth a hand to help them. A little more than five years, however, before the commencement of the movement with which Joseph Arch has become identified, Canon Girdlestone, struck with the grievous misery of the North Devonshire peasants, amongst whom he had gone to reside, began, alone and unaided, his admirable work of migrating the half-starved pauperized hinds of the West of England to the prosperous districts of the North, where mining and manufacturing works were continually absorbing the surplus agricultural population, and where also the condition of the agricultural labourer was better than in any other part of England.

Canon Girdlestone's benevolent labours were carried on under the most extraordinary difficulties. Squires, farmers, and in many cases his brother clergymen were against him, and did everything which they could to prevent him from accomplishing his object. But he persevered, in spite of all obstacles, and succeeded in transferring several hundreds of labourers, many of them with their families, from misery and

squalor in the West of England, to comfort and prosperity in the Northern counties. Very much of the exceptional misery and wretchedness of the peasantry of the Western counties was doubtless due to the fact that their numbers were, at the time when Canon Girdlestone began his work of migration, in excess of the requirements of the agricultural labour market. But none of the working classes manifested so little disposition to adapt themselves to circumstances, as the tillers of the soil, or were so little able to move into districts where they could improve their condition of life. The reason for this is to be found in the ignorance and the apathy of agricultural labourers,—a state of things engendered by the grinding poverty which had weighed upon them so long.

Thinly scattered as they were over the country, and in most instances completely under the influence of landowners and farmers, what they especially required for the general improvement of their condition was first combination, and then organization. They could do nothing without organization, and it was of course necessary that that they should first combine in order that they might organize plans for their relief and assistance. The work carried on by Canon Girdlestone in the cause of the peasantry was an indication of what might be accomplished even by the energy and perseverance of an individual. But it is obvious that individual efforts could not accomplish all that was necessary. Hence the establishment of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union was the necessary sequel to the labours of Canon Girdlestone. What he had done in one district, the Union, as a central organization, would need to do in every district where the existence of surplus labour kept wages low, and prevented the healthy operation of the law of supply and demand. The agricultural labourers' organization cannot be looked upon in the same light as an ordinary trades' union. Some persons have pointed to the peculiar nature of farm work in order to prove that it would be unreasonable to subject the farmer to the rigid rules of a labourers' union; and these persons urge that although union might be necessary in other employments, it is not suited to the case of the agricultural labourer. We argue, however, that combination is more necessary for our agricultural labourers than for any of the industrial classes. The helplessness, the ignorance, the want of independence of the peasantry rendered it especially imperative that they should acquire the strength which union gives. But we consider that the chief use-

fulness of the agricultural labourers' union will be found in its adaptability as a focus of organization. It might, in fact, become not only a great agency for the collection and distribution of information in reference to all kinds of agricultural employment, to the requirements of the agricultural labour market, and to all matters which may be interesting to agricultural labourers, but it might at the same time become a great national benefit society and sick club for the tillers of the soil. The chief object of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union, as set forth in its printed rules, is 'to improve the general condition of agricultural labourers in the United Kingdom,' and we are convinced that this excellent object could in no way be accomplished better than in the adoption of the suggestions which we have offered.

The Agricultural Labourers' Union has, in fact, already given proof that it prefers the adoption of wise preventive measures to coercive action. It has never, since its formation, recommended a general strike, but it has earnestly set to work to improve the general condition of the agricultural labourers by one of the most powerful expedients, namely, emigration. Finding that the system of migration which, following the example set by Canon Girdlestone, it first adopted, would only prove a partial remedy for the evils which afflicted the labourers, so long as there remained in this country any surplus agricultural labour, the leaders of the National Union finally resolved to resort to emigration on a large scale. Accordingly, on the 28th of last August, Mr. Joseph Arch and Mr. Arthur Clayden left this country as the delegates of the Union for the purpose of making a tour of inspection through Canada and the United States, in order to ascertain what special arrangements might be made by the Colonial and the United States Governments for promoting a great scheme of emigration from our shores to those respective countries. After a three months' tour through Canada (the delegates visited New York, but made no enquiries through the States) Messrs. Arch and Clayden returned to England, having ascertained the best fields of emigration for the English agricultural labourers, and having secured abundant promises that the Government and the people of the Dominion would heartily co-operate in the proposed great scheme of emigration. The special advantages which have been offered by the Government of Canada to intending emigrants from England are certain, unless rendered abortive by timely concessions on the part of agricul-

turists in this country, to cause a serious and alarming drain of agricultural labour. In May Mr. Arch intends to proceed to the United States with the object of making similar arrangements to those which he has already made with the Canadians; and as agricultural labour is what the Americans need as much as the Canadians, Mr. Arch's mission to the United States will be unquestionably a certain success, in so far as the object which he has in view is concerned.

Meanwhile, however, the continued absorption of our agricultural labourers into the mining and manufacturing industries of the country, together with the vigorous prosecution by the Agricultural Labourers' Union of schemes of emigration to our colonies, have already produced throughout England a marked effect. Agricultural labour is every day becoming more scarce. Since the establishment of the Union, wages have been generally increased, although not to the extent which might be supposed; and so long as our peasants continue to go from us at the present rate, wages must necessarily continue to rise. Nevertheless, in many important agricultural districts, wages have not been materially increased during the last two years, because to a very great extent farmers have managed to dispense with much of the labour which they formerly employed, and because also farmers and landowners have unfortunately maintained towards their men an attitude of uncompromising obstinacy. But this obstinacy will have to yield, should a great exodus of farm labourers from this country actually take place. Before this serious crisis has arrived, however, we trust that employers of agricultural labour will, by timely concession to their men, avert what will otherwise prove calamitous to them and to the whole nation.

In a speech delivered before the Farmers' Club, in December last, Mr. C. S. Read, M.P., the farmers' representative in the House of Commons, in referring to the hostility which many farmers have manifested towards the Labourers' Union, very sensibly recommended his hearers in all matters of work and wages to make no difference at all between union and non-union men. He added, however:—

‘There must be a more general and rigid payment for overtime; but, on the other hand, I do not think the labourer can then call on the farmer, as he has done, to employ him through the whole of the dreary months of the year when he does not want him—that is to say, the spare hands. Nor is it incumbent upon us, as it has been hitherto, to find work under cover for wet and wintry days.’

This is dangerous advice; for unless Mr. Read meant, what he evidently did not, namely, that the farmer should pay the labourer, when he most needed his assistance, wages which would enable him to support himself during ‘the dreary months of the year,’ the labourer would leave him at that dreary season, and either emigrate or seek more constant employment in other places at home; and would thus, in all probability, be lost to the farmer altogether.

We have not space on the present occasion to discuss the many important questions that bear more or less directly upon the question of agricultural labour. One of the most important of these is that of tenant right. There is no doubt that the absence of any legal security for capital, when invested in the cultivation of the land, is the chief, if not the only cause of the very inferior state of our agriculture. Under an improved system of agriculture, it is certain that the position of the agricultural labourer would be immensely improved. Our land is rich enough to support our peasantry in decency and comfort, and it will be a national disgrace, as well as a national misfortune, if we allow the best and strongest of them to leave us.

There are three things which most of our landowners and farmers have yet to learn. They must learn to recognise the right of the agricultural labourer to assert his manhood, and to raise himself from the miserable state of ignorance and poverty, of moral, intellectual, social, and physical degradation in which he is still sunk, to a position of comfort and independence. They must learn to recognise the fact that the healthy commercial spirit of the age will henceforth regulate the relations between employers and employed in agricultural districts as elsewhere, and that the bonds of feudalism are finally being broken. They must also learn that the interests of the agricultural labourer are in reality identical with their own.

The Government and the Legislature have, it must not be forgotten, great responsibilities in reference to this most important matter. The condition of our agricultural labourers and the condition of our agriculture are questions that demand the prompt and earnest consideration of both Parliament and the ministry, for they are questions which vitally concern the nation; and if the classes engaged in the cultivation of the soil—landowners, farmers, and labourers—have duties and responsibilities in respect to each other, they have yet greater responsibilities in respect to the State.

ART. VI.—*The Electric Telegraph.*

WHEN we survey on a map of the Postal telegraph system the vast network of communication which encircles these islands, we find it hard to realize that considerably less than half a century ago the art of telegraphy was practically unknown. It is all the harder when we read that nearly two thousand five hundred years ago the keen-sighted, inquisitive Greeks had evoked that subtle power by means of which the ends of the earth have since been compassed and brought together. From these ancient Greeks we have inherited a veritable Aladdin's lamp, by means of which we can summon to our aid at any moment an invisible force far more powerful than the Genie of the charming Oriental romance. True, we no longer resort to the primitive method of rubbing amber to produce this force; but when we speak of electricity, as we constantly do, we but use a shorter form of speaking of the *Genie of the amber*, which the Orientals would have named the invisible, but as they believed, living agent evoked by the ancient Greeks. To trace, and properly develop the history of electrical science, would lead us far beyond the limits of a short paper like this. Besides, our object is to speak rather of the application of electricity to the purposes of practical telegraphy, than of the subtle power itself.

No doubt the invention of the electric telegraph, and the discovery of the active principles of electricity, are very closely associated in the public mind. But we need scarcely point out that they are totally distinct things; and that just as steam existed long before the invention of the steam engine, so electricity had an existence, or, rather, its existence was discovered long before the invention of the electric telegraph. We are reminded, indeed, that electricity must have been from the very beginning; for, as has been well put by the late Dr. George Wilson, in one of his very able papers on this subject, if we are to consider him the founder of electrical science who first observed an electrical phenomenon, the honour must be assigned to Adam, who earliest of men, doubtless witnessed a thunder-storm, and might have named the agency which produced it the lightning force.

In considering the foundation of electrical science, we are brought down to a comparatively recent period, so recent, indeed, that the '*Latin Treatise on Electricity and Magnetism*,' published by Dr. Gilbert, of Colchester, in the year 1600, may be said to have been the first practical work on the

subject. Even this admirable work proved to be far in advance of its age; and its disparagement, even by some of the most profound thinkers of the age, led to an actual retrogression in electrical science. Another Englishman, Stephen Gray, a pensioner of the Charterhouse, rendered very valuable service in the field of electrical discovery; and his efforts, supplemented by those of Du Faye, a Frenchman, led to what may be called the classification of electrics. This brings us down to the year 1730, *i.e.*, one hundred and thirty years after the publication of Dr. Gilbert's treatise. Progress now became much more rapid, and within the next hundred years we must include the important discoveries of Franklin, Galvani, Volta, Sir Humphry Davy, Ritter of Munich, CErsted of Copenhagen, the celebrated Danish philosopher, Arago, Sturgeon, and Faraday. From 1830 onwards, Faraday proceeded in his career of discovery; and to him, more than to any other single observer, we owe the demonstration of the essential identity in nature and power of all the so-called different kinds of electricity. He furnished the true explanation of its decomposing power over chemical compounds, which Sir Humphry Davy, with all his genius, had in several respects misinterpreted; and, besides much else, he discovered that, as a loadstone renders magnetic all the iron in its neighbourhood, so a current of electricity, proceeding from a battery along one wire, develops a momentary current along another and passive wire stretched near it.

Speaking of wires brings us into close contact with the subject more immediately in hand. We have glanced at the history of electrical science down to the year 1830; but in order to trace the history of the electric telegraph, from its earliest beginnings, we must go back for a moment to the year 1753, when we find the first mention of a system of practical telegraphy. In that year 'C. M.' described in the *Scots' Magazine* his so-called '*Expeditious Method of Conveying Intelligence*.' Curiously enough, the writer had in his mind the leading ideas which have been developed in all modern telegraphy, *viz.*, the complete insulation of the conducting wire, and the production at the distant end of a signal which should either be visible to the eye or audible to the ear. He may be said to have failed only in a matter of detail, inasmuch as his system involved a separate wire for each letter of the alphabet, whereas one wire has now been found to suffice. According to Sir David Brewster, the author of this remarkable paper was a Greenock man; and Brewster, after careful inquiry, asserts that his name was

Charles Morrison, although it has been frequently quoted as Charles Marshall. The little that is known of him may be given in the words of an elderly Scotch lady who remembered a 'Very clever man of obscure position who would make lichtnin' write an' speak, and who could light a room wi' coal-reek' (i.e. coal smoke). This characteristic reminiscence of the old lady naturally recalls to our mind the remarkable words contained in the 35th verse of the 38th chapter of the Book of Job: 'Canst thou send lightnings, that they may go, and say unto thee, Here we are?' We may take it for granted, from the tenor of this question, that the bearers of evil tidings, who, rushing in succession into the presence of the Patriarch, crushed the old man with instalment after instalment of malign fortune, were not the bearers of telegraphic messages. Ill news proverbially travels fast, but it never travelled in those days with speed so great as the lightning flash, whose subjugation under the dominance of man seemed to Job a typical culmination of human impossibility. The Scotch lady spoke of Charles Morrison as the man 'who could make lichtnin' write an' speak,' but under his system the tongue faltered somewhat, and the pen was not exactly that of a ready writer. The period between 1753 and 1837 is almost a blank in the history of the electric telegraph. It is true that in 1774 one Le Sage, a Frenchman, resident in Geneva, submitted a plan of electric communication to Frederick of Prussia, which has been regarded by some as entitling him to the credit of originating the system. But the method too closely resembled that of Charles Morrison to entitle it to be considered as either original or superior. From 1774 to 1837 little was done to render telegraphy a practical science. The labours of M. Lomond in 1787, and of Mr. Ronalds, of Hammersmith, in 1816, led to no definite result; and up to the year 1837 the people of these islands were without that means of communication which, if taken, not from the whole country, but from one of its great commercial centres only, for a single day, would be productive of the most disastrous results.

To this period, says Dr. Wilson, belongs the date of greatest practical interest in reference to the telegraph. In 1837 the inexhaustibly ingenious Wheatstone, and Cooke, a man in whom the practicality of the English character showed itself in its fullest, freest development, took out their patent for an electric telegraph; and to them, as the earliest practical telegraphists, belongs the honour which attaches to that difficult step in all enterprises, *le premier pas*, but of

which, in their case, it may be emphatically added, *qui coûte*. The genial spirit that uttered these words has passed away; but Sir Charles Wheatstone is still amongst us, and apparently only in the midst of his usefulness. The system introduced in 1837 by Messrs. Cooke and Wheatstone was what is known as the 'double needle' telegraph—an invention for which it has been justly claimed that it deserves to be recognised in the same light as the first steam engine of James Watt. The circumstances attending the trial of the wonderful invention have an almost historical importance, and it is impossible to read the simple, yet impressive language in which they are detailed, without feeling somewhat of the sensation which is described as having come upon its authors when the greatness of their work came to be practically demonstrated. We read that on the night of the 25th of June, 1837, the famous invention was subjected to trial in the presence of several distinguished men, prominent amongst whom was the late Robert Stephenson. Wires stretching from Euston-square to Camden Town were connected with the instruments. At the one end stood the able and energetic Mr. Cooke; at the other, his coadjutor, Professor Wheatstone. The experiment was successful. 'Never,' says one of the inventors, 'never did I feel such a tumultuous sensation before, as when, all alone in the still room, I heard the needles click; and as I spelled the words, I felt all the magnitude of the invention, now proved to be practicable beyond cavil or dispute.' Great as was the magnitude of the invention—although confined in its display to the little line between Euston and Camden Town—it could not have entered into the minds of these pioneers how it was destined to be turned to account within the twenty or thirty years that followed its introduction. For it is worthy of note that whereas the progress of telegraphy between the date of the humble invention of Charles Morrison and the memorable epoch of which we are now speaking was slow, and marked by numerous vicissitudes, it was comparatively rapid and successful, after the impetus given to it by the untiring efforts of Messrs. Cooke and Wheatstone.

What may be described as the 'needle era' of the telegraph extended over a period of twenty years, and was marked by the introduction of numerous forms of instruments, all more or less designed on the Cooke and Wheatstone principle. Some of these, as they may be seen now in the museum of the Postal Telegraphs Department, are curiosities which excite in the mind of the telegraphist who has grown with the system from

its earliest beginnings very mingled feelings. One we noticed had no fewer than five needles, representing, of course, as many conducting wires, not a very great improvement in this respect on the crude invention of Charles Morrison. It had earned a very honourable retirement, however, for it had been instrumental in securing the capture of the notorious Tawell, the Quaker murderer. But the feat had not been accomplished without difficulty, for in spite of its five needles, the instrument could not make the letter 'Q,' and but for the ingenuity of the telegraphist, who spelt the word 'Quaker,' Kwaker, the murderer would have escaped. We are speaking now of a time when telegraphy had not developed into a special branch of commerce, but was confined to the then slender requirements of one or two railway companies. By-and-by a basis was made of the railway system for the erection of telegraphs throughout the country, and the incorporation in 1846 of the Electric, afterwards the Electric and International Telegraph Company, laid the foundation of a system which, in the hands of the British Post Office, has grown to be not only the most extensive, but the best organized in the world. But the oak has sprung from a very small acorn indeed. Less than thirty years ago the 'system' of the Electric Company, or, to speak more forcibly, the telegraphic system of the United Kingdom, consisted of a line to Nine Elms, and a small office at 334, Strand. The Electric Company purchased the patents of Messrs. Cooke and Wheatstone, and for several years after the date of its incorporation the only instrument in use was the 'double needle,' of which we have already spoken. This instrument consists simply of a pair of vertical galvanometers, with a key or apparatus for placing a battery in circuit, and for reversing the currents. The lower end of the inside needle is a north pole, and the coils are wound, so that if the copper of a battery be connected to the left, and the zinc to the right hand terminal, the top of the needle will move to the right, and so on. Dr. Wilson, in the article from which we have already quoted, written in 1852, gives a specimen of an alphabet, in which there were no fewer than *ninety* separate signals, some of the letters requiring as many as *five* distinct beats. The system would appear to have been that of the single needle only, although, so far as we can gather, that form of instrument had not been introduced when the article was written. On the double needle instrument the letters of the alphabet can be manipulated in less than fifty beats, and not more than three beats are required for any

single letter. Taking the left handle, two beats to the left indicate the letter 'A'; three beats to the left indicate the letter 'B'; one right and left 'C'; one left and right 'D,' and so on. These combinations can be produced with such amazing rapidity that, even at the present day, with the vast strides which have been made in improving the methods of communication, the double needle instrument can be worked at as great a speed as any *hand* instrument at present in use. But it has these great disadvantages—it necessitates the use of *two* wires, and is ill-adapted for working long distances. We have good reason for remembering how, in the early days of telegraphy, when the system of insulating wires was only imperfectly understood, it was frequently impossible to telegraph a greater distance than forty or fifty miles, and messages from Edinburgh to London had to be 'repeated,' or re-transmitted as many as half a dozen times. So insensitive was this form of instrument, that a vibration of the needle, which, under favourable conditions of working, would extend over a range of about a quarter of an inch, and be distinctly visible at some distance, might be reduced to the faintest tremble, and could only be caught by peering into the face of the instrument with all the anxiety and intense eagerness of a person on shore looking out for a sail on the distant horizon. The telegraphists of those days were a band of resolute fellows, and were too proud, or too determined, to give in and say they could not read, when there was the smallest chance of making out the wavering signals. Clearly, however, a system of this kind was only adapted to the experimental stage of electric telegraphy, when people looked upon the new discovery as a kind of supernatural agency, only to be employed on the rarest and most important occasions. Messages were written out in those days with all the care and deliberation which characterize the gravest transactions of life, and they were entrusted to the wires with a kind of feeling that they might possibly create a degree of mental prostration in their unfortunate receivers. For the most part they related to serious illnesses or deaths, or to pecuniary embarrassments, calling for immediate action on the part of some distant correspondent, or partner in trade. It is small wonder, then, that we read that the telegraph messenger of that period was scarcely more welcome at the doors of most people than the undertaker or the sheriff's officer, and that messages actually containing good news were frequently refused from very fear of their being the medium of evil tidings. Naturally a system which existed under such conditions was

both expensive and unreliable. We remember, indeed, when the charge from Edinburgh to London was something like twelve and sixpence, and to other places in proportion. It could hardly be otherwise under a system requiring two separate wires for each instrument, and with lines so imperfectly constructed that it was frequently found necessary to set up temporary offices at intermediate points in order to enable the communication to be maintained at all. The double wire system was slightly improved upon by the introduction of the single needle instrument—a modification of the original apparatus of Messrs. Cooke and Wheatstone—but the economy of wire was more than counterbalanced by the loss of speed in transmitting signals, and the question of an improved method of communication, especially for long distances, still remained unsolved. The first real improvement in this direction may be said to have been effected by the introduction of the chemical printing instrument of Alexander Bain—a clever Scotchman, resident, we believe, in Glasgow, and the inventor of the electric clock described by Dr. Wilson in the article to which we have already referred. Chemically prepared paper in a long narrow strip was unwound from a roller driven by clock-work and a weight. A needle or pen—generally a piece of thin steel wire—was made to rest on the paper in a slanting direction, and, as currents of electricity were sent from the distant station, by depressing a ‘key’ or lever, in contact with the battery, blue marks of long or short duration, just as the depressions were long or short, were produced on the strip of paper. Here, then, was a telegraph which not only worked with a single wire, but which could be worked much greater distances than the needle instrument, and replaced the vanishing signals of that instrument by intelligible marks or signs which, although they faded by-and-by, were sufficiently distinct for all practical purposes. The leading principle of Bain’s system was that, by increased sensitiveness in the receiving apparatus, a corresponding current of electricity to that required for the needle instrument could be made to produce a much better result, in proportion as the decomposition of the chemicals in the paper was more easily accomplished, than the mechanical action represented by the movement of the needles. Stated briefly, this is the principle adopted in all cases where communication has to be carried on through long lengths of line, or at high speed, on short lines. It is applied in different ways, of course, but the idea is the same, viz., that the less you give the current of electricity to do at the receiving end, es-

pecially as regards mechanical action, the quicker and the better it will accomplish its task. The Bain system, so far as we are aware, has passed altogether out of use; but there are, at the very moment in which we write, indications that it may be revived with very startling results on the future of telegraphy. We read, only a week or two ago, a short account of some marvellous results in telegraphy achieved in America by means of what was described as the ‘new American system’ of combining chemical with mechanical action. The system, we believe, is at this moment being experimented with in this country, and so far as we can gather, it possesses several of the most important features of that invented by Alexander Bain. It will only be another example added to many that history repeats itself, if it should be found that, like Dr. Gilbert, of Colchester, with his treatise published in the year 1600, Bain should have been in advance of his age with his chemical telegraph invented some twenty or thirty years ago.

Up to this point, as our readers will have observed, the principal discoveries in the field of electrical science, and all the practical inventions in the telegraphic field had resulted from British genius and British industry. Indeed it may be said that the whole system of electric telegraphy is of purely British origin; although it is a curious fact that several countries, and notably, little Belgium and Switzerland, had, prior to the acquisition of the telegraphs by the Post Office in this country, far outstripped us in the application of the system to the wants of the people. But, if we had done much to establish telegraphy as a practical and useful art, it remained to another country—to America, indeed—to ‘furnish that link in the chain which has rendered the system not only universal, but almost perfect. After all, it was only fitting that the younger country should take its share in the labours so assiduously carried on by the parent land for so many years. What Faraday did for electrical science, Professor Morse has done for the electric telegraph, in giving to the world that beautiful instrument which bears his name, and which, in some form or other, is in use throughout the whole civilized world. Morse was a native of Massachusetts, and a son of the well-known author of ‘Morse’s Geography.’ He was born in 1791, and died some two or three years ago. He was originally an artist, and devoted himself chiefly to portrait painting; but he had studied the principles of electricity and electrical action, and, as a result of his labours, he has given us the ‘Morse printing instrument.’ The

principle of this ingenious and beautiful instrument is electro-magnetic. What may be designated the 'keeper' of the magnet is an armature, or horizontal lever carrying a piece of pointed metal, or 'style,' which embosses a mark upon a band of paper carried forward by wheel-work. The electric current is sent by means of separate apparatus at the distant end, called the 'key,' which is in connection with the battery. The electro-magnet attracts its armature so long as a current is made to flow through the wire with which it is wound, and ceases to attract it as soon as the current is cut off by releasing the key, the armature being drawn back by a spring. The paper is carried forward by two rollers, in the uppermost of which there is a groove to receive the point of the style. Motion is supplied by means of clock-work and a spring; and it is worth mention that it

was from a cheap wooden clock, which he accidentally picked up, that Professor Morse constructed the train of wheels for his experimental instrument. Morse not only invented the instrument which we have thus briefly described, but he invented the code of signals best suited to its use, and both the alphabet and the instrument are inseparably linked with his name. In fact, the 'Morse code' is the telegraphic language of the world, and furnishes the means of intercourse between the Far East and the Far West as readily as between London and Liverpool. Our readers will remember what we said about the short and long signals of the Bain telegraph, and how they were produced by short and long depressions of the lever, or key, connected with the battery. The Morse system is somewhat similar in this respect, but the signs are different, thus:—

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	
R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z

The principle, it will be observed, is that of long and short marks, or, as they are telegraphically known, 'dots' and 'dashes;' and while the arrangement is highly ingenious and very beautiful, it is also very simple, and capable of being taught to very young persons with comparative ease. It may be worth while to anticipate somewhat in order to illustrate how, even in a minor detail like that of teaching the telegraphic alphabet, the master mind which conceived and has so boldly executed the idea of postal telegraphs has been at work. The needle alphabet was comparatively easy of acquirement because one letter 'led up' to another, so to speak. Thus, while two beats of the needle signified 'A,' three beats stood for 'B,' and so on. There is no such suggestiveness about the Morse alphabet, but in the following arrangement, which has been very aptly designated the 'Scudamore method,' an aid to memory has been furnished, which has reduced the teaching of the system to the very verge of simplicity. The letters of the alphabet are divided into six groups, with a catchword for each letter, and a characteristic saying for each group, thus:

GROUP 1.

E -	Earwigs
I - -	Infest
S - - -	Summer
H - - - -	Houses

GROUP 2.

T -	Turnips
M - -	Make
O - - -	Oxen
Ch - - - -	Cheerful

GROUP 3.

A -	A
W - -	Wet
J - - -	Jacket's
U - -	Uncomfortable
V - - -	Very

GROUP 4.

N - -	No
D - - -	Difficulty
B - - - -	Baffles
G - - - -	Great
Z - - - -	Zeal

GROUP 5.

R - - -	Remember!
L - - - -	Law
P - - - -	Preserves
F - - - -	Freedom

GROUP 6.

K - - -	Kindness
C - - - -	Conciliates
Y - - - -	Youth
X - - - -	Xtremely
Q - - - -	Quickly

This tabular arrangement of the alphabet was supplemented by a few simple rules for the guidance of the pupil, as for instance the

all the signals in the first group are left strokes, or dots, and all those in the second group right strokes, or dashes; and it only remained to fix these rules in the mind in order to gain a mastery of the alphabet in a very short space of time.

Reverting to our narrative, we find that the first practical experiment with Morse's system took place in 1844 between Washington and Baltimore, and speaking of what has followed since then, an enthusiastic American writer says:—

'The subsequent history of the telegraph is but the history of the career of Professor Morse, and is too well known to require to be detailed here at length. He abandoned his art, and devoted the remainder of his life to the telegraph. We need not give the history of its steady advance across continents, and beneath oceans, till now but one link remains to complete the world's electric girdle. The Morse has become almost the universal telegraph of the world, and nations have overcome their prejudices in favour of their own productions, and adopted the "Morse" as the most simple, practical, and useful of all telegraphs.'

Following the introduction into this country of the Morse instrument telegraphy made rapid strides, and while the system was extended and improved in many directions, it was also cheapened to some slight extent, and as a matter of course it became more popular. But the 'Morse' instrument, proper, may be said only to have laid the foundation for further improvements in the means of communication, although it is important to note that subsequent inventors have retained to a large extent the leading principles of Professor Morse in their inventions. The great defect in the original 'Morse' instrument, or, as it is commonly called, the 'embosser,' is the difficulty of reading, unless under certain conditions of light and shade, the embossed marks on the strip of paper, and the non-permanency of the record. This may, however, be said to have been a mere difficulty of detail, and it was soon overcome by the introduction of the ink-writer, in connection with which it is proper to mention the name of the Messrs. Siemens, of London and Berlin. The manipulation and electrical action of this instrument are in all respects the same as those of the 'Morse,' in fact, it is to all intents and purposes a 'Morse,' with the important addition of the ink-writing principle. The lever attached to the armature, which, in the 'embosser,' holds a style for the indentation of the strip of paper, has, in the case of the ink-writer, a small disc attached to it. This disc rests in a well or trough filled with specially prepared telegraphic ink, and each

time the armature is drawn down towards the electro-magnet, the disc is raised by means of the lever arrangement, and being thus brought into contact with the paper which is being unwound from the instrument, just as the paper is unwound in the new 'Walter' printing machine, beautifully distinct marks or signs are made in place of the somewhat faint indentations produced by the original instrument. These ink-writing instruments are of two kinds, telegraphically described as double and single current ink-writers, the former being used for long distances, where the signalling is more laboured and difficult, and the latter being used for short distances, and generally throughout the Metropolis.

The instruments to which, up to this point, our observations have been confined are those which were in use, up to the time of the transfer of the telegraphic system to the Post Office, by the Electric and International, and United Kingdom Telegraph Companies. The latter company is deserving of special mention as having been the first to break down the practical monopoly in telegraphy which existed prior to its formation, and for having made a very creditable attempt to establish a uniform shilling rate for telegrams of twenty words within the United Kingdom. It succeeded tolerably well for a time, but its resources were limited, and by-and-by it was compelled to give up the attempt, and from being an opponent, to become a confederate of the two other companies. In this way, so recently as 1865, the interests of the public in the matter of telegraphy were utterly baffled, and matters threatened to settle down into a worse condition as regards cheap and popular telegraphy, than before. The United Kingdom Company, however, achieved one considerable object during the brief period of its existence, in its acquisition of the Hughes type-printing instrument—one of the most interesting and beautiful inventions in modern telegraphy. The Hughes instrument differs from all others, in that it is mainly mechanical, the electrical action being confined to the sending a single short current at the instant the type-wheel is in the proper position, and only a single wave is needed to produce a letter. The sending and receiving instruments are precisely alike, and are manipulated by a key-board, somewhat resembling that of a pianoforte, of as many keys as there are letters, figures, and signs to be printed. The messages, instead of being printed in signs, as in the case of the Morse alphabet, are printed in Roman characters; and there is this advantage in the Hughes instrument over all



other instruments whatever, that the operator at the sending station reproduces his own message by the same process which produces it at the distant station. Some of our readers are, no doubt, familiar with the telegrams produced by the Hughes instrument, in which the actual words printed in Roman characters by the instrument itself, are delivered to the addressee of the message, instead of the transcription which requires to be made by the telegraph clerk in the case of messages transmitted by the Morse instrument. For every depression of the piano-like key of the Hughes instrument, a letter comes tumbling out at the distant end, while under certain conditions combinations of as many as five letters can be produced during a single revolution of the type-wheel. Here, surely, is a striking contrast to the double needle instrument of less than twenty years ago, which required numerous combinations for almost every letter of the alphabet, and which, when worked at its highest speed, necessitated the assistance of a second operator to write the messages down as they were read off by the operator in charge of the circuit. The difference between the duties of a telegraphist at the receiving end of a Hughes circuit, and one in charge of a Morse circuit, is about as great as that between making up an article after the somewhat unorthodox fashion of 'scissors and paste,' and writing 'an original one. In fact, scissors and paste are the necessary adjuncts of the type-printing instrument.

The Magnetic Telegraph Company worked a variety of instruments during the period of its existence prior to the transfer of the system to the Post Office. But the instrument with which its operations were most closely identified was the bell telegraph of Sir Charles Bright, in which two distinct sounds may be said to represent the dot and the dash of the Morse alphabet, or the left and the right beats of the single needle instrument. The bell instrument is rapidly disappearing from the Postal system, but the question of acoustics in telegraphy is one which must ere long become prominent. The system of reading by sound is almost universal in America, and we understand that at the present moment it is occupying the serious attention of the authorities of the Postal Telegraphs Department. Hitherto the Post Office has erred on the side of caution in reference to the matter, adopting the view so strongly held by the leading telegraph companies that some kind of record or other was necessary to the accurate transmission and decipherment of the messages. But later experience has begun to tell in

favour of sound reading, and we have no doubt that before very long what is known as the 'Morse sounder' will be in pretty general use throughout our telegraphic system. The bell instrument possessed great speed, and was peculiarly adapted, in the hands of an expert operator, for the transmission of news for the press. But it was difficult of adjustment, and seldom worked well except under the most favourable conditions of wire and weather. Besides, it was an exceptional system, understood by a comparatively small number of the telegraphists transferred to the Government service, and therefore not calculated to conduce to that uniformity and simplicity which Mr. Scudamore has endeavoured from the first to establish within his department. The Morse sounder is practically the Morse instrument of which we have already spoken at some length. But inasmuch as the principal part of a recording instrument is that connected with the unwinding and marking the paper, the sounder may be said to be the mere skeleton of the printer. The clockwork is altogether dispensed with, and the apparatus may be said to resolve itself into a pair of coils, and an armature, the stroke of which, as it is attracted by the electric current, creates the sound from which the signals are interpreted. In fact, it is little more than an electro-magnet, which may almost be carried in the waistcoat pocket, while the Morse recorder, or printer, can hardly be accommodated in a smaller space than eighteen inches square. *Difference* of sound in the bell instrument has been substituted by *duration* of sound in the Morse sounder; and just as a stroke on the left-hand bell indicated the 'dot' of the Morse alphabet, or the letter 'E,' so a momentary click of the armature is similarly interpreted on the sounder, while a more decided click would represent the 'dash' of the Morse alphabet, or the letter 'T.' The system, so far as the Post Office is concerned, is only beginning to lisp as yet, but by-and-by there will probably be some hundreds of these tiny metal tongues clattering away at the same time in the great central telegraph station of the metropolis. There will be no Babel-like confusion amongst them, however, for they will all speak the same language, and will all be equally easy of interpretation. Sound telegraphy has these important advantages: it disciplines the operator by making him self-reliant, and keeping him up to his work, while it limits the clerical requirements of any given wire or circuit to a single operator, and thereby does away with the extravagant, and, in many cases, unsafe system of 'writers.' Combining, as

it therefore does, simplicity and efficiency with the greatest economy, we shall be surprised if before long it does not become the universal system of the Post Office, as it has become the universal system in America.

Obviously, the speed of any system of sound telegraphy is limited to that at which the operator can write. But there are a variety of circumstances which render it imperative that certain wires or circuits should be worked at a much greater speed than this; and the consideration of this necessity brings us face to face with one of the most important telegraphic improvements of the age. The very rapid progress of telegraphy may be best judged of by considering that the first practical telegraph, invented less than forty years ago, and the latest improvement in practical telegraphy, for inland lines, bear the same name. Sir Charles Wheatstone has lived to witness not only the rise, progress, and virtual extinction of the needle system of telegraphy; but in the automatic system which bears his name, he has given us a means of rapid communication for long distances which will probably outlive the present generation of telegraphists. We have already said that the double needle telegraph could be worked as rapidly as any system of *hand* telegraphy at present in use. The limit of such working is forty words, or two hundred letters per minute; but if we take the result *per wire* on the double needle instrument, we are reduced to twenty words, or one hundred letters per minute. The Wheatstone automatic system is capable of producing and recording no fewer than one hundred and twenty words, or six hundred letters per minute; so that in the brief space of five-and-thirty years the carrying power of the telegraph may be said to have been increased more than six-fold! Popularly described, the Wheatstone automatic instru-

ment may be said to be a fast-speed application of the Morse system ; although it possesses several characteristics which entitle it to be regarded as an essentially distinct system. It will be readily perceived that the highest speed attainable under the ordinary Morse system is just the speed at which the operator can manipulate his key, or lever, due regard being had to certain rules of 'spacing,' or measuring the signals, which are essential to decipherment at the distant end, with facility and correctness. Now, the automatic arrangement of Sir Charles Wheatstone has revolutionized the 'keying' or sending process altogether, and has transferred the manual portion of it to a totally different operation. A machine called the 'perforator' punches holes in a strip of specially prepared paper which resemble the 'dot,' the 'dash,' and the 'space' of the ordinary Morse instrument. Three small discs are depressed by smart blows delivered from a pair of wooden or iron 'sticks,' about three inches long, held in the hands of a smart boy, called the 'puncher.' If the left-hand disc be struck, it will make two perforations, thus, ; and if the right-hand disc be depressed, it will make two perforations, thus, . The first-described perforation represents the 'dot,' and the last-described the 'dash,' of the Morse alphabet; and the two taken together make the letter 'A.' The depression of the centre disc makes a series of small holes between the larger ones, which serve at once to carry the paper forward, and to form the necessary spaces between letters and words. The appearance of the punched tape, as it is jerked from the perforator, may be gathered from the following diagram :—

[illegible]

These perforations represent the letters of the word 'Wheatstone;' and when they have been passed through the 'transmitter,' by a process which we shall shortly describe,

they simply resolve themselves into the printed dots and dashes of the Morse alphabet, thus:—

W H E A T S T O N E

The main portion of the 'transmitter' is a clock-work arrangement, driven by a heavy weight. A very delicately fine mechanical arrangement, which it would be impossible to describe here, is set in motion by the

clock-work; and as the perforated paper is drawn through the machine by a kind of cogged wheel, small pistons are forced through the perforations, and thus the currents are sent. Two holes immediately op-

posite each other only admit of a momentary current being transmitted, hence the 'dot' of the Morse alphabet. Two others in a slanting position, and consequently a greater distance apart, admit of a longer current being sent, and hence the 'dash.' The speed of the transmitter may be regulated at will from twenty to one hundred and twenty words a minute; and as the automatic arrangement secures absolute mechanical precision in dots, dashes, and spaces, the signals or marks are as easily decipherable at the faster, as at the slower speed.

As the Wheatstone system of telegraphy was only in its infancy, so to speak, when the Post Office assumed the control of the telegraphs throughout the country, we select this point as the fittest at which to diverge from the history of the origin and progress of telegraphy, in order to inquire very briefly into its present condition. Before quitting the subject of instruments, however, it may be useful to remark that the Post Office has not added in any appreciable degree to the apparatus in use by the companies some four or five years ago, its object being, in the words of Mr. Scudamore himself, 'to discontinue the use of the less perfect, and to extend the use of the more perfect forms' of apparatus in use by the companies. We cannot find that any useful or practical invention has been rejected by the authorities of the Post Office since it assumed the control of the telegraphs. A great many discarded inventions have been re-invented, and a good many inventors have usurped the telegraphic field who would have been much better employed in studying the past history of the electric telegraph. The Post Office has not been by any means idle in the matter of telegraphic improvement. It has increased the use of the Wheatstone system nearly a hundred-fold; and by the valuable aid of its practical officers it has so far simplified many of the forms of apparatus hitherto in use, that not only a great economy in the manufacture, but considerably increased facility in the use of such apparatus has resulted from the change. At the present moment experiments are being made with the 'duplex,' or 'double-working' system of telegraphy, which bid fair to establish as a permanent system, what has hitherto been regarded more in the light of a scientific curiosity. The attempt to send messages in opposite directions, on the same wire, at the same time, was made some years ago by Gintl, an Austrian telegraph Director. It failed, not because it was impossible, but because it was attempted under conditions altogether adverse to success. It was subsequently tried in this country, under almost equally un-

favourable conditions; but with a greatly improved system of insulation, and with greatly improved appliances, it is confidently hoped that all difficulties have been overcome, and that a practical success has already been achieved for the system. To the scientific officers of the Postal Telegraph Department will be due the credit of success in establishing the 'duplex' system in this country; although it is proper to state that their efforts were largely prompted by the aid of Mr. Stearns, an American inventor, whose name is intimately associated with the extension of the system of duplex telegraphy, and who has materially facilitated its application to lines of more than 150 miles in length.

Viewed commercially and socially, the progress of telegraphy in this country has been almost greater than it has been in other respects; and in treating this part of our subject our attention is naturally recalled to the time when the Government propositions for acquiring the telegraphs were under consideration by the House of Commons and the country. It will doubtless be remembered by some of our readers that the measure was strenuously opposed by the then existing telegraph companies, who asserted that further extensions of the telegraphic system were not wanted, and that if made they would certainly never pay. They, unconsciously, of course, hit the blot of the whole system, when they declared in a pamphlet issued to create opposition to the Telegraphs Bill, that their lines were used mainly by 'stockbrokers, mining agents, shipbrokers, colonial brokers, racing and betting men, fishmongers, fruit merchants, and others engaged in business of a speculative character, or who deal in articles of a perishable nature.' It was their opinion, too, that 'general merchants used the telegraph comparatively little' compared with those engaged in the more speculative branches of commerce.' Most undoubtedly this was the fact; but how false was the assumption, that any extension or cheapening of the system would fail to lead to its more general use by the public at large, is best proved by the results which have so speedily followed the establishment of the Post Office Telegraphs. The class interest in telegraphy has been destroyed, but the classes themselves have not been injured by being placed on a level with the whole British public, in a matter as intimately associated with the welfare and happiness of the people as the penny post itself. Business messages of all kinds have increased largely; but instead of crowding out messages of friendship, pleasure, congratulation, or anxiety, they have only as-

sisted in creating and multiplying them. How this has been done will be best explained by considering briefly the programme prescribed for itself by the Post Office when it undertook to assume the control of the telegraphs. This programme has been fulfilled to the letter, so that it presents, in brief, the main results achieved under the existing condition of things. Mr. Scudamore, who has been very aptly named the 'Rowland Hill of telegraphy,' undertook to effect—

A. The reduction and simplification of the charges for the transmission of telegrams throughout the United Kingdom.

B. The extension of the wires from railway stations lying outside of town populations to post offices in the centre of such populations; the extension of the wires already carried into large cities towards the suburbs of such cities; and the extension of the wires from towns into rural and other districts unprovided with telegraphic accommodation. From the combined effect of these extensions it was hoped that a saving of time, and a saving in cost of portorage, would accrue to the senders and receivers of messages.

C. Such a complete separation of the commercial telegraph system from the railway telegraph system, as would entirely relieve the commercial wires of railway messages, and throw on the railway wires those commercial messages only which arise out of the circumstances of railway traffic; and

D. Free trade in the collection of news for the press, of which collection the telegraph companies had hitherto had a monopoly; with low rates for the transmission of such news, no matter by what or by how many agencies it might be collected.

Adverting to proposition A, it will hardly be believed that less than five years ago the charges for telegrams throughout the United Kingdom ranged from 1s. to 7s. 8d. The charges were mostly regulated by distance, but here and there the system of charging exhibited the most grievous anomalies, and was sorely puzzling to most people unskilled in telegraphic vagaries. Especially was this the case when a telegram had to be transmitted over the lines of two or more telegraph companies, or had to be handed over to the tender mercies of a railway telegraph.

For instance, a message would be carried from London to Edinburgh, a distance of nearly 400 miles, for 2s.; but one to Granton, less than four miles distant from Edinburgh, cost 50 per cent. more, viz., 3s. The charge from London to Bournemouth, which is about seven miles from Poole, was made up of 1s., the charge to Poole, and 2s. the extra charge to Bournemouth. Such cases might

be multiplied indefinitely, but these will suffice. A varying tariff, as Mr. Scudamore has pointed out, framed primarily upon distances, and secondarily upon routes, is a tariff difficult to understand; and there can be little doubt that the prevailing uncertainty as to the charge prevented many persons from sending messages, who would otherwise have sent them freely. The uniform 1s. rate of the Post Office means not only a *cheaper* rate than that of the companies, but it means a *simpler* one as well; a fact which is really of more importance than at first sight appears. Some of us remember, no doubt, the trepidation with which letters were committed to the post in the old days, when anything from a shilling to half-a-crown might have been exacted for postage; and much the same feeling was experienced only a year or two ago by the senders of telegraphic messages under the Companies' system. Not only as regards the mere transmission of messages does the shilling rate of the Post Office mean a vast saving to the public; but the subsidiary charges for portorage—a very important item in the old days—have been very much modified and reduced. The public are naturally anxious for still further reductions; and we think they may safely accept this assurance, that the moment the purely physical difficulties in the way of such a step are removed, a lower rate will be introduced. Mr. Scudamore expressed himself not very long ago to the effect that a sixpenny rate for messages of *ten* words is that which will at no very distant date be found the best for the country; and his well-known predilections are all on the side of cheapness and popularity. Meanwhile, it should be cheering for the British taxpayer to reflect that the gift to the public of a reduced tariff for telegraphic messages is to be measured by a sum not far short of half a million sterling.

Under proposition B, we are called upon to consider some very important results. We remember the time when at most places of second and third rate importance the telegraph office existed only at the railway station, where public business was carried on to a large extent subservient to that of the railway company. In fact, the railway system was made the basis of telegraphic operations, and places remote from the lines of railway, however great their importance, were rarely favoured with telegraphic facilities. Nor did the presence of a railway always confer the advantages of telegraphic communication, unless the railway happened to require the telegraph for its own peculiar purposes. We can recall the case of a seaport town in Scotland, of some five or six thousand inhabitants, to which the telegraph

was only extended on a certain amount of traffic being guaranteed to the company by the leading business men of the place. All this sounds strange now when the humbly village almost has its *claim* to telegraphic accommodation, and when the claims of nearly every place entitled to the privilege have been satisfied. This is very apparent when we consider that in January, 1870, immediately prior to the acquisition of the system by the Post Office, there were only some 2,500 telegraph offices in the United Kingdom; while in January of the present year there were close upon 5,600, of which nearly 160 had been opened during 1873. The full value of this increase is by no means measured by a mere statement of the figures such as we have given. Very many of the companies' offices were mere duplicates and triplicates, necessarily arising out of the system of competition then in force. The Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, led on by that indefatigable advocate of telegraphic reform, Mr. George Harrison, put the case very strongly, thus:—'There are at present about 300 places in which all the three companies have offices, generally situated, as in the case of our own city, within a few yards of each other. Many of these offices could be dispensed with, and their cost applied to the establishment of others, placed where the convenience of the public, rather than the necessities of competition required them to be placed.' Obviously, it was the view of the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce that these duplicate and triplicate offices did not afford duplicate and triplicate accommodation; and, as a matter of course, they were right in supposing that the companies in thus settling themselves in such close contiguity to each other, were desirous of merely competing for the most lucrative site. Edinburgh was only one of many towns in which duplicate and triplicate offices were located side by side, or *vis-à-vis*, in the centre of business. It may be taken as a type, however, of how the number of offices has not only been increased four-fold, but of how they have been distributed so as to meet public requirements, not necessarily converging upon the mere centres of business. The three offices hitherto situated in Princes-street, within a few doors of each other, have been concentrated at the General Post Office; and in their places have arisen offices in the east at Portobello and Leith Walk; in the west at the Haymarket, Murrayfield, and Corstorphine; in the north at Granton and Newhaven; and in the south at Newington and Boroughmuirhead. Of course there are a great many more within the city delivery proper; but these we have mentioned will best illustrate Mr. Scuda-

more's idea of extending the wires to the suburban districts of our great cities. Here was the case of another large city—Liverpool—prior to the transfer of the telegraphs to the Post Office, as put by Mr. Scudamore himself:—

'The district of Liverpool may be regarded as a semicircle, with a radius of five miles. The river forms the chord of the semicircle, and all the telegraph offices are on or very near to the chord, the principal of them being clustered together in the centre of the chord. The district is thickly studded with Money Order Offices, which have been placed so as to suit the requirements of the population. Twelve of these Money Order Offices are at a distance of from one to two miles from the nearest telegraphic station, and the population served by them must, to a great extent, be outside the telegraphic free delivery. Three are from two to three miles, and three are from four to five miles from the nearest telegraphic station. The population served by these offices must be altogether outside the telegraphic free delivery.'

At the present time the district of Liverpool contains no fewer than *forty* separate telegraph offices, as compared with *fifteen* in the days of the Companies; while the area of telegraphic operations has been so much enlarged that such distant points as Waterloo, Wavertree, and Dingle Hill, are included within its limits. The cases of Manchester, Birmingham, and Glasgow are equally striking; while as regards London the increase in the number of offices has been nearly four-fold.

But the enormous increase of facilities which has taken place in recent years may also be judged of by considering the extent of the system as regards wires and apparatus. Twenty-two years ago, as we read in *Chambers's Papers for the People*, the number of miles of telegraph in Great Britain was 3,000. At the time of the transfer of the system to the Post Office there were in existence 15,203 miles of telegraphic line, and 59,250 miles of wire. There are at the present moment more than 20,000 miles of line, and nearly 110,000 miles of wire; while the number of instruments, which stood at the time of the transfer below 2,000, has been increased to upwards of 8,000. The combined Companies forwarded amongst them some six millions of telegrams, and their revenue would be somewhere about half a million sterling. In the first year after the transfer of the system to the Post Office the number of messages had risen to very nearly ten millions; in 1871 more than twelve and a half millions of messages had been forwarded; in 1872 the number had risen to close upon fifteen mil-

lions, while for the financial year ending 31st March, 1874, the number cannot be very far short of eighteen millions. The total estimated revenue for the year is £1,220,000, and there is every reason to believe that the estimate will be more than realized. Thus, the number of messages has been tripled in four years, and the revenue has been considerably more than doubled—the difference of proportion between the increase in the number of messages and the increase in the revenue representing the gain to the British public by the transaction.

Under head C it is only necessary to state that a complete separation of the commercial and railway telegraphic systems has been effected; and it is clear, as pointed out by Mr. Scudamore himself, that so far as the safety of railway passengers can be secured by the employment of a free and unencumbered telegraph, the risks of railway travelling over great lengths of important line must have been diminished by the operations of the Government measure. Nor have the public suffered in any way in respect of telegraphic facilities at railway stations. Nearly every station-master in the United Kingdom is an agent of the Postmaster-General in the matter of collecting telegrams; but the messages, instead of encumbering the through wires of the railway companies to the exclusion of important traffic messages, are simply transmitted over a local wire, provided by the Post Office, to the nearest postal telegraph office. The railway stations, therefore, instead of being *primary* telegraph offices, as in the old days, are simply *secondary* offices, at which the business of the Postal Department is supplemented with much convenience to the travelling public, and considerable profit to the railway companies.

Under the head D, relating to the establishment of free trade in the collection of news for the press, some very startling results have been achieved since the Post Office assumed the control of the telegraphs. We need scarcely remind our readers that in the hands of the telegraph companies the supply of news was a virtual monopoly, exercised too often to the oppression of newspaper proprietors, and to the detriment of important public interests. The supply was scanty, inferior, and fitful; and it was carried on in all cases subservient to the private message business of the companies. It was expensive, also, and had to be contracted for under the most rigid conditions possible. 'Our special correspondent,' seldom figured under the head of 'Latest Telegrams' in these days; and in non-parliamentary times from two to three columns of telegraphic news was all the most enterprising newspa-

per could boast. For obvious political reasons the Post Office could not undertake the collection of news, as the Companies had done. But it could do what is perhaps of more importance; it could arrange for its cheap and rapid transmission, and for throwing open channels of dissemination which before had been closed alike to the press and the public. The collecting function of the late telegraph companies was speedily assumed by several news agencies—the chief of which are the Press Association and the Central News. The newspapers themselves soon became alive to the importance of increased facilities, and cheaper rates; and much of the work which had hitherto been done for them by the telegraph companies, they began to do for themselves. The result is that during the past year thirty-seven and a half millions of words of news for the press were handed in at the different postal telegraph offices for transmission. But inasmuch as the great majority of the messages thus handed in were addressed to two or more newspapers, the actual number of words delivered was upwards of two hundred and fourteen millions, representing about 120,000 columns of an average newspaper. The total cost of this enormous service was a little over £47,000; so that the cost per column to the newspapers was something less than eight shillings! In the days of the telegraph companies there were less than 500 subscribers (including newspapers) for telegraphic news. At the present time there are close upon 1,000 in the United Kingdom; while many important towns, at one time excluded from the benefits of early intelligence, have been placed on a level with the great centres of trade and politics in this respect. The impetus given to newspaper enterprise by the reorganization of the telegraphs has been enormous. Four years ago there were less than half-a-dozen newspapers in the Kingdom whose proprietors cared to risk the extravagance of hiring special wires for their sole use between six p.m. and six a.m., and these were mostly the proprietors of Scotch newspapers in Edinburgh and Glasgow. At the end of February last no fewer than twenty such special wires had been hired from the Post Office by the principal newspapers in England, Scotland, and Ireland; and more were expected to be taken up prior to the meeting of Parliament. The cost of a special wire is £500 per annum, so that the Post Office derives an annual revenue of £10,000 from wires which might otherwise be lying idle during the night. These special wires are worked, for the most part, direct from the London office of the newspaper into its office of publi-

cation in the country ; and it is becoming a common thing in some towns to publish in what is called the 'town' edition the principal items of news contained in the London papers of the same morning !

It is in the great central station, perhaps, that the very rapid growth of telegraphy, since the acquisition of the system by the Post Office, is most forcibly illustrated. We spoke at the commencement of this article of the little office in the Strand, with its single instrument and wire, which formed the complete system of the Electric Telegraph Company less than thirty years ago. The next step in the history of progress brings us to the office at 445, West Strand, which was for a short period the central station of the same Company. It is now a branch office in the Postal system, and from its having been a 'night' and 'Sunday' office from the beginning, it possesses this feature over all other offices, that its doors have never once been closed since they were opened for the first time about five-and-twenty years ago. The demands of the service soon brought the Company further eastward, and the first city office it possessed was in Founders'-court, Lothbury, where, what was then considered a spacious building (for telegraphic purposes) was erected. In this office, in its palmiest days, probably not more than fifty instruments were ever worked—most of them of the old double needle type. The era of printing telegraphs set in about this time ; and as the system was beginning to open out in various directions, room for expansion at its greatest centre became indispensable. What might have been considered a model telegraph office for that period was erected some years ago in Great Bell-alley, Moorgate, which has since been known as 'Telegraph-street ;' and here the Electric Telegraph Company may be said at once to have entered upon its career of prosperity, and to have ended its days. Meanwhile, however, several other companies had located themselves in central positions in the City—the British and Irish Magnetic Company in Threadneedle-street, where is still the head office of the Submarine Telegraph Company ; the United Kingdom Company in Gresham-house ; and the London and Provincial Company in Cannon-street. Each of these had by this time set up a very considerable system of its own, and to bring all of them together under one roof at the commencement of the year 1870 was the first practical task set Mr. Scudamore. In Telegraph-street at this time about 120 separate instruments were worked by the late Electric Company, and the addition of the apparatus in use by the three other

companies brought the number up to about 220. In the interval between February 1870, and the date of the transfer of the whole system to St. Martin's-le-Grand on the 17th of January last, this number had been more than doubled ; and the task which then presented itself to the practical officers of the Postal Department was the removal, between Saturday night and Monday morning, of nearly 500 separate instruments, with their attendant wires, batteries, &c. It was certainly the largest operation of the kind which had ever been attempted in this or any other country. But it was completed in less than half the allotted time, and without disturbing to any appreciable extent the vast network of communication which now converges at St. Martin's-le-Grand. Here the instruments, which were scattered over several floors in Telegraph-street, find a home on one vast floor, consisting of a central gallery, with four wings, somewhat resembling the letter 'H.' The superficial area occupied by the instruments and staff is 20,000 square feet, or nearly double that occupied at Telegraph-street ; while the desk space extends to very nearly three-quarters of a mile in length. In the main or central gallery are situated the instruments which communicate with the chief provincial towns, and the pneumatic tubes. All kinds of instruments are at work here. There are Morse's printing instruments to the right and left, in apparently endless variety and profusion ; while the Hughes type printer is clicking away in the centre of the room, as it delivers its forty messages an hour, in bold and well-defined Roman characters. The instruments worked on the duplex system are dotted about the room as the necessities of the traffic require ; and the Wheatstone system has apparently penetrated into every corner, if we may judge by the incessant clatter of the perforators as they jerk out the crotchet-like tape which in another minute will be whirling through the transmitters, and conveying messages at a speed of a hundred words a minute to all parts of the Kingdom. The single needle instruments are ticking away against the wall yonder, busy with the gossip of some fifty or more of the smaller provincial towns, of which Stoney Stratford, Amersham, Baldock, and Ware may be taken as fair specimens. On the southern side of the central gallery are the pneumatic tubes—one of the great features of the establishment. It is found that for short distances, as in the eastern central and western central districts of the metropolis, mechanical methods of transmitting messages are superior to electrical. Practically a message may be transmitted electri-

cally from London to Manchester as quickly as from St. Martin's-le-Grand to Temple Bar; the delay in transmitting over the short distance, therefore, is more noticeable than that over the long distance. To keep up a very rapid electrical transmission of messages throughout the City of London would necessitate a very large number of separate wires, and a numerous and highly skilled force of telegraphists. Lead tubes through which messages may either be blown or sucked—pea-shooter fashion—at will, are preferable to wires for short distances, because they will carry a dozen or more messages at a single blow, and do not require any skilled labour beyond the attendance of a smart lad to despatch and receive the 'carriers' in which the message papers are contained. There are nearly thirty such tubes or pipes in use in the central telegraph station; serving such important centres of business as the Stock Exchange, the Baltic, Lloyd's, Fenchurch-street, &c. A tube made of iron instead of lead, and worked on a slightly different principle from that of the system generally, communicates with Temple Bar and West Strand, this being the greatest distance travelled by the pneumatic system in London. These pipes are buried in the streets—generally under the pavement—just as the gas and water pipes are. They are led into the different offices which they serve in a sweeping curve, so that the carriers, which have no notion of getting round corners, may travel smoothly and without hindrance. Twenty miles of pneumatic tubes are terminated in graceful curves at what is called the 'tube-board,' which runs along the entire length of the central gallery, and at each of the thirty separate tubes thus represented is stationed a smart boy attendant. Each tube is fitted with an elaborate and costly brass apparatus for regulating the pressure and vacuum to be applied to it, and with an electric bell for signalling purposes. The 'carrier' in which the messages are enclosed for transmission is a round tube-like box, made of gutta percha, and covered with several coatings of felt, so as to make it nicely fit the pipe through which it has to travel. The messages are rolled up tightly, and placed inside the carrier either singly, or in half dozens, as the pressure of business requires. The carrier is inserted in the mouth of the tube, pressure is turned on by the attendant, and away it goes, round the curve which takes it up nearly to the roof of the gallery, down through the flooring to the level of Newgate-street, until speeding its way along busy thoroughfare, and quiet court or alley, it reaches its point of destination, where it will probably ascend to the

top of the building in which the office is situated, apparently for no other purpose than to descend again into the basement, and project itself under the very nose of the messenger boy whose duty it is to 'uncork' the messages, and run with them to their final destination. The operation takes longer to describe than most 'carriers' occupy in travelling from St. Martin's-le-Grand to their destination; and we need scarcely point out that by simply reversing the process—i.e. by exhausting instead of charging the tubes, carriers are drawn or sucked inwards as easily and quickly as they are blown or puffed outwards. It would be curious to read some of these messages, just to see the various uses to which the telegraph is turned. No doubt many a warm and loving sentiment is committed to the cold embrace of these subterranean conductors; and many a 'trifle light as air' is blown through with all the speed and importance of a Stock Exchange quotation, or an order to buy a hundred thousand Consols. The motive power by which these novel and interesting operations are carried on exists in the basement of the building, in the shape of three enormous steam engines, each of fifty horsepower—two of which are constantly employed in pumping air into, or sucking it out of huge mains carried up the outer walls of the building, and connected with the tubes up-stairs. The engine room resembles nothing so much as the hold of a great steamship, and when its arrangements are complete it will, from the peculiarly interesting construction of its machinery, be a source of great attraction to the numerous visitors to the building. The pneumatic system has undergone very considerable extension and improvement at the hands of the Post Office, and an interesting feature of its more recent application consists in the laying on of compressed air—just as gas and water are laid on—to the desks and tables throughout the building, so that the Wheatstone perforators, originally only workable by the pressure of blows from male hands, are now 'played on' by female fingers, just as the notes of a piano are manipulated.

The galleries stretching along the whole eastern front of the building are devoted solely to metropolitan instruments, of which no fewer than 240 are constantly at work. Here we miss the rapid Wheatstone and type-printing instruments of the provincial system, but we have in their stead the nimble 'direct writer,' which can deliver with ease forty messages an hour, and we have, too, a pretty extensive application of the duplex system of working. Numerous single needle instruments supply the means of

communication with the less important offices, from fashionable Belgravia, in the West, to the not very classic Isle of Dogs, in the East; while the alphabetical, or 'A B C' instruments, which spell their messages out letter by letter, are used for the transmission of the high behests of 'My Lords' of the Treasury, and other important dignitaries located near Whitehall. One instrument we must not omit to mention, not simply because it is the only one of its kind in use by the Post Office, but because it speaks eloquently for the kindly consideration of our most gracious Sovereign. We mean the old-fashioned double needle—the means of communication between the Central Telegraph Office and Buckingham Palace, which is simply retained out of consideration for an old and faithful servant at the Palace, who is unable to work any of the more modern instruments. In what may be called the western gallery are the 'express circuits,' i.e. the instruments which convey the news for the press all over the country, and the instruments brought into use on occasions of sudden emergency and importance. These express circuits work mostly at night, when the others are comparatively still. They are all on the Wheatstone principle, and have a most devouring appetite for all kinds of news, whether it be Reuter, general news, sporting, stocks, markets, parliamentary, or miscellaneous. The towns to which news is transmitted are grouped together on the same wire according to their geographical position, as Birmingham, Manchester, and Liverpool; Nottingham, Sheffield, Leeds, and Newcastle; Edinburgh, Dundee, and Aberdeen; and so on. Most towns take the same classes of news, and the advantage of the Wheatstone system for this important service is that an item of news once punched out on the perforated tape, may be passed through any number of transmitting instruments. But more than this, as many as three slips or tapes of the same news can be perforated simultaneously by the automatic puncher, so that Dundee and Aberdeen are placed on a level with Liverpool and Birmingham in the matter of early intelligence. Some idea of the enormous business transacted in this department may be gathered from the fact that on the 9th October last upwards of 300,000 words of news were transmitted at the central station for the London and provincial newspapers in a space of about eight hours i.e., between 6 p.m. and 2 a.m. London, too, is only an enlarged specimen of what takes place at some provincial offices on special occasions; as, for instance, when Mr. Bright delivered his

famous speech at Birmingham in October last, when 160,000 words were telegraphed; and again, when Mr. Disraeli visited Glasgow in December, and agitated the wires to the extent of more than 400,000 words.

There are several mechanical objects of interest connected with the central station at which we can only glance for a moment in passing. The great test box, with its thousands of bright brass knobs and screws, is a piece of work quite unique and unparalleled. Here are brought together all the wires from the outer telegraph world, and hence they are distributed to the different instruments scattered throughout the galleries. The inward connection is made at the back of the 'box,' or board, and the outward connection at the front. Every wire has its own peculiar number, by which it is known from its point of departure—at Land's End, or John O'Groats, it may be—to its final connection with the instrument in the central station. This number is marked against the knob, or 'terminal,' which affixes it to its position in the test-box, and in this way its identity can never be lost. The wires thread their way from the test-box to the different instruments in great coils underneath the floor, and escape up the legs of the tables in the most unceremonious fashion when they have reached the point at which their particular instruments are situated. In this way upwards of 300 miles of wire are imbedded underneath the floors of the new central telegraph office. The test-box stands in the relation of a doctor to the wires—it feels their pulse when they are sickly, which they very often are, and it determines their degree of strength when vigorous and in good working order. Adjoining the test-box is the battery box, which forms the junction between the batteries in the basement, and the instruments upstairs. The connecting wires descend from the battery box to the battery room in a perfect cataract, and are distributed amongst the 20,000 cells which form the motive power of the establishment in much the same unobserved fashion as the wires are distributed amongst the instruments in the galleries. Has any one ever remarked what an apparently harmless agent an electric battery is? A few strips of copper and zinc, a few crystals of sulphate of copper, and a little water, that is all. And yet from these 20,000 cells, as busily occupied night and day as busiest bee-hive, are constantly being evolved matters which concern the gravest events of life; nay, which affect the very stability of thrones and kingdoms! In the curious labyrinthine abode of electricity is one special battery, or set of batteries, which the engineers tell you is something like hasty

friendship, very good while it lasts—very intense, but not very constant. This battery is connected with the beautiful apparatus upstairs called the 'Chronofer,' which is none other than the national time keeper. The chronofer has secret dealings with Professor Airey, and each morning as the hands of the great clock at the Royal Observatory point to ten o'clock, it sends forth a kind of nervous thrill, which records itself at some fifty or sixty great towns throughout the United Kingdom. At one o'clock in the afternoon, too, the chronofer comes once more into action, and by its secret, invisible aid, time guns are fired simultaneously at Newcastle, Shields, Kendal, and other towns.

One word about the *personnel* of the central station, where nearly 1,500 persons of all classes are employed, and where upwards of 30,000 messages have been dealt with in a single day. Of these 1,500 *employés* 500 are male telegraphists, 700 female telegraphists, 200 messengers, and the remainder engineers, mechanics, &c. The great feature is the prominence given to female labour. Less than 300 female clerks were employed in the central offices under the Companies, but now the number has increased to 700. A more pleasing sight than these 700 young persons busily employed on the work of the nation can hardly be conceived. The occupation seems to be thoroughly congenial to them, and from the dignified lady superintendents down to the 'sweet girl graduates with golden hair,' who can scarce do more than lisp their telegraphic alphabets, all seem to have imbibed a large share of that enthusiasm which characterizes the presiding genius of the Department. The interest of telegraph work is not confined to the mere surroundings of the place in which the telegraphist is employed, for, as Mr. Scudamore so admirably puts it,—

'The whole world is the country of the telegraphist. Sitting at one end of a wire, no matter what its length, he converses as easily with the clerk at the other end, as if he were in the same room with him. Strange as it may seem, he knows by the way in which the clerk at the other end of the wire does his work, whether he is passionate or sulky, cheerful or dull, sanguine or phlegmatic, ill-natured or good-natured. He soon forms an acquaintance with him, chats with him in the intervals of work, and becomes as much his companion as if he were working face to face with him.'

Evidently the female telegraphists in the central telegraph office enjoy their work, and we think it very possible that the story told by Mr. Scudamore of a clerk in London who formed an attachment for, and afterwards married, a clerk with whom he worked

in Berlin, is likely to prove true of very many of them. The secret of their happiness and contentment is that they are well cared for, and there is evidently a very bad field here for the champions of woman's rights, so long as the present popular head of the telegraph administration remains in office.

One of Mr. Scudamore's additions to the previously existing telegraphic arrangements is that of a 'Special Staff,' whose business it is to deal with all occasions of emergency and importance, requiring the hasty improvisation of telegraphic facilities, or the supplementing of existing arrangements. The labours of this peripatetic force of telegraphists are not confined to any very prescribed sphere, for we find that during the past year they have extended to such occasions as royal progresses, agricultural shows and fairs, political and general assemblies, elections, trials, boat races and cricket matches, festivities, funerals, wrecks, strikes, rifle meetings, military manoeuvres, and railway accidents. As the public appetite for early information of all events of importance becomes whetted, the labours of the special staff increase, and with its labours, those of the special correspondent, who is the close ally of the special telegraphist, also increase. One of the most accomplished correspondents of the newspaper press, lamenting how telegraphic facilities 'have rudely broken in upon the pleasant dilettanteism of the "specials," for whom there is no longer dalliance over a late dinner, or a nap to refresh themselves before commencing to write,' has thus written of the 'Special Staff.'

'The special staff consists of men picked from the whole array of telegraphists for special capabilities. The special staff man must be an accomplished operator, to whom no instrument comes amiss; he must be enough of an engineer to be able to make alterations or correct blemishes in the working of wires; he must carry in his head the telegraphic chart of the country; he must be a strategist, in a sense, so that if over-accumulation of work threatens to bar the direct advance, he may contrive a flanking movement in aid—in other words, devise a roundabout circuit with the same termination as has the direct wire.' . . . 'To the special staff homes are a superfluity; its members gyrate about the country like so many methodical wills-o'-the-wisp. They know as much about newspaper work as the pressman whose messages they transmit. They know up to what o'clock each London daily "can take copy," and, I fancy, have a fair notion, gathered from results, of the respective sub-editorial idiosyncrasies and abilities. In a manner they aid in sub-editing themselves, for it is the commonest thing in the world for the operator to insert a word obvi-

ously omitted by neglect, and to bring to the notice of the writer a sentence that will not make sense, or which contains repetition. The special staff are as skilled in the decipherment of bad caligraphy as is a clever compositor, and they require to be so, for they sometimes get fearful pothooks and hangers. There is a special correspondent who cannot read his own writing, but there is a man on the special staff who can, and wherever the former goes, if the Department can possibly arrange it, the latter goes too. The special staff must understand the phraseology and contractions of the press generally—of racing, boating, cricketing, and numerous other specialties—must be able to sleep as well in a railway-carriage as in a bed, and must know how to combine the *suaviter in modo* with the *fortiter in re*. One of its members is always with the Queen, another with the Prince of Wales. During his Royal Highness's illness there were two at Sandringham engaged in the most exhaustive duties, and on his recovery, the Prince presented both with a pretty souvenir of their devotion to their arduous work during a crisis so trying.'

A valuable adjunct of the special staff is the telegraph carriage, a veritable office on wheels, which carries all its gear along with it, and pays out its own cable as it moves along. This novel apparatus—the only one of the kind in existence—is used on such occasions as the Universities' Boat Race, Eton and Harrow Cricket Match, Henley Regatta, and the Cattle Show, and we understand that it has recently attracted the attention of the Director-General of French Telegraphs.

We have thus endeavoured to trace the history and progress of the electric telegraph from its earliest beginnings to the present time. Travelling over so vast a field, our review has necessarily been hasty, and may, in some respects, prove imperfect. We have aimed more at broad and popular treatment than scientific accuracy, believing that the great thing for the public to know is the extent to which they may now rely on the telegraph in the everyday concerns of life, compared with the almost prohibitory system of thirty years ago. We are not concerned to defend the policy of the Post Office in relation to the telegraphic system, except so far as it has benefited the great public interests at stake. We have seen what the system has become in the hands of a bold and vigorous administrator, who suddenly found himself placed in this difficulty, that he had an altogether novel task (for a Governmental official at least) thrust upon him, involving purely mercantile considerations which rarely exist in official life, without having any precedent to guide his actions. We can only guess what would

have been the result if the enormous interests at stake had been confided to a feeble and hesitating executive, and we are quite content to leave the matter where Mr. Gladstone has left it, believing that if Mr. Scudamore's mistakes have been great, his services have been very much greater.

We have left ourselves no room to speak of the great strides which have been made in the department of submarine telegraphy. The extensions and improvements here are mainly due to British skill and enterprise, and we may well contrast a time when, a few months ago, the Shah of Persia conversed with ease from his bedroom in Buckingham Palace with his ministers in Teheran, with the period, less than five-and-twenty years ago, when those prophetic utterances fell from the graphic pen of Dr. George Wilson. Summing up the different uses, and probable future development of the telegraph, he thus glowingly concludes the paper from which we have already quoted:—

'Wherever, in truth, wires can be stretched, whether suspended in the air, or buried in the earth, or sunk in the sea, there our wonder-working apparatus may be erected. A few square inches of zinc and copper will produce for us a force which, on the other side of a continent or an ocean, will speak for us, write for us, print for us, keep time for us, watch stars for us, and move all kinds of machinery. No distance will stop its march, for where the force of one battery is spent, it can be made to call into action another or *relay* battery, which will carry on the message, so that if the wires were laid it might sweep round the globe. Such a network of wires, we may hope, will, one day, connect together the ends of the earth, and, like the great nerves of the human body, unite in living sympathy all the far-scattered children of men.'

ART. VII.—The New Parliament.

AT the opening of the New Year public men on both sides of the House of Commons and politicians of every grade and shade outside Parliament had settled down into the comfortable conviction that the Session of 1874 would be modest and uneventful, that the Dissolution of the Parliament of 1868 would be a euthanasia, and that the country, having had full time to make up its mind as to the merits of Mr. Gladstone's Budget and the value of the solemn Conservative impeachment of Liberal policy, would proceed deliberately and without excitement to pass judgment in the ensuing autumn on the competitors for power. On

the morning of the 24th of January appeared the Prime Minister's address to the electors of Greenwich. Twenty-four hours later the most distant, the most languid, the most unpolitical of the constituencies was stirred as if by an electric shock. Old members were summoned hurriedly home; new candidates were sought out in despairing haste: for Parliament, the Reformed House of Commons, of which even the coming shadow had restored Mr. Gladstone to power, which had given him an overwhelming majority, which had carried all his great measures, had been extinguished by the act of the Premier himself.

We must pause over the fact, for it is a momentous one. The general election of 1868, though it was formally conducted under a system of household suffrage, was thought by many to have followed too suddenly upon the Reform Act of 1867 to have given free scope for the working of the new political forces that had been let loose by that measure. Yet a change both in the set and in the strength of the tide of politics was manifest. It was objected to the Parliament of 1868 that it gave on the whole an unfair preponderance to wealth and social standing over intelligence and honest thinking in public affairs; but that it was Liberal and effectively represented a Liberal phase of national thought no one could deny. Nor could it be disputed that the efficiency of the representation was due to the earnestness, the energy, and the dauntless perseverance of the Prime Minister. It would be ungrateful to dispute the ability or the honesty of his colleagues; but it is not unfair to say that the rest of the Administration would not have made any distinct mark upon the political history of our time. The essential conceptions of the Irish Church Act, of the Irish Land Act, of the Education Act, of the Abolition of Army Purchase, of the Reform of the Judiciary, may have originated in other minds, but in their legislative form they all bear the impress of Mr. Gladstone's intellect; and it was his fiery spirit that carried them through the ordeal of parliamentary discussion. For a period of more than twenty years Mr. Gladstone's mind bore sway in English finance; during five years it ruled English legislation; and in both departments of public policy it has left behind it finished monuments of solid, indestructible work. The nation, in spite of its momentary petulance, is not ungrateful.

It must, however, be allowed that if the Prime Minister who dissolved the Parliament of 1868 had more than fulfilled in the quantity and vigour, if not in the character, of his performance the expectations that

had been formed of him, his fellow-workers fell for the most part short of the country's reasonable hopes. The errors of administration were many; their errors of policy were not a few. Mr. Lowe's management of the finances, though it resulted in a succession of surpluses, did not inspire confidence among commercial circles. Mr. Childers' work at the Admiralty, though well-meant and indeed indispensable to a reform of that department, was not adjusted with tact to the requirements of a vast and complicated machinery. Mr. Goschen took up the task more skilfully; but he, too, was met, as Mr. Cardwell was met still more violently at the War Office, with sullen or vehement opposition. At the Home Office, the vacillating temper of Mr. Bruce made him the plaything of every violent blast of fanaticism of self-interest; and driven from his safe moorings he shifted about from compromise to compromise. His compromises, too, were never the workable *modus vivendi* of a statesman, but rather a rule-of-thumb measurement of so much to one party, so much to the other, that contented neither. It is to be feared that Mr. Bruce's first Licensing Bill must share with the extravagance of the total abstinence party the responsibility of having driven the publicans to a war to the knife.

At the Local Government Board and the Board of Trade, the sins alleged against the Ministry were rather those of omission than of commission. Local taxation and sanitary reform had been barely touched at Gwydyr House, and had certainly not been effectually dealt with. The condition of our merchant seamen and the safety of railway travellers were treated by the Board of Trade, not indeed with indifference, but with a languid sort of interest that irritated a great mass of people who care much more about such social questions as these than they do about any political question whatever. The Secretaries for Foreign and Colonial Affairs provoked less special criticism; for the policy pursued by Lord Granville in the American arbitration, and again in dealing with the Russian demand for the abrogation of the Treaty of Paris, was indisputably the policy, not of the Foreign Minister individually, but of the whole Cabinet; while if Lord Kimberley blundered on the West Coast of Africa, any candid and responsible critic would confess that to go right in such a detestable complication of understandings that are no understandings, and treaties that have no binding force, must be much more a matter of good fortune than of sound judgment.

It was, however, in the Education Depart-

ment, where so much was expected, and so reasonably, that the greatest disappointment awaited the Liberal party. It was the policy of Mr. Forster that dealt the heaviest blow at the parliamentary and popular strength of Mr. Gladstone. Nor did the administrative capacity of that Department of State go very far to redeem its political blunders.

Even in the labour so far removed from the bitterness of party politics as the reform of the law, Mr. Gladstone was not fortunate during the earlier and more energetic years of his rule. Lord Hatherley was a most conscientious Chancellor, and was, we believe, sincerely desirous to link his fame with a great measure of legal reform. He was possessed, however, with a mania for cheapening law, not by making procedure more expeditious and economical, but by cutting down judicial salaries. He had no scruple in attempting to carry out this policy, though he must have been aware that he excited in doing so the implacable hostility of the whole of the legal profession; yet lest he should arouse that very hostility he was afraid to embody in legislation those schemes for the reconstruction of our judicial system and for the codification of the law as to which all legal reformers had long been agreed. Lord Selborne profited by Lord Hatherley's failures, and the Judicature Act is the result; but if law reform had been energetically taken in hand by the Government four years, instead of twelve months ago, we should now have much more to show in the way of practical achievement.

On the whole, in spite of the capacity and devotion of Mr. Gladstone's colleagues, and in spite, too, of the remarkable additions that were made to the statute book during their tenure of power, the Parliament of 1868 and the Government of its choice was redeemed from mediocrity chiefly by the exceptional qualities of the Premier himself. Accordingly, as Mr. Gladstone's personal influence waned or became less conspicuous, the Ministry declined in vigour, and its reputation was dangerously wounded by insignificant attacks that in its early and energetic days would scarce have been noticed, much less taken to heart. This is the first and most notable of the causes of the Ministerial downfall. It was contemporaneous in growth with another, to which Mr. Gladstone's habit of mind and mode of expression gave colour. The country came to doubt whether Mr. Gladstone was to be trusted outside the limits of his express pledges. Within those limits no one questioned his sincerity; but on questions that had not been defined when he entered upon office the subtlety of his men-

tal casuistry and the injurious influences of his early training were not unreasonably feared. His confirmed ecclesiasticism, though a mere 'survival' in the midst of his Liberal convictions, was living enough to lead him astray both in the case of the English Education Act and the Irish University Bill. In both instances he probably was under the influence of minds less powerful and principles less sound than his own. Mr. Forster and Mr. Chichester Fortescue had pledged themselves to content—the former the English clerical party, the latter the Irish Ultramontanes; and Mr. Gladstone was drawn by them into doubtful courses, the responsibility for which, it should be remembered, did not originate with him.

When, therefore, the Government was defeated twelve months ago on the Irish University Bill, a general feeling of distrust was prevailing. It was not alone that Mr. Gladstone's popularity had been undermined, that Mr. Lowe's recklessness and arrogance were suspected, that Mr. Forster's obstinacy in maintaining an educational policy against which the whole Nonconformist body indignantly revolted, was bearing its evil fruit; that the predominance of the Roman Catholic priesthood in Irish affairs was assuming the proportions of a serious national danger,—there were, in addition to all these elements of dissatisfaction, some well-founded reasons for personal discontent with the conduct of the men in office. Blunders in administration had been unpleasantly frequent, and every one of these, labelled with the title of a scandal, worked its own small measure of mischief. Then several prominent members of the Government had offended individuals by an irritating and discourteous demeanour, and had alienated important sections of the people by the crude expression of doctrines which, if fairly put, few would venture to dissent from. Of these offenders Mr. Lowe and Mr. Ayrton were the worst; and even when they were substantially right, as when Mr. Lowe refused to spend any more of the public money on Arctic exploration, they contrived by roughness of manner and language to put themselves in the wrong.

Mr. Disraeli, however, acutely put his finger on the weakest point of the ministerial position when in the Bath letter he appealed on behalf of 'harassed interests' against the reckless legislation of the Government. All the best as well as all the most questionable acts of the Government had been necessarily of a disturbing character. Mr. Bright has pointed out, with his usual directness and humour, that every reform must harass those—and they are many—who by interest

or sentiment are bound to the old unreformed order of things. And, however beneficial a reform may be, it will not—*pace* Mr. Roebuck—make nearly so many friends as enemies for the Government that takes it in hand, unless it be one of those rare questions which seize hold imperiously of the popular imagination. Thus the re-organization of the Admiralty and the re-construction of our military system—objects which the English people temperately approved, but about which they were not enthusiastic—were met by a storm of criticism, sincere no doubt, but certainly warped by preference for the very state of things that demanded reformation. This danger could not have been avoided, it was to have been anticipated; it was, in fact, precisely of the same character as that which was challenged when the iniquity of Anglican ascendancy in Ireland and the oppressive land tenures of that country had to be assailed. But the griefs of the Irish clergy and the Irish landlords did not catch the ear of ‘society’ so readily as those of ‘the services;’ and from an early period in his ministerial career Mr. Gladstone had to reckon with the sour discontent, if not the open hostility of the vast majority of the aristocratic and pseudo-aristocratic classes. Yet this antagonism Mr. Gladstone’s Government might have resisted if the middle class and the workmen had remained loyal. The angry revolt of the powerful organization of the publicans was a more disastrous blow;—

‘*Cecidit postquam cordonibus esse timendus
Coep erat: hoc nocuit Lamiarum coede madentem.*’

The wholesale defection, however, of constituencies which, reasoning on the experience of 1868, had been reckoned upon as faithful to the Liberal party, is not to be traced to any single cause. The whole of the electorate was honeycombed with discontent and disunion. The interests affected by harassing legislation were spleenfully energetic in their hostility. The most loyal Liberals had been alienated by the educational policy of Mr. Forster, or alarmed by the growing demands of the Ultramontane faction. There were those who disliked the foreign policy of the Cabinet, those who censured its financial expedients, those who thought it had been too active in legislation, and those who thought it had not been active enough. Some of them withdrew for the time altogether from political conflicts; some ceased to labour with their wonted zeal for the party; some went over without disguise to the Conservative side. The number of those who took the last course

was not great; nor did they represent any permanent change from Liberalism to Conservatism. But with indifference and disunion on the one side, with a perfect organization and a not inconsiderable accession of positive strength on the other, it was no matter for surprise that seat after seat was won by the Tories during the last three quarters of the year 1873. Liberals, nevertheless, had a right to comfort themselves with the assurance that, though they might lose a little ground in these chance skirmishes upon narrow issues and with obscure champions, they would retrieve their defeat when the country came to be challenged on the broad question whether the Liberal party or the Conservative party, whether Mr. Gladstone or Mr. Disraeli, were better deserving of the national confidence.

Mr. Gladstone had been urged by many of his partisans out of Parliament to appeal to the country immediately after Mr. Disraeli’s refusal to accept the responsibilities of office twelve months ago. But he naturally declined to come before the nation without any other platform on which to take his stand than that unfortunate portion of his Irish policy which England and Scotland had so emphatically repudiated. Again, at the close of the session, the same advice had been pressed upon the Prime Minister. It is less easy to see why he then declined it. Probably he thought that the reconstruction of the Ministry would allay a great part of the existing discontent, and especially that the return of Mr. Bright to the Cabinet would reconcile the Nonconformists to the official leaders of their party. Nor were these measures entirely without effect. The tide of Tory victories was broken by one or two signal Liberal triumphs; and Mr. Bright’s declarations at Birmingham went far to dispel the suspicions that were driving the Nonconformists to rebellion. Mr. Forster, however, proceeded straightway to undo all the good that Mr. Bright had done; and the nation was left in bewilderment at this avowed divergence on a fundamental question of policy between two leading members of the Cabinet. Then all the encouraging signs of the Liberal rally vanished once more. Two traditional strongholds of Liberalism were boldly assailed by the enemy; Stroud was lost, Newcastle was barely retained; and other yet more important constituencies were threatened.

Mr. Gladstone is not the man to endure with passive equanimity a protracted strain of ill-fortune. It has been said of the French nation that ‘being by nature of a keen and anxious temperament, they cannot endure that lasting pressure upon the

nerves which is inflicted by a long-impending danger; their impulse under such trials is to rush forward or to run back; and what they are least inclined to do is to stand still and be calm, or to make a steady move to the front.' Without much qualification, this might be said of Mr. Gladstone and of some of his principal colleagues. At any rate, the torture of successive partial defeats—not indeed seriously impairing the momentum of his numerical majority any more than the death-dealing shots that break up a great column of infantry cut off a sufficient number of men to make the mass feeble, but acting on his imagination—appears to have on a sudden overpowered Mr. Gladstone's judgment. Dissension in the Cabinet may, as it is rumoured, have precipitated the appeal; but we apprehend that the pressure of the outward change of current was the more potent force.

We have enumerated the causes of Liberal weakness that showed themselves in the chance elections of the year 1873; and we have recalled to mind the confidence of the Liberal party that these were merely temporary and local, and would be swept away when a great political issue was fairly presented to the nation. Unfortunately Mr. Gladstone's address did not present a broad and simple political issue. It appealed to the electors of Greenwich, and indirectly to the country at large, on the ground that the Government had obtained or were likely to obtain before the end of the year a surplus of some five millions sterling, and that he, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, would be prepared to expend this in remission of taxation, in taking off the income tax, and in reducing or abolishing the sugar duties. To ask the assent of the electorate by anticipation to the main features of a Budget which would have to be laid before and discussed by Parliament three months later was an innovation in constitutional practice, and, in our judgment, neither a useful nor a desirable one. A plebiscite of any kind is a dangerous anomaly in representative government; but a plebiscite asking the electors to return members pledged to support the Government in certain promised remissions of taxation is in every way objectionable. Even if Mr. Gladstone had obtained a majority on this appeal, it would scarcely have been constituted a healthy and coherent party organization. It would probably have been unstable, and as soon as the income tax had been abolished, would have split up into sections, or drifted over in great part to the Opposition.

The result, however, of the appeal was altogether unexpected. It was discovered

that the mass of the electors cared very much less for the promised relief to their pockets than had been anticipated,—which is satisfactory so far as it shows that "the ignorant impatience of taxation," of which Lord Palmerston used to complain, is abating—and that the unpopularity of the Ministry had sunk much deeper into the public mind than had been generally supposed. But though the United Kingdom now sends up to Westminster 352 Conservatives against 300 Liberals, and the change has taken place not in one or two particular districts, but all over the country, there are no signs whatever of any real wave of Conservative reaction such as overwhelmed the Whigs in 1841. Then Conservatism was aggressive and domineering; it claimed to govern Ireland by force in the interests of Protestant ascendancy, and it declared its determination to maintain the sacred fabric of the corn laws in the most absolute integrity. Now, Conservatives, or all of them at least who feel themselves within the shadow of present or possible official responsibility, talk what may be called a diluted Liberalism; and however bitterly they may criticise the past legislation of the Liberal Government, they do not proclaim the intention of meddling with any one of the great measures that the Parliament of 1868 has placed upon the statute-book. The leader of their party has candidly admitted that he could not set up any special claim for himself upon the confidence of the nation, and has attributed the astounding success of his party—a success at which none have been more astonished than the Conservative leaders themselves—to the distrust with which Mr. Gladstone and some of his associates in office have inspired the country. There is a good deal of truth in this, as we have ourselves said, without extenuating errors or setting down aught in malice. The majority of the Liberal leaders have to win new reputations for themselves, and many of them, it will be observed, decline the task.

The composition of the Conservative majority is, at least, as remarkable as its numerical strength. At the general election of 1865, the metropolitan boroughs returned a solid phalanx of Liberals to Parliament, while the metropolitan counties of Middlesex and East Surrey ranged themselves on the same side. In 1868, one seat was lost in Westminster, and another in Middlesex; and at bye-elections two more in Southwark and East Surrey. Now out of the four members for the City of London, the Conservatives return three, Mr. Goschen only retaining his seat through the operation of the minority clause. Out of eighteen seats

for the remaining metropolitan boroughs the Conservatives have secured seven; and they have utterly swept their opponents out of the metropolitan counties. So much for London. In the other great towns the results are not less surprising. Birmingham alone remains staunch in its allegiance to Liberal opinions. Liverpool, Manchester, and Leeds return two Conservatives each; even Glasgow sends one from the most Radical constituency in the most Liberal portion of the United Kingdom. Sheffield gives back Mr. Roebuck to the House of Commons; Bradford, by Tory votes, seems to approve Mr. Forster's conscientious measures for breaking up the Liberal party, and gives him a like-minded colleague in Mr. Ripley. If these things be done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry? The Liberal loss in the counties is more severely felt than in the boroughs, because we had less to lose. The English Conservative county members out-number their Liberal colleagues by nearly six to one; and but for the minority clause we should be in a still smaller minority. Scotland remains true to her Liberal traditions, returning forty-one followers of Mr. Gladstone against nineteen Conservatives; though even here the gain of the latter party is considerable. In 1868 they held only seven county seats and no burgh seats; now they have fifteen county seats and three burgh seats. The University representation is equally divided. Wales also gives a liberal majority of nineteen as against eleven.

Summarising the results, we may say that England alone gives the Conservatives a majority of 113, reduced by the deduction of the Liberal majorities in Wales and Scotland to eighty-three.

Ireland stands upon a distinct and separate footing. The counties return twenty-three Conservatives, the boroughs ten, and the University of Dublin two, making in all thirty-five out of a total of 103 members. According to this computation the Liberals are nearly two to one as compared with their opponents in the sister island. But of the sixty-eight members returned as Liberals, some fifty-three are declared 'Home Rulers.' Now Home Rule, so far as it is a political principle, stands outside all English and imperial politics; and the Home Rulers, if they are true to their professions, must count simply as a negative parliamentary force, to be subtracted alike from the nominal strength of Liberals and Conservatives. Of course many of them are merely Irish Roman Catholic members who have chosen to accept the Home Rule test, and who will not be more dangerous—if, indeed, so dangerous—

to the Liberal party as Home Rulers than they were as exponents of Cardinal Cullen's views. There are among the entire body of Home Rulers perhaps a dozen sincere fanatics, and it is questionable whether any of these care very much for the federal scheme which Mr. Butt puts forward as a decent disguise for the wild separatist ambitions of his followers. But however the Irish members that are nominally reckoned as Liberals may vote they cannot be counted upon as staunch allies in Liberal legislation or even in the irresponsible strategy of opposition.

The defeat of Mr. Gladstone in England is, however, the gravest fact in the situation. A majority of 113 in favour of the Conservative leader, if not in favour of Conservative opinions, is indisputable proof that popular feeling in this country has drifted far from the position it occupied in 1868. Is the change of a permanent character? Does it represent a real reaction? We have already expressed our conviction that it is the symptom of a mental mood which is not likely to be lasting, and that it is but a slight surface-current in politics which leaves the great movement of political progress untouched. It is the more perceptible because it manifests itself in one of those periods of pause which intervene regularly and of necessity between all epochs of political activity. The nation is for the time a little weary, and is wanton, petulant, even ungrateful, in its weariness. The personal reasons for the unpopularity of Mr. Gladstone's administration combine with this state of the popular temper to bring new men into power and to initiate a new policy. For though Mr. Disraeli and most of his colleagues have been in office before, they may properly be said to be new to power; for the first time they have the country with them,—or not against them,—and they command the House of Commons as well as the House of Lords. As for their policy they have proclaimed it frankly enough. It is to be a policy of rest. No more 'harassing legislation,' no more reforms worrying the 'interests' whose alliance was found so serviceable at the recent contest, no more distressing economy. Instead of these, the characteristics for good or evil of Mr. Gladstone's Government, we are promised efficient administration, which, it must be allowed, was not one of the legitimate boasts of the late ministry; and though former Conservative Governments have not been specially remarkable for administrative capacity, at least since that party lost Peel and Graham, we are quite willing to let the new men redeem their pledges, if they can.

The new Parliament is the Walhalla of

commonplaceness, and this character makes it all the more fit to represent the country in its *fainéant* mood. The 'fine brute' votes of the county members, of the excellent and well-disciplined listeners who, night after night,—

'In bulky majesty appear,
Roll the dull eye and yawn the unmeaning
cheer,'

will be arrayed side by side with a strong phalanx of men of business professing moderate Conservative opinions, reputed to be valuable in committee rooms, and taking an active part in the directorial management of innumerable companies. This latter class is also strongly represented—as, indeed, it always has been and ought to be—on the Liberal side, and it now almost monopolises a commodity so costly in production and so limited in quantity as parliamentary seats. Besides these, the official class have generally kept hold of their opportunities, though Mr. Chichester Fortescue has been rejected in Louth, and Lord Enfield in Middlesex, and Mr. Cardwell has chosen to retire to the serener atmosphere of the House of Peers. The aristocratic element in the 'popular branch of the legislature' is almost as strong as ever; and, next to a long purse, a respectable handle to a man's name seems to be the best introduction to the constituencies, so long at least as they remain in their present temper. Between them the aristocracy and the plutocracy have excluded from the House of Commons all or nearly all the independent politicians whose individualities gave force and flavour to political controversy. Mr. Fawcett's loss, if it were at all likely to be lasting, should be set down as irreparable; but the parliamentary independents have been deprived of many more than their ablest and most eloquent leader. Mr. Jacob Bright is gone, and so, to pass to the opposite pole of eccentric Liberalism, is Mr. Bouverie. The quips of Mr. Bernal Osborne will no more amuse the House, which in a period of political languor is a real loss; nor will Mr. White's acute criticisms on the Budget constitute the expected after-piece of Sir Stafford Northcote's financial statement. Mr. Miall has again left a void in public affairs; and no new man of any eminence or even of any promise on the Liberal side has appeared to recruit the dwindling ranks of what we must learn to look at and talk of, possibly for a long time to come, as the Opposition. The result of the contest at Sheffield is to be deplored, not only because it has returned Mr. Roebuck to Parliament in the character of an avowed admirer and follower of Mr. Disraeli, but

because it threw out of the political running so able an exponent of the new developments of Liberalism as Mr. Chamberlain. Nor have any successes on the Conservative side counteracted in quality the losses by the rejection of so many Independent Liberals. It is particularly unfortunate that at the present crisis in the affairs of India so many members of the late Parliament, qualified to speak with authority on Eastern politics, should be excluded from the House. The representation of Indian interests was never more scanty. In 1868, the number of politicians returned who could speak with authority in Indian debates was quite double the number returned in 1874. The Select Committee on Indian Finance has lost its Chairman, Mr. Ayrton, and its moving spirit, Mr. Fawcett; and among its members Mr. Crawford, Mr. Baring, Mr. Eastwick, Sir Charles Wingfield, Sir D. Wedderburn, Mr. R. Fowler, Mr. McClure, and Mr. Haviland Burke. Sir Henry Rawlinson and Lord William Hay had already been removed from the House. On the whole, it seems probable that Indian debates in the ensuing session, in spite of the engrossing interest of the subject, will be even more inefficient and spiritless than they have been in former years.

The common-place character of the new House is perhaps an advantage to the incoming ministry. Mr. Disraeli has to deal with no commanding claims to official rank, at least in the Lower House. Mr. Hardy, Sir S. Northcote, and Mr. Ward Hunt have respectable parliamentary reputations, but they are not in a position to dispute the lead of the party with the clever tactician who during twenty years of adversity has led his host with unflinching courage through the desert. Mr. Disraeli's only dangerous rivals were in the House of Lords, and even there none but Lord Derby could pretend to the supremacy. Lord Salisbury's energy and high spirit, Lord Carnarvon's immense personal influence are looked up to with something approaching reverence by a strong body of peers; but this element, though formidable to any Conservative Government with which it has not been reconciled, has never assumed a rivalry with the recognised chief of the party in the Lower House. Now that the reconciliation has been effected, at the cost we may presume of some strain on personal feelings, the danger vanishes. Lord Derby remains, as he has always been, true to Mr. Disraeli. The latter, indeed, is so indisputably the man of the situation, that to deny him the honour he has fairly earned would be an enormous blunder in tactics. If he can

settle down into a common-place policy, suitable to the character of the House of Commons that supports him, and to the jaded temper of the country, he may maintain his leadership during his lifetime.

In the selection of his Cabinet Mr. Disraeli has shown much wisdom. He has got rid of the superabundant load of dukes that made his last ministry top-heavy. In Lord Derby, Lord Salisbury, and Lord Carnarvon he has three Secretaries of State for Foreign, Indian, and Colonial Affairs quite able to hold their own against their predecessors in office, Lord Granville, the Duke of Argyll, and Lord Kimberley, and incomparably better than any other three men that could be chosen out of the Conservative ranks. The chiefs of 'the two great departments of public expenditure,' as Mr. Disraeli has himself called the Admiralty and the War Office, are represented, according to the rules laid down in the Premier's speech ten years ago, in the House of Commons. A strong man is needed at the War Office, and at the Home Office Mr. Hardy has given proof of his strength. As much cannot be said of Mr. Ward Hunt, but sound common-sense and some experience of practical finance are probably the qualities just now most needed in the administration of the navy. The selection of Mr. Cross for the Home Office has surprised many persons; but not those who knew that the member for South West Lancashire was the successful banker at Warrington, and the best Chairman of Quarter Sessions in the North of England. It was to be expected that one or two personal supporters would appear in Mr. Disraeli's Cabinet; nor have Lord Malmesbury and Lord John Manners much claim beyond that of faithful service. The Duke of Richmond advances pretensions which the dignified office of Lord President reasonably satisfies. In the competition for the charge of the public purse, the claims of Sir S. Northcote, a financier trained by Mr. Gladstone himself, could not be passed by.

There is no reason to doubt that the ministry may for a time hold their ground, if Mr. Disraeli can be brought to pursue steadily the policy he has laid before the country. It is idle to deny that the nation in its present mood craves rest, and that if Mr. Disraeli will give it rest, it will refrain from attempting to move either backward or forward: he will be supported until some powerful emotion stirs popular feeling and lifts the country onward in the path of progress. The main hope of the Liberals consists in the indiscretion of their opponents. Mr. Disraeli has not hitherto been a prudent party leader, but he has been demoralized

by the violent exigencies of a hopeless opposition. Real power may sober him, and his most powerful colleague brings to the management of foreign affairs as cool a spirit and as moderate views as those of Lord Granville himself. The fierce wilfulness of Lord Salisbury might be dangerous in general policy, but in the administration of Indian business a strong will compelling the acceptance of sound ideas is precisely what is just now required. No other member of the Cabinet is influential enough to initiate a policy. Mr. Cross at the Home Office will have no doubt to encounter the criticism and withstand the entreaties of several diverse and powerful interests. The licensed victuallers, flushed with their recent successes, will exert themselves,—imprudently as they will soon perceive,—to obtain a revision of Mr. Bruce's act. The working men will press for an instant alteration in the conspiracy laws. If the new Government determine, as is probable, to concede the first demand, and to deny the second, they will set in motion forces that will soon shake their accidental and temporary supremacy. At the War Office it is improbable that Mr. Hardy will yield to the pressure which 'society' will put upon him, or will go back upon the footsteps of Mr. Cardwell. The first Lord of the Admiralty will find it difficult to undo the work of Mr. Childers and Mr. Goschen. Hence, probably, in the great spending departments the policy of doing nothing will be found for the present the easiest and the safest. It may be assumed also that neither Mr. Hardy nor Mr. Hunt will take very particular pains to enforce economy, which has been proved to irritate so many, and to win gratitude from so few, in the services under their control.

And here, in fact, comes Mr. Disraeli's difficulty. He has at the Exchequer a skilful and sober-minded financier to devise means for supplying the pecuniary necessities of administration, and he inherits the fiscal prosperity which the late Government laboured so sedulously and so successfully to create. But the surplus that Sir Stafford Northcote has to handle is but a trifle compared with the immense demands upon it, and the question is whether, when we have spent this ready cash, we can rely on the maintenance of an equilibrium between income and expenditure. Even if the Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer should be able to resist the cry for the abolition of the income tax and the demand for a free breakfast-table, he will have to meet, and if it may be, to satisfy the complaints of Sir Massey Lopez and his friends in regard to local taxation, and the appeals of

the farmers for a remission of the malt tax. In one way or other the surplus must be spent, and Mr. Disraeli appears to think that the simplest plan will be to get rid of it altogether by handing it over to the Indian Government. There are grave economical and political objections to this course, and the only argument in its favour is that it would leave the framework of taxation at home untouched. If the surplus be spent in remissions, according to its natural and customary destination, Sir S. Northcote a year hence may have some difficulty in making both ends meet. The five years of fatness of which Mr. Lowe reaped the benefit may be followed by a period of commercial stagnation, and the effect cannot fail to be felt in the revenue. The surrender of any productive source of income may leave us for the present in a state of financial equilibrium, but a panic or even mere dulness in trade would readily turn the balance the wrong way. If at the same time the great administrative departments should feel themselves absolved from the necessity of practising a resolute and uncompromising economy, it is not difficult to foresee financial perplexities ahead of the new Government.

This difficulty, however, is, for the present, far removed from practical politics. Mr. Disraeli's Government may fairly plead for time, and ask to be judged by their acts. In the new House of Commons they will not meet with a very stern censorship. At the Education Office the Duke of Richmond and Lord Sandon will probably be satisfied with the substantial advantages the Established Church has gained under Mr. Forster's legislation, and will decline to commit the ministry to the extreme clerical views of such men as Canon Gregory and Canon Cromwell. For the time the Nonconformists will be out-voted in the House on every educational question that will arise, and though it is none the less our duty to raise such questions, even if we challenge inevitable defeat, in order that the country may be aroused and educated, it is not to be denied that the period of awakening seems to be remote. There is no reason to suppose that the ministry will experience any serious trouble in ruling Ireland. The Irish, in their fatuous grasping at Home Rule, have shattered Mr. Gladstone's noble but impracticable policy of governing Ireland according to Irish ideas. The selection of Sir Michael Hicks Beach for the Irish secretaryship indicates Mr. Disraeli's firm resolution that English ideas shall prevail. The Home Rulers will be allowed to make what demonstrations they please in or out

of Parliament, provided they abstain from absolute violence; and they are warned that, at any cost, the public peace will be preserved. We have no doubt that this policy would substantially have been pursued also by the late Government with the full approbation of the English people. It is fortunate for the ministry that there are certain reforms of a non-political character which they may take up without much risk. The Local Government Board inherits the *damnosa hereditas* of sanitary legislation, which will alarm and afflict interests as numerous and noisy as any of those harassed by the late Government. We may conclude, therefore, that this question, in spite of Mr. Disraeli's acceptance of the motto, '*Sanitas sanitatum omnia sanitas*,' will be very lightly touched, if at all; and we are confirmed in our impression by the fact that Sir Charles Adderley, who has been thoroughly identified with the cause of sanitary reform, has been placed, not at the Local Government Board, but at the Board of Trade. There, again, we meet with at least two subjects of the highest importance calling for legislative interference—the control of the railways and the protection of life at sea. A Government which would deal effectually with either one or the other would win real and well-earned popularity; but then the railway interest and the shipping interest would be certain to complain of harassing legislation. Is Mr. Disraeli willing to encounter the risk? or is rest here also to be the Conservative policy?

The vast question of law reform remains, and in this department Lord Cairns may be successful in crowning the edifice, of which Lord Selborne has laid the foundation stone. There is a general agreement among all, or nearly all, English lawyers of the first rank, as to the principles on which law reform should proceed, and the Lord Chancellor will have the support of Lords Selborne, Coleridge, and Penzance, quite irrespective of party considerations.

The Liberals in the Upper House, though reinforced by the accession of Lord Cardwell, Lord Carlingford, and Lord Enfield to the ranks of the peerage, are still as they have been ever since the time of Pitt, in a hopeless minority in that branch of the Legislature; and they are opposed by a compact, well-drilled body of Tories who, since the reconciliation of the Secessionists of 1867 to the author of the Reform Bill, will obey ministerial orders with unquestioning fidelity. In the Lower House the party of progress, though outnumbered, and in some measure disheartened, has still the power of constituting itself a strong opposi-

tion, and when the opportunity arrives of inflicting ruinous damage on its adversaries, and of appealing to the country upon those broad principles of Liberalism which never slumber long in England. But Liberal opinion outside must give the watchword to its parliamentary representatives. The paramount importance of united action must be enforced, and to this end no attempt must be made to foist upon the party as leaders politicians who have irretrievably lost the confidence of the most faithful adherents of Liberal principles. The temporary retirement of Mr. Gladstone from the leadership is especially to be deplored, though it was by no means unexpected, and cannot be regarded as unjustifiable, because the ground on which the Opposition is likely first to challenge the ministry to battle, with any prospect of success, is ground on which his footing is firm.* If the financial policy of the new Government is to be assailed with effect, whether in this session or next, the Liberal party can hardly dispense with Mr. Gladstone's services. We should not say so much if issue were to be joined on educational or ecclesiastical questions. But another result of Mr. Gladstone's retirement is the painfully indefinite state in which it leaves the leadership. Mr. Lowe's pretensions are universally rejected. Mr. Forster's friends are very eager to claim the succession for him; but if the official section of the Liberals make the mistake of admitting this preposterous demand, we warn them that they will deliberately throw away the opportunity of securing the active and loyal co-operation of the Nonconformists, without which the party may remain for years excluded hopelessly from power. The name of Lord Hartington has been also put forward as the destined successor to the chieftainship; but though the heir of the House of Cavendish must always, while the present organization of English society exists, be an important political personage, the late Secretary for Ireland has not yet made his mark in Parliament, nor won the confidence of the nation. On the whole, if Mr. Gladstone persists in his resolution to withdraw from public life, the leadership of the party could not be placed in better hands than those of Mr. Goschen. An accomplished financier, an able administrator, and a

dangerous adversary in debate, Mr. Goschen is, moreover, as prudent as he is strong; and if he cannot lead the Liberals for a while to victory, he will be a formidable critic of Conservative policy, and will make the most of any opportunities that the financial shortcomings of the ministry may offer him. Under such a leader, united action may be possible, and then we have only to wait, not long, as we hope and trust, for the turn of the tide of national feeling once more in the direction of progress.

ART. VIII.—*David Livingstone.*

'Their works do follow them.' On that world of true life whither these words of hallowed comfort point, it is not our office to offer any speculations here. But the sense of eternity, which is never felt so strongly as in the silent presence of the noble dead, has its earthly as well as its heavenly aspect. For men die; but man lives. And if private grief looks heavenward, craving for a personal reunion, public sorrow finds a consolation—not less strong, nor less divine—in the contemplation of that undying humanity, which shines the fairer and lives more fully the older it becomes; and which, whoever may be the loser, is always enriched, exalted, and ennobled by every great soul gathered to its bosom. Each busy generation, when it lies down to rest, leaves behind it not only accumulations of material or intellectual wealth, but new lines of character, faint or strong, which affect the whole being of mankind. And this generic moral growth, though it be far the slowest of all those movements which go to make up progress, is that which marks most deeply and clearly every real step in advance. It is only by a consideration of periods separated by centuries or even millenniums, that these far-reaching changes can be unmistakably discerned. But nevertheless they are constantly taking place. Neither the growth of commerce, nor the increase of knowledge, nor both together, could, apart from a great development of character, have produced the England of to-day out of the England of the Conquest. In this slow, moral progress it is not usually given to individual men to accomplish any great step in advance. Even great religious leaders do but raise a wave of feeling which too commonly seems to fall back to the former level. Yet in looking back upon the long roll of historic names, we cannot but feel

* Mr. Gladstone's letter to Lord Granville, dated the 12th of March, relieves us from the immediate fear that his parliamentary services will be wholly withdrawn from the Liberal party; but it shows quite as clearly that he will not again take office. The difficulty above discussed is hardly postponed, and is certainly not overcome.

that there have been many men whose characters have been a more precious legacy than any of their practical achievements. The contagious influence of Robert Bruce's indomitable spirit did more for Scotland than the victory of Bannockburn. The valour of the Black Prince obtained us no permanent conquests; but the fondness with which soldiers dwelt upon the memory of his self-forgetful daring cannot have been without its effect on the tone of military feeling. Sir Thomas More's name is associated with a fading superstition, and Cranmer's with the rise of a regenerated faith. Yet the noble though narrow integrity of the one is felt to this day as an example and a stay to the national character; while not even the martyrdom of the other can efface the shame of his shifty politics. Or, to come down to our own times, who does not feel that the late Sir Robert Peel, by his sacrifice of party traditions to a higher view of duty, did more for the future of English statesmanship than even by his free trade legislation? And there are men now living, whose moral earnestness in the public life they lead has a deeper influence on their country than any special results they accomplish. They raise the standard of human life. They kindle afresh the too evanescent fire of self-forgetful devotion. They prove the reality of motives richer in moral power than any personal ambition. And when at the graves of such men we breathe the words, 'Their works do follow them,' we do not think so much of the actual results they have accomplished by their industry, but rather of the place and the power that their character has in the humanity that never dies.

Such a man was David Livingstone. It is remarkable to what an extent even during his lifetime his character divided with his achievements the public interest aroused by his travels. Those who came in contact with him during his brief visits to England were never tired of repeating that he was 'every inch a man.' Sir Roderick Murchison loved him with a warmth of affection which no merely scientific sympathy could have inspired. Henry M. Stanley, whose unworthy and ungenerous treatment by a section of the English public it is impossible to reprobate too strongly, loses all bitterness and kindles into enthusiasm as he recalls his personal intercourse with the departed traveller by Tanganyika Lake. As to the African tribes that were familiar with his name they almost worshipped him as a god. In his intercourse with those demoralized by the slave trade, the triumphs of his self-control, his sympathetic patience, and his unflinching firmness put to shame the bluster-

ing arrogance and random bloodshed too often characteristic of English dealings with savage tribes. And in all the history of travel, perhaps there is nothing more touching than the story of the faithful Makololo, who marched with their 'father' across a continent, for the most part as much unknown to them as to him; who interposed their own bodies between him and hostile spears; who plunged headlong into a swollen river to rescue him from drowning; who dared to go with him down to that mysterious sea from which their stolen brethren had never returned; and who sat down by the eastern coast to wait in simple faith till he came back from a voyage that must have seemed to them like a journey beyond the grave. The character which produced effects like these on Englishmen, Americans, Portuguese colonists, and African barbarians alike, was certainly no common one, and must be well worth our study. It does not often happen in the case of any one distinguished for physical discovery that the interest attaching to character predominates over that excited by achievement. Such a predominance of moral interest is natural and indeed inevitable when we lament the loss of a great preacher like the late Thomas Binney. But this is not the case with pioneers of physical knowledge. We may indeed gather up with lingering remembrance all personal traits of departed genius. Its association with a noble moral nature, its habits of thought and feeling, its methods of work, are all eagerly remarked. But such traits are cherished only because of the reflected interest that they derive from splendid achievements to which they bear no necessary relation. Thus when Faraday died, the obscure religious denomination to which he faithfully adhered, derived an unwonted interest in the eyes of many from the fact of his connection with it. Yet every one felt that for some reason or other the great electrician's religious life and his scientific career were wholly dissociated. And the former had little interest for the world, except what was reflected upon it by his discoveries. The character of the man did no doubt make the work what it was. That always must be so. But the process was not evident; and the work was the more conspicuous. In the case of Livingstone, on the other hand, it might almost seem as though the work derived its popular interest from the man, rather than the man from the work. Or if such language is too strong, at any rate the connection between the character of the man and the work was so close, so clear, and striking, that the two cannot be separated in thought. And, put-

ting on one side scientific societies, it is certainly not too much to say that the interest taken by the general public in the work accomplished, was very greatly stimulated by the fascination exercised by the character of the man. Yet the David Livingstone best known to the world at large was not a preacher nor a missionary; he was the explorer of unknown lands.

Of course one reason for the entirely secondary interest attached to personal character in the case of great discoverers is the dependence of such achievements upon those intellectual gifts which ensure insight and imagination, rather than sympathy and moral power. And we think it may be observed, that wherever great deeds are the result of moral earnestness, rather than of intellectual force, there the personal character always attracts a special and affectionate interest. George Washington could perhaps, hardly with justice, be called a great soldier. But he was something better: he was a great man. And his character has always had more interest than his actions. The same thing may be said of the only other American President, yet arisen, who is likely to rival Washington in the affections of American patriotism. Abraham Lincoln was not a man of great intellect. But he was a man with a very clear moral insight into the secret of his country's woes, and with a courage that rose precisely in proportion as his convictions of duty were deepened. So in our warmest recollections of David Livingstone, we cannot attribute to him any transcendent intellectual powers. If, indeed, the word genius may be taken in such a comprehensive significance as to mean any pre-eminent fitness for a special work; or even if we may take in serious earnest the Carlylese doctrine, that it denotes an infinite capacity for taking pains—then certainly Livingstone was a man of genius. But he would himself have been so much startled and pained by being called anything of the sort, that we hasten to express our dissent from any such definition as could possibly have included him. His moral and spiritual qualities made his life and work what they were. And it is precisely because his achievements sprang from susceptibilities and energies lying at the living core and heart of personal character, that the whole man seems to be seen in every line of his work. We propose, therefore, here briefly to trace the growth of the work out of the nature of the man, and to note how at every step his soul shone through his deeds.

It is not without heartfelt sorrow that we speak him as gone. Encouraged by the falsity of former rumours, almost betrayed

by his many escapes into the illusion that he bore a charmed life, measuring perhaps the ways of Providence too much by our own, and fondly thinking that now, so near the end of his labours, he could not die till we had seen him once more, we had hoped against hope, until the decisive news came that his body was on the way down to Zanzibar. But now that the will of the Most High is known, we begin perhaps to see in it a wisdom and a tenderness which in our suspense seemed inconceivable. The man who shrank from the publicity of missionary platforms, whom hardly any persuasion could induce to run the risk of being lionized, and whose temperament made him occasionally perhaps unduly susceptible, could hardly have found an unmingled solace for his weariness in the country which was so eagerly awaiting him. That he longed to see his native land again we can well believe. But the death that awaited him amongst the people of his pity and his love, was, after all, congruous with his life. His quiet departure when his labour was done, was just in accordance with his method of work. And if Westminster Abbey is to receive his bones, our satisfaction does not so much arise from any honour done to David Livingstone, but rather from the enrichment of that shrine of national memories with the record of a name that 'England would not willingly let die.'

The introductory chapter in Livingstone's '*Journeys and Researches in South Africa*'—a chapter consisting of only seven pages—presents as charming and characteristic a piece of autobiography as we have ever read. There is a kind of manly shyness about it, arising, not from any want of confidence in his claim to be heard, but just from that sort of sensitiveness which generally accompanies an honest self-contained pride, and which shrinks with dread from any appearance of ostentation. 'My own inclination,' he tells us, 'would lead me to say as little as possible about myself; but several friends, in whose judgment I have confidence, have suggested that, as the reader likes to know something about the author, a short account of his origin and early life would lend additional interest to this book. Such is my excuse for the following egotism, and, if an apology be necessary for giving a genealogy, I find it in the fact that it is not very long, and contains only one incident of which I have reason to be proud.' The 'egotism' is of so very innocent a character, and is got over so very quickly, that doubtless many a reader has thought it would have been still more phobtrusive if the writer had made no apology at all, where certainly none was

needed. But the narrative would not have been nearly so characteristic without it. For with all Livingstone's transparent simplicity of nature, we should entirely misconceive him if we regarded him as an overgrown artless child. His was the simplicity of an exceedingly strong-willed man, with no small amount of self-consciousness, that was kept suppressed only by the ardour of an all-absorbing devotion. He could not talk about himself without feeling that he was doing so. And he shrank from this, not through any mere affectation of humility, but partly because by temperament he scorned to thrust himself on the attention of others; and partly because in the self-discipline of a spiritual life he had learned to subordinate all personal aims to the greatness of a mission he believed to be divinely imposed. The 'genealogy' carries us back to the storm-beaten island of Ulva, where the ancestral Livingstones held a small farm; and where, if there be anything in Mr. Buckle's theories, we may imagine that a struggle with hostile elements for a precarious subsistence might well develop a traditional self-reliance, indomitable persistency, and general sturdiness of character. Certain it is, however the fact may be explained, that agricultural life in Scotland is much more favourable than in England to intelligent individuality, and to a high though somewhat narrow ideal of morality. The one incident of which Livingstone thought he had reason to be proud is thoroughly characteristic, and we give it in his own words :—

'Grandfather could give particulars of the lives of his ancestors for six generations of the family before him; and the only point of the tradition I feel proud of is this :—One of these poor hardy islanders was renowned in the district for great wisdom and prudence, and it is related that when he was on his deathbed, he called all his children around him, and said, "Now, in my lifetime, I have searched most carefully through all the traditions I could find of our family, and I never could discover that there was a dishonest man among our forefathers. If, therefore, any of you, or any of your children, should take to dishonest ways, it will not be because it runs in our blood; it does not belong to you. I leave this precept with you : Be honest."

This moral heirloom of his family entered very deeply into the nature of the great traveller. In his face, as we remember it, there was, with all its kindness of expression, a sort of troubled earnestness of outlook, as though the upright soul within were always on the watch for the straightest way to the end in view. It was not suspicion ;

for his keen discernment of character was always exercised in detecting grounds of trust, rather than in analyzing the corrupt motives of hypocritical pretence. But he did not regard an honest life as an easy one. It was to him always the 'fight of faith,' not in any speculative, but in a strictly practical sense. And to a gentleness of nature, which exercised a wonderful charm over savage men, he added an unostentatious but indomitable firmness, that always seemed standing front to front with some invisible foe. Said Stanley's servants to those of Livingstone, 'Your master is a good man—a very good man; he does not beat you, for he has a kind heart; but ours, oh! he is sharp, hot as fire.' Yet this man of a kind heart, more than once, when surrounded by hostile savages who brandished their weapons against him, completely overawed them by his resolute attitude and the serene confidence he displayed. And when, wearied out by home-sickness and danger, his own followers for a moment broke into open mutiny, he roused himself from the stupor of fever, seized a double-barrelled pistol, and declaring he must maintain discipline at all hazards, quelled them in an instant, without firing a shot. Physiognomy illustrates character, even though we may not have insight enough to read the face apart from the life. If Livingstone's eyes suggested a kindly and even gentle heart, his strong Scotch under-jaw marked a man with whom it might be dangerous to trifle.

These fundamental elements of character, practical truthfulness, a yearning earnestness of purpose, and deep susceptibility to human sympathy, appear to have been manifest in very early days. At the age of ten, with part of his first week's earnings as a 'piecer' in a factory near Glasgow, whither his family had removed, he bought Ruddiman's 'Rudiments of Latin.' By studies pursued in the intervals of hard labour, he read during the next five or six years several classical authors. After that he seems to have given his attention more to general literature, especially however, to 'scientific works and books of travel.' We suppose this kind of thing is not so uncommon among labouring youths in Scotland as it is in England. The proximate cause of this is no doubt to be found in the different habits of the two populations, and especially in the better tone of family life among the Scotch. But after all, popular habits of mind and forms of family life are largely affected by institutions. And the reason why the ecclesiastical and educational systems of Scotland have produced results so much more gene-

ral and truly national than anything that we see in England, would be a fruitful subject of reflection; with suggestions perhaps not altogether complimentary to the wealthier institutions of the South. Be that as it may, this Scotch boy, while working for his living, contrived to obtain a very fair general education.

It is perhaps suggestive of the amount of human nature there was in him, that not even the parental authority, for which he had a very profound reverence, could induce him to overcome his repugnance to 'dry doctrinal reading.' His father seems to have borne carefully in mind a tradition that their ancestors were converted 'by the laird coming round with a man having a yellow staff,' from Romanism to the Protestant faith, which went by the name of 'the religion of the yellow stick.' And like many other descendants of persecuted religionists, he appears to have inherited a very persistent confidence in the 'argument *ad baculum*.' Not even this, however, could turn young Livingstone's attention from his beloved books of travel to the 'Cloud of Witnesses' or 'Boston's Fourfold State.' On the other hand, Dick's 'Philosophy of Religion' won his interest at once through its confirmation of his own previously-formed conviction that religion and science could not be hostile one to another. Thus, while he freely and willingly yielded himself to the good influences by which he was happily surrounded, it was plain enough already that he was likely to prove a man with opinions and purposes of his own.

It is characteristic of the man that in the brief autobiographical sketch to which reference has been made, Livingstone says very little indeed of his early religious feelings. And yet it is indisputable that religious devotion, far more than anything else, made him what he was. Under any circumstances, he would have risen in the social scale. A youth who could learn to read with pleasure the Latin classics amidst the whirl and clatter of machinery; and who, during his summer labour, without receiving a farthing of aid from anyone, laid by enough to support himself while attending medical and Greek classes during the winter, would certainly not have continued to be a factory operative. But that which gave decisive direction to his purpose in life was first and midst and last of all religious conviction. It would be a mistake as blind, as it would be cruel, to suppose that because his later activity was diverted from the ordinary course of missionary labour to the career of a geographical discoverer, he ever lost the sacred inspiration that first drove

him forth from home, or even suffered it to be dimmed by any greed of fame. The special motives which actuated him at a great crisis of his life may be considered presently. But certainly the whole story of his enterprises reveals transparently, as its one predominant motive, a pitying love of human nature, heightened and confirmed by a devout faith in God's purpose of world-wide regeneration. It is not from isolated passages of his writings, nor from the occasional testimony of friends, that we gather this; but from the whole scope, aims, and method of his labour. That labour reveals the heart and soul of the man as clearly as any work of art exhibits the genius of its creator. It is not only that when there was a prospect of his being left alone and destitute in the heart of Africa, he 'went to his little hut with his mind directed to Him, who hears the sighing of the soul;' not only that when he thought it likely he might be 'knocked on the head by savages' before the morrow, his main regret was, 'it seemed such a pity—for a confirmation would thereby have been given to the idea that Africa is not open to the Gospel.' It is not only that through all the thousands of miles he travelled, until the time when Stanley met him, and doubtless to the last, he gathered his little band around him every Sunday, that he might read to them, pray with them, and tell them of the love of God. But his whole interest in geographical discovery arose from its bearing on the welfare of African men and women, and on the spread of Christian civilization. How keenly he was alive to the beauties of nature, his rapturous remembrance of the Victoria Falls alone would show. And though he was not in any technical sense a scientist, his observations have been very highly prized by scientific men at home. But these were never his ultimate aims; and there was never a day in which his thoughts did not range beyond them. To him the various water-sheds and river courses, the central plateau, and lateral ridges of mid-Africa were so many strategic points to be noted and made the most of in the sacred warfare against sin and misery, and above all against 'the sum of all villainies'—slavery. Never perhaps in all the history of human enterprise was a career of physical discovery so thoroughly inspired, so constantly guided, or so consistently crowned by religious devotion.

But as we might naturally expect, from what we have ventured to call the manly shyness of his character, he himself has told us scarcely anything about the beginnings of that spiritual life which pre-eminently made

him what he was. And, frankly, we like him the better for it. His religion was not the morbid introspection, the records of which constitute a sort of spiritual narcotic, unnaturally stimulating and deceitfully lulling. His was the healthy practical devotion which forms the best comment on St. James' words, 'Ye see then how that by works a man is saved, and not by faith only.' Yet it is pleasant to note the fondness with which in the height of his fame he recalled the memory of two plain old Christian brethren who had been as ministers of Christ to him in his native village. 'Now, lad!' said one of them on his death-bed to the future apostle of Africa, 'make religion the every-day business of your life, and not a thing of fits and starts; for if you do not, temptation and other things will get the better of you.' And there is one sentence of his own which, coming from one so reticent, carries a world of meaning: 'In the glow of love which Christianity inspires, I soon resolved to devote my life to the alleviation of human misery.' Thus the man was ready; and only waited some indication of his appointed work. Strong-willed, honest, and sturdily independent as he was, influences had reached him that unsealed the larger life of love already latent within. A career of money-getting or the ambition of fame, or even the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, however honourable each may be in its place, was henceforth impossible for him. And he was throughout all his life a conspicuous illustration of the invariable law by which any genuine 'enthusiasm of humanity' seems dependent on the love of God.

The purpose Livingstone had in view when he entered on a course of medical study was to fit himself 'to be a pioneer of Christianity in China.' Unaided, as we have seen, by any patronage, he finished that course, and was admitted a licentiate. His success, however, was nearly marred by the persistency with which in the presence of the examiners he adhered to an opinion of his own about the powers of the stethoscope. And in the same uncompromising spirit, of independence, he had intended to make his way to China unhampered by connection with any organized society. But some friends, having commended to his consideration the unsectarian character of the London Missionary Society, which, as they assured him, 'sent neither episcopacy, nor presbyterianism, nor independency, but the gospel of Christ to the heathen,' he was induced to offer himself for the acceptance of that Society. Yet he says, 'it was not without a pang that I offered myself; for it

was not quite agreeable to one accustomed to work his own way to become in a measure dependent on others, and I would not have been much put about though my offer had been rejected.' Difficulties created by the opium war prevented his going to China. The interest excited by the apostolic labours of Mr. Moffatt in South Africa, diverted the young aspirant's enthusiasm to another field; and in 1840, David Livingstone first landed in Cape Town.

Let us now for a moment glance at the new world which dawned upon the youthful philanthropist. As far north as the Orange River the country was already very well known, the character of the population passing through many shades, from the European civilization of the colony to the untamed savagery of the border. Beyond that border, some hundred and fifty miles north of the great river, Mr. Moffatt, whose daughter Livingstone married, and who now in venerable and honoured age survives both daughter and son-in-law, had established an advanced post of missionary effort at Kuruman. Northward and westward from this point extends the trackless Kalahari Desert, peopled only by a few wandering bushmen. North-east lay a more promising country, inhabited by the great family of Bechuana tribes, on whose southern border the Transvaal Boers, with some slight pretension to the arts, practised far more perfectly the vices, of civilized life. Otherwise the whole interior of the southern continent, from Kuruman to the equator—an extent of about 1,600 miles—and from the borders of Angola to the east coast, was practically an unknown world, a sheer blank on the map, varied only by some information about the sea borders, by the dotted course of conjectured rivers, and by still more shadowy hints of rumoured lakes. North of the equator, the travels of Barth, Burton, Speke, Petherick, Baker, and later of Schweinfurth, have traced upwards the branching streams of the still mysterious Nile, until they are lost in a bewildering maze of water-courses and marshes, the southern watershed of which does not seem as yet, unless Livingstone's posthumous papers should solve the question, to be by any means clearly settled. It is among the chief glories of the deceased discoverer, that while our knowledge of north-eastern Africa has been accumulated little by little through the journeys of successive explorers, aided for the most part by great wealth and armies of followers, David Livingstone, with an income of only some hundred pounds a year down to 1856, and until then unhelped by wealthy patrons, alone, and armed only by the power of cha-

racter, solved the whole mystery of the southern continent, and laid down clearly the main configuration, the watersheds, and the approximate levels of a country covering some three million square miles. The great Zambesi River, with its Chobe, Liambai, Loangwa, and Shire tributaries, the central lakes from N'gami to Tanganyika, the great plateau with its eastern and western mountain ridges, giving the key to the more recent geological history, and the present physical constitution of equatorial Africa,—all were brought from the obscurity of rumour to the light of certainty by one man. In addition he threw such light upon the philological and political relations of the African tribes that no traveller hereafter need grope his way in the dark. And he contributed to science a variety of curious and important observations, which very considerably enlarge our knowledge of nature. When further we consider that far the larger and the more difficult part of this enterprise was accomplished while the traveller was still a humble missionary, in somewhat abnormal relations with the Society which sent him forth, for long periods without a base of operations, and wholly cut off from even the most distant communications with civilized life, we think we may venture to say that it was a feat unparalleled in the whole history of discovery.

The motives which led to this extraordinary enterprise will be best understood by a brief reference to Livingstone's early endeavours to establish a new missionary station in advance of Kuruman. His first and apparently promising attempt at Kolobeng (lat. 24 S., long. 26 E.), among the friendly tribe of the Bakwains, a branch of the Bechuanas, was frustrated by an outbreak of war. Thence he removed to the generally fruitful valley of Mabotsa, not far distant; where he continued for several years diligently to teach the people, not the gospel only, but the arts of civilization. A long drought, however, greatly distressed the tribe, and distracted their attention from his ministrations. It was here that his work was very nearly brought to an untimely end by the attack of a lion, which sprang upon him as he was in the act of loading his gun, and so severely injured his arm between the shoulder and elbow that the bone was never firmly re-united again. The curious description he has left on record of the effect of the shock, which, without depriving him of consciousness, destroyed all sense of pain and fear while he was in the grasp of the brute, affords an interesting study of the border-land between psychology and physiology. But more significant of

the character of the man is the odd contempt with which he always spoke of lions, as on the whole sneaking and cowardly beasts, 'somewhat larger than the biggest dog,' 'partaking very strongly of the canine features,' and altogether a very much over-rated sort of an animal. He considered that our painters' 'ideas of majesty are usually shown by making their lions' faces like old women in nightcaps.' 'To talk of the majestic roar of the lion is mere majestic twaddle.' 'The silly ostrich makes a noise as loud.' We confess we have been unable to correct our prejudices in the Zoological Gardens, to which Dr. Livingstone refers us. And, as we cannot impute to him any imitation of the natives, who, when threatened by a lion, relieve their feelings by reviling the beast's character, his father and mother, and all his kith and kin, we are compelled to think that we have in such passages an illustration of the great traveller's almost morbid dread of sensationalism as a temptation of explorers.*

In addition to native wars and drought, the missionary work was hindered by a still more deadly influence through the vicinity of the Trans-Vaal Boers. These people, like many of their superiors, were convinced that they understood far better than any philanthropists, 'the proper treatment of the blacks.' This 'proper treatment,' of course, included slavery under some thin disguise, with a 'spirited policy' of blood and iron when that was resisted. On one occasion, during the absence of Livingstone on one of his numerous shorter journeys, four hundred of these ruffians attacked the settlement, and besides carrying off two hundred mission school children into slavery, destroyed large quantities of stores, tore up the missionary's library, and robbed him of his whole stock of furniture and clothing. It became abundantly clear that nothing could be done until the country to the north, from which the Boers were resolved to exclude English influence, should be opened up in spite of them.

'I do not mention these things,' says Livingstone, 'by way of making a pitiful wail over my losses, nor in order to excite commiseration; for, though I do feel sorry for the loss of lexicons, dictionaries, and so on, which had been the companions of my boyhood, yet,

* In connection with the above incident, we well remember how, when on a visit to England, he was eagerly questioned by a group of sympathetic friends as to what he was thinking of when in the lion's grasp, and how he quietly answered, that he was thinking, with a feeling of disinterested curiosity, which part of him the brute would eat first.

after all, the plundering only set me entirely free for my expedition to the north; and I have never since had a moment's concern for anything I left behind. *The Boers resolved to shut up the interior, and I determined to open the country; and we shall see who have been most successful in resolution—they or I.*

The words we have italicized illustrate not only the motives with which the great journey was undertaken, but also the temper in which it was accomplished. In Livingstone's 'natural man' there was indisputably what would be vulgarly called, 'a spice of the devil.' Or at any rate, to put it more politely, there was a good deal of what a German philosopher has called the 'demoniacal element' in human nature. He could not bear to be beaten. His blood rose at opposition; and when that opposition took the form of outrage on principles he held dear, still more of contempt for the divine hopes he cherished concerning the degraded humanity around him, his purpose became, not indeed a flaming passion, but a sort of calm* white heat of resolve, which burned and bored its way unquenched through every obstacle. That purpose was strengthened year after year by a growing conviction that neither the arts of civilized life, nor even the religion that inspired his own soul, can ever do much for Africa until legitimate commerce has supplanted the horrible traffic in human flesh and blood which is the immemorial curse of the whole continent. And though his mission was one of peace, it derived all the ardour of martial zeal from the quenchless hatred he cherished to this intolerable wrong.

Livingstone's first idea when the impracticability of missionary work in the vicinity of the Boers became apparent, was to put the Kalahari desert between himself and his unpleasant neighbours, in the hope of finding a healthy settlement beyond it. There can be little doubt that this desert, which no white man had ever crossed, and which the Bechuana themselves declared to be impassable, had done much to encourage the old notion that the unknown interior of Africa was a worthless sandy waste, in which bewildered rivers lost themselves in vain. Livingstone, however, was not to be daunted. He had in his first tentative journeys the advantage of English companions in Messrs. Oswell and Murray. He succeeded, though at considerable risk, in carrying his wife and children with him; and was rewarded with the discovery of Lake Ngami, the first instalment of the water treasures which he was to be the means of unveiling to the world. But he had no idea at that time how vast was the

river system with which this sheet of water was connected. These tentative efforts were a good discipline for the work that was to come. The Bechuana chiefs, on one pretext or another, refused him guides, and the bushmen whom he obtained ran away at a most critical time. On one occasion the oxen were four days without water. On another, his own family was in serious danger of perishing through thirst. Their bushman guide, Shobo, gave them no hope of water in less than a month. The rest of that adventure shall be told in the traveller's own language:—

'Providentially, however, we came sooner than we expected to some supplies of rain water in a chain of pools. It is impossible to convey an idea of the dreary scene on which we entered after leaving this spot. The only vegetation was a low scrub in deep sand; not a bird or insect enlivened the landscape. It was, without exception, the most uninviting prospect I ever beheld; and to make matters worse, our guide, Shobo, wandered on the second day. We coaxed him on at night, but he went to all points of the compass on the trails of elephants which had been here in the rainy season; and then would sit down in the path, and in his broken Sichuana say, "No water—all country only, Shobo sleeps; he breaks down—country only," and then coolly curl himself up and go to sleep. The oxen were terribly fatigued and thirsty, and on the morning of the fourth day, Shobo, after professing ignorance of everything, vanished altogether. We went on in the direction in which we last saw him, and about eleven o'clock began to see birds; then the trail of a rhinoceros. At this we unyoked the oxen, and they, apparently knowing the sign, rushed along to find water in the river Mahábe, which comes from the Yamunakle, and lay to the west of us. The supply of water in the waggon had been wasted by one of our servants, and by the afternoon only a small portion remained for the children. This was a bitterly anxious night; and next morning, the less there was of water, the more thirsty the little rogues became. The idea of their perishing before our eyes was terrible. It would almost have been a relief to me to have been reproached with being the entire cause of the catastrophe, but not one syllable of upbraiding was uttered by their mother, though the tearful eye told the agony within. In the afternoon of the fifth day, to our inexpressible relief, some of the men returned with a supply of that fluid of which we had never before felt the true value.'

It became clear that failing the discovery of a healthy station, the missionary must surrender the companionship of wife and children, to continue the work of exploration alone. Nor was it the character of the country only which made it difficult to obtain a settlement. One important condition

of success was that the new station should be free from the Tsetse fly, as capricious in its *habitat*, as it is destructive in its ravages. The whole insect tribe, which the Hebrews feelingly consigned to the lordship of Beelzebub, contains apparently no creature so worthy of that dark patronage as this abominable Tsetse fly. Unable to harm mankind, it strikes at civilized men through the creatures most serviceable to them and most generally honoured by their friendship. 'Not much larger than the common house fly,' its tiny jaws bring more certain death to ox, horse, or dog, than even the bite of a lion. Insidious as the great Spirit of mischief, it does not startle the ox as the gad-fly does. The poor dull brute grazes on in dumb stolidity, altogether unconscious that grim death is within the whisk of his tail. But in a little time, a few days at most, the animal seems smitten by a combination of catarrh, paralysis, and consumption. There is a running at the eyes and nose; the coat stares as though with cold; the beast is afflicted with staggering and blindness; emaciation commences; the muscles become flabby and soft as dough; the whole of the body throughout every tissue becomes a mass of disease; and a miserable death ensues. No care can guard against this plague; no medicine can meet it. Wherever it prevails, cattle become an impossible form of wealth. Happily its ravage is not unlimited; though the bounds which restrain it are as uncertain, as mysterious, and unaccountable as its powers of mischief. A district generally free from the insect may apparently have spots here and there to which it obstinately adheres. A stream only a few yards in width, and easily passable by any winged creature, forms a barrier as effective as Faust's pentagram. Nay, though numbers of the fly have been observed busily feeding on meat which was carried across such a stream, yet they never remained on that forbidden side, or if they did they lost all their power of evil. Another puzzle in the nature of this entomological paradox, is its harmlessness towards all wild beasts, however closely allied to the domestic ox; and also the immunity of the goat, the ass, and the mule. That the last should be altogether unaffected by a bite, which to the parent horse would be inevitable death, is surely one of the most curious phenomena of the organic world. But it was not as a curiosity; it was as a practical difficulty that Livingstone had to deal with the Tsetse fly. And it may perhaps share with the Boers the credit of the opposition which aroused him to the great exploit of his life.

Finding that the duration of these tenta-

tive explorations must be uncertain, he sent his wife and children to England in the spring of 1852, and in June of that year left the Cape for his great northward journey. He had already discovered that the great Zambesi River, which, according to the Portuguese conjectural maps, was placed much farther to the east, actually rolled a lordly flood not far to the northwest of Ngami Lake. His first object was to reach that river once more, and make further observations of its course. Having cattle with him, he took a new route with a view of avoiding certain Tsetse districts which had been fatal before. And this plunged him into new difficulties, which, without involving any sensational elements of danger, were such as to illustrate, better even than his defiance of the Boers, the indomitable persistency of the man. The waters of Ngami find their way through sluggish channels, which often overflow vast plains, to the Zambesi River. Thus the country through which he had to pass consisted of wide flats, ankle deep in water, and covered with thick grass reaching above the knees. Every now and then this unpleasant sort of ground was varied by deep trenches, lined or filled with reeds six or eight feet in height, often bound together into a wall of natural wattle by the climbing convolvulus, interspersed with serrated grass, which 'out the hands like a razor.' What a country was this in which to be deserted by guides, and left with companions weakened by fever, in utter ignorance of everything but that the Chobe lay somewhere to the northwest, and must be got at and crossed somehow! A precipice, a rapid river, a burning desert would present definite obstacles capable of calculation. But probably nothing could be more trying to a man's resolve than the clogging and bewildering resistance of such a soft and sloppy wilderness. Leaving the waggon, he went on with a single companion, splashed through the long swampy grass for a whole day, was brought to a halt by impassable reeds, slept in a tree, struggled next day through reeds, brambles, and papyrus, like Gulliver amongst the Brobdingnagian wheat-stalks; found all was no use, and tried an opposite direction, slept on an ant-hill, splashed for a third day through the swamp, finally found an opening to the Chobe, and coming back for a pontoon he had, launched it upon the bosom of the river. After paddling for half a day, he and his companion came upon a Makololo village, the inhabitants of which cried out, 'he has dropped among us from the clouds, yet came riding on the back of a hippopotamus!' The waggon was afterwards taken to pieces and conveyed across the river, where the party

soon found their way to the Makololo headquarters of Linyanti.

As this was Livingstone's base of operations in his great march across the continent, it deserves a word or two of remark. Its history illustrates the fluctuations of war and conquest which keep African life in perpetual uncertainty, and the character of its people affords some encouragement to philanthropy amidst the generally hideous monotony of barbarism. Sebituane, the reigning chief at the time when Ngami was discovered, but who died during a subsequent visit of Livingstone, was in many respects a remarkable man. Born some eight or nine hundred miles to the south of Zambesi, he was exposed in early life to all the vicissitudes of savage warfare; and at the same time had many opportunities of observing the advantages that were promised by friendly intercourse with white races. Gathering a band of warriors around him he fought his way northward to a settlement among the Bakwain. Here, however, the Boers and the Matabele, an exceedingly warlike branch of the Zulu family, alternately fell upon him; and at length he was forced to take the desperate resolve of crossing the Kalahari Desert with his followers. On a second attempt, after twice suffering the loss of all his cattle, which broke away in the madness of thirst, he succeeded in reaching the Zambesi country. Here the Batoka, under pretence of helping him across the river, endeavoured to separate his party, and leave them to perish on uninhabited islands. Sebituane, however, politely insisted on the honour of the island chief's company until the whole party was safely across; and then provoked, not unwillingly, by hostile manifestations, fell upon the Batoka, and subdued them. Here the Matabele, under the renowned warrior Mosilikatse, attacked him once more, and captured all his women and his cattle. Nothing daunted, he reinforced himself, pursued the victorious enemy, and returned triumphant with the recovery of his people and his property. Anticipating Livingstone, he now formed the design of following the great river into the country of the white men. Sharing the first Napoleon's confidence in the power of artillery, he believed that if he could only obtain a cannon, he would be secure of peace. It is curious to find the barbarism of civilization thus reproduced in the groping of barbarism towards civilization. Neither the 'whiff of grape-shot,' which blew away the French Revolution, nor the paradoxical maxim, '*Si vis pacem para bellum*,' had ever been reported to this African magnate. But both the precedent and the maxim were embodied in his policy as stu-

diously as if he had been educated in the War Office, or in the circles of civilized diplomacy. Nor was there wanting the semblance of those supernatural blessings, for the sake of which a State church is supposed to be established. For Sebituane was warned from the eastward migration he had proposed, by a prophet, who, in the ecstasy of afflatus, exclaimed, pointing down the river, 'There, I behold a fire: it is a fire that may scorch thee. The gods say, go not thither.' Then pointing westward, the same prophet said:—

'I see a city and nation of black men—men of the water; their cattle are red; thine own tribe, Sebituane is perishing, and will be all consumed; thou wilt govern black men; and when thy warriors have captured red cattle, let not the owners be killed; they are thy future tribe; they are thy city; let them be spared to cause thee to build. And thou, Ramosinii, thy village will perish utterly. If Mokari removes from that village he will perish first, and thou, Ramosinii, wilt be the last to die.'

These personal predictions were curiously fulfilled in the course of a fresh attack by the Matabele; and after repelling this fresh invasion so effectually that Mosilikatse did not dare to renew it, Sebituane naturally enough followed the advice which seemed to be grounded on supernatural information. He established himself at Linyanti, and consolidated a strong dominion, extending over some five degrees of latitude and longitude in the very heart of Southern Africa. When he died, his son Sekeletu being only a youth, the chieftainship devolved upon a daughter. But she does not seem to have been educated up to the modern doctrines of woman's rights. Her position debarred her from an ordinary marriage, and gave her little satisfaction. In a three days' debate she stoutly maintained the claims of her brother; and ending in a passion of unqueenly tears, she cried, 'I have been a chief only because my father wished it. I always would have preferred to be married and have a family like other women. You, Sekeletu, must be chief, and build up your father's house.' This Sekeletu was Livingstone's loyal friend and supporter during the eventful years that followed.

Nothing could have been more fortunate, or to speak with more reverent faith, nothing could have been more providential than the establishment of this Makololo dominion. It had destroyed a system of river piracy which would have made the great journey impossible. It had ensured a friendly reception throughout several hundred miles up and down the stream. The Makololo aristocracy, like the Normans in England, infused

something of their vigour and enterprise into the tribes whom they incorporated with themselves. And Sebituane's sagacious desire for intercourse and commerce with white races—a desire which neither the brutality of Boers, nor the prophetic warning of a fire in the East could eradicate—had descended to Sekeletu, and was shared by the whole of the tribe. Moreover, the vicissitudes of a wandering and warlike life had made these men more susceptible to discipline, and less fearful of the unknown than most of their sable brethren. Above all, they were as yet at least comparatively uncontaminated by slave dealers. And their frank confidence in the goodness of their white friend's purposes, even when they could not altogether understand them, did as much honour to their own intuition of character, as it did to the inspiring power of his deep human sympathies.

An excursion up the course of the Zambezi, called here the Liambai, discovered only a country continually exposed to inundations, against which the native Barotse protected themselves by raising their villages on mounds. The innumerable and generally sluggish streams, without any banks to speak of, looked like the last stage in the retirement of a great deluge. And this indeed suggests the theory which Sir Roderick Murchison had already formed, and which Livingstone verified, concerning the more recent physical history of Central Africa. But however interesting in a geological point of view, this state of things was not favourable to the establishment of a mission station.

'I had thus a fair excuse, if I had chosen to avail myself of it, of coming home and saying that "the door was shut," because the Lord's time was not yet come. But believing that it was my duty to devote some portion of my life to these (to me at least) very confiding and affectionate Makololo, I resolved to follow out the second part of my plan now that I had failed in accomplishing the first. The Leeba seemed to come from the N. and by W., or N.N.W.; so, having an old Portuguese map, which pointed out the Coanza as rising from the middle of the continent in nine degrees south latitude, I thought it probable that when we had ascended the Leeba (from 14° 11') two or three degrees, we should then be within one hundred and twenty miles of the Coanza, and find no difficulty in following it down to the coast near Loanda. This was the logical deduction; but, as is the case with many a plausible theory, one of the premises was decidedly defective. The Coanza, as we afterwards found, does not come from anywhere near the centre of the country.'

There was another reason why such an expedition should be hastened. Although, as we have said, the Makololo were as yet

comparatively uncorrupted by the slave trade, there were signs that this would not long continue to be the case. Touters of that vile traffic, Arabs from Zanzibar, and Mambari from Bihé and the West, had already met in this central region. Livingstone's influence was quite sufficient to hinder their business for the present. But he knew well enough that nothing less than the establishment of legitimate commerce would neutralize the leaven of wickedness. The Makololo themselves were quite as anxious as he was for the accomplishment of his design, and for very much the same reason. The Mambari cheated them in the miserable prices paid for ivory; and they wanted to ascertain for themselves how prices ruled at the coast. Accordingly, a town's meeting was called to consider the subject. This is only one of many incidents which show how simply and confidently Livingstone was in the habit of throwing himself upon the sympathies of the people.

'In these assemblies great freedom of speech is allowed; and on this occasion one of the old diviners said, "Where is he taking you? This white man is throwing you away. Your garments already smell of blood." It is curious to observe how much identity of character appears all over the world. This man was a noted croaker. He always dreamed something dreadful in every expedition, and was certain that an eclipse or comet betokened the propriety of flight. But Sebituane formerly set his visions down to cowardice, and Sekeletu only laughed at him now. The general voice was in my favour; so a band of twenty-seven were appointed to accompany me to the West. These men were not hired, but sent to enable me to accomplish an object as much desired by the chief and most of his people as by me.'

Two plagues were to be avoided on the route—the Tsetse fly and the slave-dealer. This twofold condition prevented the adoption of the shortest route to the sea. Accordingly, the course of the Liambai and then of the Leeba was followed as far as the watershed between Central and Western Africa. Then the Coango, flowing in a wide valley between high lands, was crossed, Angola was reached, and the rest of the journey was comparatively easy. The different sections of that journey, and the main features of the country are now so familiar to us, that we are liable to forget how entirely unknown at that time was the greater part of the land through which the little band of explorers had to pass. After they had once passed the borders of the Makololo domain, they had to feel their way from village to village, throwing themselves generally on the good faith of the inhabitants, and trusting for general direction to the

course of rivers and to astronomical observations. But it is not our purpose to recount the incidents of this exploit. Our aim has been to show how the work that made this man so justly famous grew out of the noble nature of his soul. And if we have at all succeeded in this we care not, while, as it were, standing by his open tomb, to catalogue the scientific results of his discoveries. We are anxious mainly to note how the same manly faith, sturdy independence, and large human heart, which had been his only armour hitherto, sustained the vigour of his purpose to the end.

The length of the journey from Linyanti to Loanda by the route adopted was about 1,200 miles. The start was made on November 11th, 1853, and the coast was reached in June, 1854. Seven months seem a long time for such a distance. But a traveller who at every step has to allay the suspicions, or overcome the hostility, or circumvent the caprices of natives to whom he appears like a vision from another world, is necessarily liable to vexatious delays. In these days of elaborate and expensive explorations, supported by armies of attendants, it sounds almost incredible, but it is true, that the whole amount of currency which Livingstone took with him on this journey, for the purpose of paying his way, was twenty pounds of beads, worth forty shillings. For the supply of food to his party, he generally relied on his rifle; but it must be confessed he was put to great straits before he arrived at his destination. 'I had always found,' he says, 'that the art of successful travel consisted in taking as few "impedimenta" as possible, and not forgetting to carry my wits about me.' 'I had a secret conviction,' he adds, 'that if I did not succeed it would not be for lack of the "nick-nacks" advertised as indispensable for travellers, but from want of "pluck," or because a large array of baggage excited the cupidity of the tribes through whose country we wished to pass.' In this light marching order, the expedition descended the Chobe in canoes to the confluence with the Liambai (Zambesi). Then turning up stream they followed the river to about lat. 13 S. Here they entered a tributary called the Leeba, which comes from a north-westerly direction, while the main river is found flowing round an abrupt bend from the east. This tributary was followed up to Lake Dilolo (lat. 11, 30 S.), from which it issues; and which was found to be situated on the watershed between Western and Central Africa. This is a point of great interest, for, taken in connection with other observations, it led the traveller to the surmise that the whole south-

ern continent might be divided longitudinally into three districts—a central plateau, guarded by ridges of moderate height, having on either hand two strips of coast land with river systems of their own clearly distinguishable, though now enriched by the waters of the centre. This central plateau looks like the bed of an immense inland sea, of which the remaining lakes are remnants, and the river-courses the drains. At any rate, the bottom of any shallow pond, when emptied by a sluice, presents in its oozy banks of mud, separated by sluggish rills and interspersed with little pools, a miniature semblance of the impression made on our minds by the descriptions Livingstone and others have given of the watery regions of Central Africa.

It was after passing this watershed that the expedition was exposed to imminent danger by an ill-mannered and inhospitable tribe—the Chiboque—who had been exposed to slave-dealing influences, and who, with a formula to which Livingstone soon became accustomed, demanded 'a man, an ox, a gun, powder, cloth, or a shell.' By a skilful arrangement, quietly carried out, he obtained an interview with the chiefs, who were forthwith surrounded by the Makololo. 'I then said,' he continues, 'that as one thing after another had failed to satisfy them, it was evident that *they* wanted to fight, while *we* only wanted to pass peaceably through their country; that they must begin first, and bear their guilt before God: we would not fight till they had struck the first blow. I then sat silent for some time. It was rather trying for me, because I knew that the Chiboque would aim at the white man first; but I was careful not to appear flurried, and, having four barrels ready for instant action, looked quietly at the savage scene around.' It need scarcely be added that the Chiboque saw fit to accept a compromise, and the expedition went on its way rejoicing. And this is only one out of a number of cases which might be selected, did space permit, to illustrate the combination of reasonableness, sympathy, and persistent firmness, by which David Livingstone pushed his way unharmed through the stolidity of ignorant opposition. His policy was a practical comment on St. Peter's words, 'So is the will of God, that with well-doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men.'

After a somewhat lengthened stay in Loanda, where the Makololo supported themselves by a trade in firewood, and showed considerable aptitude for business, the expedition set out on the return journey, taking generally the same route. At one point, however, in crossing the ridge

between the western and the central land a detour was made, which, if it had been carried far enough, would have brought Livingstone to the verge, if not into the very midst of all his latest discoveries. From Cabango, the most northerly point of this detour in the return journey, a month's march E.N.E. would have brought him to the capital of Matiamvo's dominion, or as Schweinfurth calls it, 'the half mythical empire of Mwata-Yanvo.' This appears to be the largest kingdom in Central Africa, not excepting that of the Monbutto. Matiamvo is described by Livingstone himself as paramount chief of all Loanda;* and this, according to Stanley's information, extends to Lake Tanganyika. Thus, had the former been able to reach Matiamvo's capital from the west, he might have obtained at that early date all the information in pursuit of which he has now lost his life. But this was not to be. He considered himself, for the time, in the services of the Makololo tribe. The difficulties of procuring food by the way had proved greater than he had anticipated. And though he had drawn £70 in Loanda, so much had already been expended in repairing losses and making provision for an immediate return to Linyanti, that he was unwilling to expose his faithful companions to the perils of an enlarged exploration. He therefore made his way back again to the Leeba River, and so down the stream to the Makololo country once more.

A great meeting was immediately called. And the party who had been nearly two years away from home had great wonders to relate. They had been to the end of the world; and had come back safely. 'We marched along with our father,' they said, 'believing that what the ancients had always told us was true; that the world has no end; but all at once the world said to us "I am finished; there is no more of me."'" This was their description of the first sight of the sea. 'They had seen the white man charming their demons.' This was their impression of a ritualistic service in the Cathedral of Loanda. So charmed were they with the issue of their adventure that there was no lack of volunteers for a journey down the Zambesi to the eastern sea.

In November, 1855, the remaining half of the march across the continent was commenced, a distance of about a thousand miles. This time 200 men were furnished for the expedition, all of them volunteers, or provided at the expense of Sekeletu. On Livingstone's mention of his inability to pay

attendants, the chief's step-father said, 'A man wishes, of course, to appear among his friends after a long absence with something of his own to show; the whole of the ivory in the country is yours; so you must take as much as you can, and Sekeletu will furnish men to carry it.' This voluntary aid of the natives, given from a grateful appreciation of his motives, and from a really pathetic confidence in his wish and his power to serve them, gives a higher interest in a philanthropic point of view to this first exploration than to either of the two journeys which the great traveller afterwards undertook. Civilization can do little for barbarism unless it succeeds in arousing the interest of the natives themselves in the possibility of a higher life. And Livingstone's brightest laurel consists in the success with which he inspired these men with his own enthusiasm for their improvement. The journey down to the east coast need not detain us. Its most sensational incident was the discovery of the Victoria Falls, properly Mosyoatunya (sounding smoke). But these falls are now so familiar, from sketches and descriptions, that nothing need be said of their wonders here. Another and perhaps more important feature of this eastern travel was the confirmation of Sir Roderick Murchison's theory of Central Africa, by the discovery of the remaining boundary of the central plateau, in a moderately elevated ridge through which the Zambesi finds its way at Zumbo. A section across the whole continent giving the heights observed by Livingstone at various points makes the general construction clear. Thus the level of the central plateau seems to be for the most part about 2,500 feet above the sea. The ground rolls up east and west to about 5,000 feet, and thence rapidly descends to the flat and malarious coasts.

Certain tribes, at war with the Portuguese settlement, threatened to bring the expedition to a violent end; but Livingstone's usual frankness and firmness, as before, overcame their opposition, and turned them into friends. Thus he arrived safely at Quilimane, having traversed the whole continent of Southern Africa without having to fire a single shot in self-defence. So devoted was the confidence of his native attendants, that several of them wished to adventure themselves with him across the terrible sea. One only, the head man, Sekwebu was selected, and he unfortunately came to a tragic end. The almost supernatural wonders of an English man-of-war were too much for him, and turned his brain. As they went in the boat across the bar, where the waves were unfortunately rolling to a terrific height, and threaten-

* Cf. map of Livingstone's route across Africa.

ing every moment to swamp them, poor Sekwebu kept asking Livingstone, 'Is this the way you go, my father, is this the way you go?' Shortly afterwards, he showed symptoms of insanity; and as Livingstone was averse to having him confined in irons, he soon afterwards threw himself into the sea. What a power must this traveller have attained over the native heart and mind, when the novelties of the new world to which he was leading them might destroy their sanity, but could not shake their confidence in him!

The remainder of Livingstone's work in Africa was a continuance of the same great design to dry up the sources of the slave traffic, and to open up the interior of Africa to the educational influences of Christian civilization. The Zambesi and Shire mission, melancholy as many of its attendant circumstances were, did at any rate open up the course of the latter river, together with its head-waters Nyassa and Shirwa. Besides, it enabled Livingstone to keep faith with his Makololo friends, who had steadfastly awaited his return in the town of Tete. Numbers of them had died of small-pox, and six had been murdered by a neighbouring chief. But his return to Linyanti with the remainder served to deepen the path that had been made; and notwithstanding the great and dread sacrifices by which the first steps of humane enterprise are commonly sanctified, we cannot believe that the sufferings and losses which we have to mourn in the Zambesi district will be allowed to close against civilization the lands so bravely opened up. Livingstone himself was struck by a terrible blow in the loss of his wife, who came out to join him, and died very shortly after her arrival. He was also blamed, though surely without sufficient consideration, because for the first, and as we believe the only time, he allowed himself to be embroiled with the natives, and involved Bishop Mackenzie in hostilities. Yet when the occasion is remembered, the passage of a slave coffin, consisting of manacled men, women with babes in their arms, and miserable children tottering with wretchedness and fatigue, who can wonder at the sudden indignation which sent the coward drivers flying into the bush? Of the judicious critics who condemn, the worst we wish to say is that, had they been present, they also would have found the common maxim reversed, and valour become the better part of prudence.

Returning from this survey of the Zambesi valley in 1864, Livingstone was encouraged by Sir Roderick Murchison and the Geographical Society to make Zanzibar the base of new operations, the object of which

was to explore the neighbourhood of the still shadowy Tanganyika Lake. While all are awaiting the unsealing of those papers which will be like a voice from the dead, it would be almost an impertinence were we to attempt any estimate of the value of those later labours which have ended in the explorer's death. In April, 1866, he commenced the ascent of the Rovuma River, the sources of which are in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyassa. He was attended by thirty men, twelve of whom were sepoys, and the remainder principally Johanna men from the Comoro Islands. Out of the whole thirty there seem to have been only two, Susi and Chumah, who proved faithful, and these appear to have come from the banks of the Zambesi. To the last of these it is that we owe the melancholy tidings sent us in the beginning of this year. The country along the Rovuma is dense forest, and almost every step had to be cleared by the axe. The sepoys proved lazy, discontented, and useless. They were, therefore, speedily sent back. Near the Lake Nyassa, the Johanna men, alarmed at warlike rumours from the interior, deserted in a body, and carried back that lying report of their leader's death, the falsehood of which, though confidently affirmed by Murchison, was not satisfactorily proved for a considerable time. During the two years and a-half in which he was completely cut off from the outer world, Livingstone was laboriously perambulating a hitherto unknown region, amazingly rich in lakes and streams, and more varied than the Zambesi country by mountain heights. He found that the Chambezi River, which at first he took for the head waters of Zambezi, emptied itself into Lake Bangweolo (lat. 12 S. long. 28 E.), a sheet of water guarded by lofty mountains from all access to the south or west. He discovered that the drainage of this lake was northwards, by a stream, the Luapala, which fell into another lake (Moero) about lat. 8 S. He then found the southern end of Tanganyika, and passing through the country of the Unyamwezi, he arrived in Ujiji in March, 1869. In June of that year, after despatching the letters that finally relieved our apprehensions for his safety, he crossed Tanganyika, and entered a country scarcely known except by vague report even to the Arabs. Here he ascertained that Bangweolo and Moero were but the first of a long chain of lakes connected by streams, the course of which was always towards the north. Two of these he appears to have visited, and he was within a few miles of a third (about lat. 3 S.), when the refusal of his attendants to go any further compelled him to retrace his steps to Ujiji. Arriving in October, 1871,

with the confident expectation of obtaining the supplies of which he was grievously in need, he was dismayed to find that the wretched Arab who had his goods in charge had given him up for lost, and sold everything. When we remember the terrible toils of this weary journey, during a part of which he suffered agonies from ulcers in his feet, when we bear in mind the disappointment of his forced return, and the expectations that sustained his spirit during the march of 700 miles back to Ujiji, we cannot wonder that for once Livingstone gave way to some bitterness of feeling at what he believed to be the perverse mismanagement which had committed his supplies to untrustworthy hands. But it is only just to his old friend and companion, Dr. Kirk, to remember that before his death, Dr. Livingstone, with the generosity that never failed him, expressed himself as better satisfied with the explanations given.

It would be beside our purpose to offer any judgment on the miscarriage of the Livingstone relief expedition from England. But we will not withhold our tribute of grateful remembrance from the man who anticipated the traveller's own countrymen, and who, despising all timid counsels, plunged headlong into the wilderness, and evading or forcing his way through tribes inflamed by war, reached Ujiji at the very moment when Livingstone was desolate and despairing. Look at it in what light we may, no carping criticism ought to prevent our acknowledgment that the conception and the execution of the *New York Herald* expedition originated in a generous thought, and culminated in a splendid achievement. Relief came just at the moment when it was most needed, and if fortune had anything to do with this we are bound to remember that fortune favours the brave.

For any satisfactory or indeed intelligible information concerning the brief period of activity which was yet in reserve, we must wait until the publication of the papers, which we trust are safe. The voyage taken in Stanley's company round the northern shore of Tanganyika settled in the negative the question of a possible outlet there; and as fresh water lakes must have an outlet somewhere, Tanganyika remains still a puzzle to geographers, unless indeed the solution is contained in the papers so anxiously expected. All we can gather is that the persistently northward flow of the great water system he had observed led Livingstone to conjecture that he was near the real sources of the Nile, and encouraged in him the hope that by the discovery of the fountains mentioned by Herodotus he might add one more illus-

tration to the many that have been given of the careful accuracy with which the 'father of history' selected his sources of information. Whether he succeeded or not we cannot tell. In April or May of last year he seems to have been returning from a circuit round Lake Bangweolo; and through the effects of a long march over swampy ground, he was seized with the dysentery, which put an end to his earthly labours.

As we review this long career of heroic devotion and splendid discovery, we repeat that the nobility of the character arrests our attention even more than the greatness of the work. We believe that the story of that life, if simply recorded by a loving hand, will be rich in moral inspirations more precious to humanity than any enlargement of physical knowledge. Self-forgotful devotion to a great mission is not so common in any age that we can afford to make light of its illustrious examples. There is a great deal of sentimental benevolence in our time; nor is this to be altogether despised. Not unfrequently, too, we have bright conspicuous instances of self-denying enthusiasm in the pursuit of some special branch of knowledge. But the loyalty to God which is simply content to be an insignificant link in the chain of His eternal purpose, the largeness of heart which feels in the growing destinies of humanity the highest indications of that purpose, the generosity of sympathy which finds in the outcast or the barbarian the nearest brotherhood, the calm judgment which apportions means to ends, and the quenchless ardour which no slow delays can damp—these are not qualities commonly found in union; and when they do meet in one man, as they did in David Livingstone, they make the true hero. His career, if read aright, should teach the world that religion is not a speciality of dogmas and ceremonies, but a great sanctifying influence, catholic enough to embrace all forms of fruitful labour, and intense enough to touch them all with the peculiar energy of inspiration. The charm wielded by his manly frankness, his reasonableness, his firmness in intercourse with barbarous races, ought to be a lesson to the nation, which so often has to feel ashamed of petty victories over savage tribes. His faith in humanity, notwithstanding the falsehoods and treasons to which he was often exposed, is a rebuke to the lisping misanthropy by which our golden youth signify their sense of their own importance. And while his discernment of Africa's real needs condemns the futile dream of a civilization that should consist mainly in chapels and hymn-books, the triumph of his hardy and loving soul over both savage man

and untamed nature revives afresh our ancient confidence in the supremacy of spiritual power. Familiar already in our mouths as household words, the name of David Livingstone, with all its heroic associations, will, we believe, be amongst the noblest and most inspiring traditions which this generation contributes to the future of the world.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TRAVELS.

The Constitutional History of England. By W. Stubbs. Vol. I. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Professor Stubbs crowns his twenty years' labours on the history of our country by the most important treatise on English constitutional history that has appeared since Kemble's 'Saxons in England,' in 1849. The difference between the two works measures the advance historical study has made in the intervening quarter of a century. Kemble was imaginative, Mr. Stubbs is critical; Kemble abounded with hypotheses, Mr. Stubbs has a Newtonian horror of them; the 'Saxons in England' had consequently a fascinating, though deceptive symmetry—the 'Constitutional History' is, in its earlier parts, full of *lacuna*. With these negative virtues, Mr. Stubbs' work contains all the additional facts that have been unearthed by recent explorers; and it exhibits the old facts and the new alike purged by criticism, clarified by an application of the comparative method not hitherto possible, and thus clothed with a meaning they never had before. This first volume closes with the epoch made by the Great Charter. No period could have been so fitly chosen. Magna Charta marks the point in the history of the State that the Reformation does in that of the Church—its separation from the European State-system, just as the latter was the separation of the Church from the Catholic ecclesiastical system. As before 1532 there was no English Church, so till 1215 there was no English nation. John, Mr. Stubbs tells us, was the first English monarch who styled himself *Rex Anglia*, and no longer only *Rex Anglorum*; he might have added that in the year of Magna Charta, and indeed till long after, the French king is still *Francorum Rex*—there was yet no *French* nation. But though the 'differentiation' of the European secular unity thus reached a decisive stage in the thirteenth century, the dominant pervading feudalism (and the antecedents of that) had large local variations, which make a constitutional history of each country necessary before complete detachment has taken place. For example, Mr. Stubbs properly points out that while the substitution of the Frankish for the Anglo-Saxon tenure of land was a result of the Norman conquest, the organization of govern-

ment on feudal principles did not equally follow. If France is taken as the type of feudalism in government, the government of England was certainly not feudal. Nothing gives so clear an idea of this as actual examination of the ordonnances. Two facts may be taken as typical. Philip Augustus, departing in 1190 for the Holy Land, left a testament, which contains minute regulations for the management of his own seignories, but not a word about his kingdom. We also learn from the fact that the archives of the kingdom were lost at the battle of Bellefoge, in 1194, that the French kings carried the titles of their own crown with them to war. The inference from both facts is that the monarchy was still only a feudal lordship, and the 'kingdom' an aggregate of fiefs. But more than a century before England had been welded into, at least, a governmental unity.

Mr. Stubbs has been unusually thorough in his treatment of the ecclesiastical *origines* of our history—at any rate as compared with previous writers. This is one of the directions in which much may yet be done to elucidate the laws of historical evolution; and perhaps Mr. Stubbs' account of the development of the kingly powers would have been more satisfactory if he had realized the fact, which he partly sees, that the king is originally the descendant and deputy of the tribal god; that in his administration of justice and his presidency in council he is the agent, armed with the sanctions, of that god; and that the consolidation of royalty runs parallel with the process of sublimation in the conceptions of the Deity. Mr. Stubbs is also very impartial. No one would have expected the author of 'Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum' to cut away the foundations of the High Church theory of the parish. He clearly shows (p. 85) that the assumption of 'hereditary High Churchmen'—that the parish was 'ecclesiastical in its origin and intention'—is a delusion. The primitive township has two alternative forms—as a body of alodial owners, or as a body of tenants of a lord—which are both secular. Impartiality is the virtue of which we are most exigent in a constitutional historian; and Mr. Stubbs' truly great work will rank in this, as in all other respects, with 'Hallam,' as an historical classic.

The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish. By EUGENE O'CURRY. With an Introduction by W. K. SULLIVAN. Three Vols. Williams and Norgate.

The late Professor O'Curry's lectures will prove a mine of wealth to the antiquarian, the historian, and all who are interested in any special department of history, but especially to the sociologist. The manuscript treasures in which Ireland is rich, have been at last unlocked, and a flood of light is thrown back on the whole of Irish history; on Irish laws, usages, and superstitions; and on political, social, and ecclesiastical organizations. As Ireland is the only branch of the Celtic race which never came under the direct influence of ancient Rome, and was thus allowed to follow its own laws of development, the study of its evolution will probably yield unexpected and precious

results. Many of these are noted, and their full significance appreciated by President Sullivan, in the remarkable work which he too modestly styles an 'Introduction.' Mr. Sullivan is known to the world as a distinguished chemist, and to students as an ardent philologist, but in this volume he appears as a sociologist of no mean powers of generalization. Applying the comparative method to Irish history, his researches necessarily range over a field equally great in extent and depth. The materials for comparison are drawn from nearly all the primitive European peoples, and the things compared include ethnological kinship and language, the nature of the tribal union and the gradations of rank, the origin of towns, political assemblies, and fairs, industry, the structure of the houses and the connection of that with the family bond, habits and customs, food, dress and armour, weapons and implements, and finally music. The whole social organization is thus embraced, and every part of it is expounded with the knowledge of a specialist, and at the same time with philosophic insight. As the result of his inquiries into ancient Irish history Mr. Sullivan believes himself to have proved that the general organization of society in Gaul and Britain before the Christian era was substantially the same as in Germany. Philologists have demonstrated not only that the Celtic, and Teutonic, languages have sprung from the same stock, but that at no very remote period they may have been closely identical. Ethnologists have lately established that Celts and Teutons belong alike to the fair-haired dolichocephalic type. Mr. Sullivan now appears to complete the proof of primitive identity by showing that the social structure too of both was fundamentally the same. He scatters to the winds the assertions of undoubting Henri Martin, to the effect that community of property originally distinguished Gauls from Germans. He shows that feudalism developed itself on Irish as on French soil, and, indeed, was only the natural sequence of the clan-system. Towns he rightly makes to take their rise, as well in Ireland as on the Continent, out of rude forts under which the *pugus* got shelter, and explains their arrested development in Ireland by physical circumstances, and the unsettled condition of the country. Houses, alike in Ireland and Gaul, were indeed aggregated in small groups, but there was no community of wives, or in the manner of living. In the nations of northern Europe the custom of sleeping in the same room was universally prevalent—a custom which accounts for many of the primitive marriage usages; but as towns grew up separate sleeping-places for the sexes were provided in the houses of the higher classes in France and Germany, and a similar change Mr. Sullivan traces in the households of the ancient Irish. The identity extends even to food: smoke-cured hams and a peculiar kind of puddings were common to Roman Gaul and Ireland; and Gauls, Germans, and Irish all mixed honey with their ale and other drinks. The Irish *cochal*, or mantle, was the Gallo-Roman *cucullus*; the Irish *barréd*, or cap, is etymologically akin to German, French,

Spanish, and Italian words; the primitive shoe was among all the European peoples simply cut out of the green hide, and fastened on while fresh so as to take the mould of the foot as it dried. Primitive armour was also alike, and it is significant in this reference of the slower rate of social change in Ireland that wood does not appear to have ever replaced osier to the same extent in Ireland as in Gaul and Germany. Fairs, too, were universally identical in origin, purpose, laws, and uses. They originated in funeral games celebrated in honour of some distinguished chief or warrior, and were always held near his tomb or (in Christian times) in cemeteries. There peace was proclaimed, new laws promulgated and old laws rehearsed, and the warlike deeds of the illustrious dead recounted; dancing, music, recitation of poetry, feats of arms, athletic sports, horse-racing, and jugglery were part of its essential business; and it was, lastly, a great market for all kinds of ware and produce. The volume closes with an elaborate study on the history of music, and here we may particularly direct attention to the revolution in music initiated by Protestantism, in which the transformation of polyphonus music into true harmonic music, finally effected under the influence of the opera, is described with great knowledge and insight. These three volumes, as our rapid analysis may have shown, possess such merits as are not to be observed in any recent historical work, and we only fulfil a plain duty in recommending them emphatically to our readers.

History of Two Queens: 1. *Catharine of Arragon*; 2. *Ann Boleyn*. By WILLIAM HEPWORTH DIXON. Vols. III. and IV. Hurst and Blackett.

Mr. Dixon's conception of his monograph is a very good one. About Catharine and Ann Boleyn most of the interest of the preliminary stages of the Reformation gather; and the history has not before been told at such great length and with such minuteness of detail as by Mr. Dixon. The true causes and meanings of national events are often more exactly brought out by a historian who places himself at secondary centres than by one who tries to find a centre for the entire movement; that is, ostensible causes are not always real ones, and public events have often very private and even ignoble inspirations. That Henry VIII. was largely influenced in his policy towards Rome, by his domestic history and his amorous passions, and especially by the tortuous dealing of Clement with the question of his divorce, has generally been admitted. Romanists have persistently affirmed that this was the ignoble cause of the entire English Reformation. This, if not the assertion of ignorance, is clearly that of blind polemical passion. Mr. Dixon makes it clear, as most historians have done before him, that this was only one element, entering into larger principles and necessities of State policy. The primary political cause of Henry's defection was the base treachery of Ferdinand of Spain and the unprincipled and tricky policy of the Popes Clement V. and Paul III. Scarcely anything in history is more

villainous than the treatment which a high-minded young monarch like Henry received at the hands of the crafty and unscrupulous Ferdinand, who was intriguing for a secret and separate treaty with France, at the very time he was inciting his ally Henry to prosecute a war with it, in which he was left unaided. If the enormous length at which in his former volumes, Mr. Dixon treated Spanish politics can be justified at all to historical art, it is that it reveals so fully the treachery which by exasperating Henry against Ferdinand naturally lessened his affection for Catharine, who was the faithful instrument of her father's policy. No doubt personal passions soon intermingled with political resentment, and the motives and feelings that impelled Henry became very complex.

The way in which Mr. Dixon has told his story is another matter. He has been commendably diligent in the investigation of authorities, and has made use of much hitherto unused material. His narrative too in these latter volumes has been collected between its proper banks from the wide marshy surface over which it spreads and flows, with tolerable steadiness, although still with a copiousness that would make the science of history impossible even to a Methuselah. The vices of Mr. Dixon's style too are considerably lessened. Its incongruities and tumidness are reduced, although these qualities are so inherent in Mr. Dixon's literary habit that they escape severe criticism only by comparison. What, for instance, in a grave history are we to think of such rhodomontade as this. Speaking of Francis I. Mr. Dixon says, 'A dream of stone was floating in his head, soon afterwards to be smitten into fact at Chenonceux. A dauphin having come to pacify his heart, he could afford to hunt and build, to *jest and rhyme*.' Mr. Dixon avoids dullness by such devices. He projects his readers onwards as the Arabs help upwards unfortunate climbers of the Great Pyramid; borrowing a leaf from his own book, we might say he propels them from a catapult, but he entirely sacrifices his credit for that cautious, measured exactness which is the prime quality of a trustworthy historian; and his individual portraiture and composition pictures are like his style; proportion and harmony are everywhere violated, colours are laid on too thickly, contrasts are so violent as to destroy moral probability. We cannot, for example, accept his portraits, either of Henry or of Ann Boleyn. The moral nobleness of Henry's youth, and the physical attractiveness and intellectual power of Ann are alike exaggerated. Mr. Dixon is incapable of delicate shading: if a warm flesh colour is required he puts on thick rouge; if a sombre shade, he dips his pencil in Indian ink, and produces the raw contrasts of an ill-toned photograph. There is no naturalness in either his combination of qualities or his moral developments. His chapters are stage scenes, often with a great deal of information put into a small space, but rounded off into a kind of melodramatic completeness, often abruptness, which makes his narrative a series of panoramic views rather

than a philosophic development of historic cause and effect. Strong contrasts there are in nature, both in individual characters and in successive phases of history. Mr. Dixon's defect as a historian is not in presenting these, but in his inability to refrain from so exaggerating them, as that continuousness and development are lost. We feel, not that we are looking at men and women as they act and feel in actual life, but as the drama represents them, in which a certain intensity is necessary for stage effect. Much, too, that Mr. Dixon tells us is necessarily his own conception of the feelings and motives of different personages, and he does not inspire confidence in the delicacy and truth of his conceptions. We might justify these criticisms by the test of any one of Mr. Dixon's principal characters—Ferdinand or Henry, Charles V. or Francis I., Catharine or Ann Boleyn, Wolsey or Cranmer; but we must content ourselves with their assertion. These qualities, however, give great vivacity to the book. Its details sometimes run into tediousness, but as a whole it is as interesting as a panorama, often as a romance; and Mr. Dixon clearly deserves credit for laborious research and painstaking. We cannot help thinking, however, that his undoubtedly great literary ability would have been more successfully exercised in the domain of fiction than in that of history.

History of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots.

Translated from the original and unpublished MS. of Professor Petit. By CHARLES DE FLANDRE, F.S.A., Professor of French Language and Literature in Edinburgh. Two Vols. Longmans, Green, and Co.

The character of Mary Stuart seems just now to be more fiercely debated than at any time during the last century and a half. The elaborate indictments of M. Mignet, Herr von Raumer, Mr. Froude, and Mr. Hill Burton, have been met by the passionate defences of Miss Strickland, Mr. Hosack, and Professor Petit. The question seems to ripen periodically for a formal critical judgment, and is clearly approaching another issue, to which great contributions have been made in the diligent investigation of documentary evidence, contained in national archives now made accessible in both France and England. We do not pretend to any adjudication here, although Mr. Hosack and Professor Petit will probably deem us very obtuse and prejudiced if we say that we remain unconvinced, notwithstanding their elaborate pleadings. We must content ourselves, however, with the humbler function of indicating the character of Professor Petit's elaborate polemic, which fills two large octavo volumes. His translator thinks that the work will 'help to remove all doubt as to the innocence of the much-abused Mary Stuart.' The author has evidently laboured most patiently and conscientiously at his task. 'For more than ten years,' he tells us he has 'sought for and read every page on the subject which chance put in his way.' He has, we think, done more than this, he has not depended upon reading the things that chance put in his way,

he has 'ransacked the libraries of Paris, London, and Edinburgh,' has had 'many unpublished letters and manuscripts copied,' and is 'sure that he has forgotten no weighty documents.' The Empress Eugenie has encouraged him, and Mr. David Laing has helped him. He entered upon his task a believer in Mary's guilt. When he was convinced by his researches of her innocence of all the crimes of which history has accused her, he burnt his manuscripts and began afresh. Every statement is justified by exact and ample references. And yet this is not all that is essential to a right judgment. In the first place we have not discovered as the result of all this research a single presentation of fresh materials for a judgment. The defence consists solely of the interpretations put upon materials already familiar. Next, the religious animus is as apparent as it is in the work of Miss Strickland. A strong Roman Catholic, M. Petit produces the impression of a man fighting for a faith. It is not the first time that members of that church have committed the enormous blunder of identifying their cause with worthless champions of it. As by Miss Strickland, Elizabeth's treatment of Mary is accentuated and exaggerated into harshness, while an ominous silence is maintained respecting Mary's treachery to Elizabeth. Had Professor Petit consulted the papers of the Record Office he would have found abundant and indisputable evidence of her guilt. Rizzio's character as a foreign spy, and as the agent of her intrigues is no longer open to question. At the same time there can be no doubt that he was assassinated by Darnley at the instigation of Murray and Morton, with the connivance of Elizabeth and Cecil.

The best part of Professor Petit's defence is his dissertation upon Mary's relations with Darnley and Bothwell. He discusses again the vexed question of the casket letters, and maintains them to be forgeries; and upon their authenticity the verdict must mainly depend. Professor Petit has written too evidently as a warm partisan. His book is an elaborate and clever, but somewhat passionate pleading for the defence; in this it contrasts very unfavourably with the careful examination of Mr. Hill Burton, of whose weighty judgment strange to say he seems to be ignorant. Who will finally and conclusively sum up the complicate pleadings of this great issue? Surely the evidence is now complete.

Derry and Enniskillen in the year 1689; the Story of some Famous Battlefields in Ulster.
By THOMAS WITHEROW, Professor of Church History in Magee College, Londonderry.
William Mullan, Belfast.

Professor Witherow has found access to important sources of information, which renders his account of all the events leading up to the famous siege of Derry valuable and instructive. He throws light upon the condition of the besieging army, which accounts, to some extent, for the extraordinary feebleness of its attack. He does full justice to the nobler side of human nature evinced by the

Irish Catholic army, and demolishes the cruel hoax by which the Protestants of Ulster were first induced to close the gates of Derry to King James's army. He exhibits the treachery of Lundy and the address and courage of Murray in vivid colours, and tells the wondrous story with great elaboration, and careful avoidance of superlative. The most important portion of the book seems to us his vindication, in no narrow spirit, of the part taken in the siege by the Presbyterians, and his triumphant exposure of the bigotry and vanity of Governor Walker, who had the incredible littleness to take to himself and his party the entire glory of the protracted struggle. He takes great pains to set forth the liberal mind of William of Orange, and the perverse method in which his wishes were thwarted in his lifetime, and have been travestied since alike by Orange demonstrations and by class legislation. In summing up the moral results of the whole inquiry we should have been glad to have seen some exposition of the true feeling of the Presbyterians and Protestants of Ulster, on the question of the hour. The volume is illustrated by woodcuts and maps, and may be read with advantage by all who wish to understand the facts and the significance of the final struggle with the Stuart dynasty.

Life of Charles Dickens. By JOHN FORSTER.
Vol. III. 1852-1870. Chapman and Hall.

The story of this volume tends to throw a pathetic colouring on a good deal in the former ones. We now discover that Dickens' marvellous activity, his ceaseless devotion to certain interests, flowed from a lack of repose, a restlessness of character. It is rather sad to see it, more sad to say it. There is so much in him to love, so much that engages our sympathies and constrains our admiration. He is easily touched to fine issues, and his impulses generally seek healthy practical channels, but they tend very soon to work back upon themselves, and there is trace of a certain self-sympathy, if we may so name it, which is alien to continuous self-denial, or indeed to unostentatious effort of any kind. It is almost tragical to observe how this man, who had enjoyed a popularity such as had not been vouchsafed to any other Englishman for generations, becomes the mere slave of his popularity, and is incessantly, so to say, on the *qui vive*—nervously watching lest there appear any symptoms of its decline. Mr. Forster no doubt acted on a principle he had laid down for himself from the moment that he undertook to write this life of Dickens—to represent his subject mainly as revealed through the letters addressed to himself; but this course has been so far unfortunate in that the very intimate relations between the two lead perhaps to an exaggerated idea of this element in Dickens' character. No doubt he regarded Mr. Forster as a 'sympathizing friend,' into whose ear he could pour his more intimate feelings freely; and we know that the habit of confessing grows with what it feeds on, especially with natures of a sensitive self-absorbed type. At all events, we should fain hope that a selection from a

wider circle of correspondence might have modified this impression; for it seems to us that Mr. Forster has far too fully justified his statement that Dickens had no 'city of the mind' into which he could retire, for leading the thoughtful reader to a higher conception of his hero's character than may have been entertained before.

Be this as it may, however, this volume, as well as the former ones, affords many proofs of the peculiar nature of Dickens' mind, which, unlike that of Goethe and most other great artists, did not need to have actually overlied the impressions which it sought to enshrine in art. In one word, and to use a common phrase, Dickens as an artist 'lived from hand to mouth'; and hence perhaps his exacting impatience that grew from day to day, and, feeding on little drawbacks and disparities, led him at last to certain domestic scandals, on which Mr. Forster has done well to touch as lightly as possible. 'The twofold life of the artist' was in his case intensified by a microscopic curiosity that demanded such closeness of scrutiny as was often unattainable; and his effort after it induced fretful restlessness. At a time of life when most great artists feel themselves more and more ripening into fulness of aim, and able to draw on their accumulated stock of experience and knowledge, mellowed as if in the calm glow of sunset, Dickens had to find a small expedient in incessant note-taking, and became querulous over the waning elasticity of sensuous impression and power of direct appropriation of materials. To a very great extent, he lived his art as he created it, and true repose is most often lacking to it. Hence, in a deeper view, it too aptly symbolizes his character. Notice, how when absent from contact in some form or other with the actual sources of his suggestion for the traits he sought to build up into types, he very soon exhausts himself. He confesses that when removed from the sights and scenes of London streets—from the bustle and the roar and the endless oddity with which he was so familiar, he soon felt himself wearied out and unproductive. This he confessed was the source of his misery in that earlier visit to Switzerland, and we meet with many traces of the same feeling here. And as he needed this sort of incitement, it would appear as though he could not detach himself sufficiently from anything that appealed to the humorous side of his character, so as to view it with any approach to ordinary faithfulness. Everything was resolved in his humour, as Cleopatra's pearl in the wine. It has been said, indeed, that humour is the great dissolvent, by means of which things are seen in relations which set at nought both the strictly intellectual and the strictly moral judgment, and therein lies its restorative power—the healthy relief it gives. But in Charles Dickens, at all events in his later days, we see it reaching the extreme when it does not so much kindly reduce or dissolve, as persistently pulverize and work into odd shapes and features. The episode of Skimpole is illustrative, so far. Charles Dickens was on quite good terms with Leigh Hunt during the whole time he was engaged in

constructing that character, was quite aware that he meant it to stand for Leigh Hunt, and tried to modify and change it in details, so that it should not be immediately recognisable. But the great point, morally speaking, had nothing to do with the question whether it might be recognised, but with the persistent, purposed representation (and that of the most unpleasant kind) of a man with whom he still stood on a footing of friendship. The extreme cleverness with which such a thing is done only makes it the more indefensible; and Mr. Forster is surely right in saying, that in this matter Dickens grievously erred. Another writer, inclined to be as observant and watchful as Charles Dickens, had the privilege of such intimacy with Hunt, as to justify him in sketching a portrait; and in Hawthorne's 'Our Old Home' Leigh Hunt stands forth with a charm as of old world grace. Certainly there was another and higher side to Hunt's character than Dickens caught, else he could never have done what he did. To catch the lower traits and exaggerate them was comparatively easy; to lay hold of the finer ones and faithfully combine them with those others in severe dramatic restoration, was a very different matter, and required perhaps a more broadly dramatic and disinterested order of genius than Dickens was gifted with. And something of the same criticism might hold with regard to his father as Micawber, though, of course, nobody has the same interest in *rectifying* any such judgment regarding one whom the public has really no other means of knowing than by his son's report of him. Then, take that picture of Mr. Binney at Hone's funeral, which Mr. Dickens contrived to render so ridiculous. It sprang from the same defect of his nature; and we are more than surprised, after the testimony of so many witnesses, that Mr. Forster has not referred to the matter with more grace than he does in the end of this volume.

There is much that is touching and sad, as we have said, in this story. The man who had set all England laughing, and become a favourite wherever the English language was spoken or read, is haunted by a demon of unrest that drives him whither it will. 'If I couldn't walk fast and far,' he says in one place, 'I should just explode and perish. *Restlessness*, you will say: whatever it is, it is always driving me, and I cannot help it.' And again: 'It is much better to go on and fret than stop and fret. As for repose, for some men there is no such thing in this life. . . . The old days, the old days! shall I ever, I wonder, get the frame of mind back as it used to be then? Something of it, perhaps, but never quite as it used to be. I find that the skeleton in my domestic closet is becoming a pretty big one.' One of the most beautiful points in Dickens' life, however, is his tender affection for his children; and one of the finest pieces of parental advice we have met with, we find here in the shape of a letter to one of his sons when going out into the world.

Let it be said in justice to Dickens that, notwithstanding his admiration of Fielding and Sterne and the rest, and the demand which hu-

mour undoubtedly makes to be free of the unallowed aspects of life and society, he was always pure and domestic in tone. He has none of the double meanings in which the mass of French novelists delight, he constantly harbours no unclean suggestion, has no delight in dealing morbidly with mixed motives. He loves oddity, but fairness compels the acknowledgment that he most often uses it to bring out some rare, fair, beautiful trait in some other character. If he has Micawbers, Quilps, and Carkers, he has also Ruths, Peggotys, and David Copperfields. If his imagination was narrow, it was fertile, and it has added some few types to English literature that will live alongside of the grandest efforts of the great dramatists and story-tellers of former times. Only, in some respects his art at its highest was greater than his character, and Mr. Forster, in spite of rare grace of style, a real devotion to his subject, and an honest desire to set it forth in the fairest lights, has somehow not succeeded in doing away with this impression, but has, in our idea, done much to confirm it.

The History of Israel. By HEINRICH EWALD. Translated from the German by J. ESTLIN CARPENTER, M.A. Vol. V. The History of Ezra and of the Hagiocracy in Israel, to the Time of Christ. Longmans, Green, and Co.

The present volume completes the great work of Ewald, down to the Christian era. In reading it we are impressed more than ever with the keen historical and spiritual instinct of the author. This, indeed, is both his transcendent excellency, and the source of his chief defects; historical fact is unduly subdued to idealism. Historical instinct is the supreme qualification of a historian, but even it cannot dispense with facts. Its function is to interpret facts, not to determine them. In the period of history which here passes under Ewald's review, his arbitrariness in dealing with facts offends less than in the canonical period, but his tendency is so strong that we read with suspicion. Of course he dogmatically pronounces against the unity of Isaiah, and designates the author of the later chapters 'the great unnamed,' 'who lived somewhere in Egypt.' At the same time, it does not affect the unity of either Isaiah, or any other writer, that he made use of, or even adopted and incorporated historical or other documents. The analysis of the state of feeling of the Israelites, and the religious regeneration wrought in the captivity, is in every way most masterly, and rises to the level of the greatest philosophical historians. And the spiritual recognitions are often true and full. For example—'At every great crisis of the history of Israel it was prophecy, as the original and fundamental power of the community, which had brought on the decisive movement, and whether quite alone, or in alliance with some other dominant power, had given beforehand the new direction to affairs.' Again—'We ought not to shut our eyes to the fact that henceforth, and from the midst of the people, prayer became a power whose wonderful influence rose higher

and higher, down to the days of Christianity, and even of Islam.'

Ewald calls the semi-republican, semi-theocratic government of Israel after the captivity, the Hagiocracy; and in a most masterly manner discusses and characterises its three great epochs—Persian, Grecian, and Roman, and shows how each helped to prepare for Christ.

Notwithstanding Ewald's dogmatism and arbitrariness, and the scornful way in which he sometimes speaks of things which are sacred, his history is not only indispensable to every Biblical student who knows how to use it—it is, perhaps, the greatest contribution ever made to the historical literature of the Bible.

Drummond of Hawthornden: The Story of his Life and Writings. By DAVID MASSON, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in the University of Edinburgh. Macmillan and Co.

Professor Masson, in this carefully executed memoir of Drummond of Hawthornden, has done something to restore a stormy chapter of Scottish history. For Drummond, though his name most readily suggests associations with—

'The sweet delights a quiet life affords,
Far from the maddening worldling's hoarse discords,'—

yet in his later years got involved in the political strifes of the Covenant wars, and held from first to last a divided and rather tragical attitude. And the contrast between his early years—when some love of excitement and adventure was expected in one born to wealth and estate, as he was—and the heat and turmoil of his later years, when, instead of seeking repose, he became pamphleteer, laying himself open to the censure of the government to which he was a subject, carries with it something extremely touching. We see him—still the young man—courting the muses in his quiet country seat, corresponding with Sir William Alexander and Drayton, and entertaining Ben Jonson; devoted to his learning, writing quaint and garrulous letters to his correspondents, and finding relief in mechanical and mathematical studies in the track of Napier of Merchiston; sharing not at all the desire, so common then, for journeys in foreign parts. Clearly the death of his first love deeply influenced him, for we find him a good many years after marrying a grand-daughter of Sir Robert Logan of Restabrig, because of the great resemblance to his dead mistress which he fancied he saw in her. There is no reason to suppose that this union was anything else than a happy one. But with his children round his knees, the muses seem to have been chary of their visits, and gradually deserted him; whereupon, when the troubles came on Scotland after the death of that 'big-headed, thick-tongued, shambling, shrewd, jocose, scholarly, half brutal, not unlikeable, but altogether grotesque and disreputable,' sovereign—James the Sixth—he became a notable influence in his way. Under Charles, Scottish statesmanship fell low indeed, and Professor Masson is right in saying that Charles's Privy

Council was composed of a 'strange, quarrelling, unscrupulous set of men.' Drummond, it would appear, tried to moderate; but moderation is often the most difficult part to play in such times as these. He tried to appease the king and court in face of public criticism; but he took too high ground for Charles, when he wrote such perorations as this gives hint of:— 'There is no prince living or dead, but subjects have and do speak of them after their fancies. . . . A prince should be such toward his subjects as he would have God Eternal towards him, who, full of mercy, spareth peopled cities and dasheth his thunders among the vast and wild mountains.' In truth, Drummond was a bad party man, and had circumstances, more than policy, to thank for not having suffered at the hands of both sides. Professor Masson himself tells us that—'His position was that of a man whose prayers in secret were for the success of the king, but who as a subject of the Argyle-Loudoun Government, and himself pledged to the Solemn League and Covenant, was nominally at war with Charles, and fighting against him through the agency of Leslie's auxiliary army.' Doubtless, however, his writings did something to quiet both sides. He was a man of remarkably sweet and genial temper; a lover of the beautiful and the true, and a hater of all hypocrisy and pretence. His poems, however, are like everything of that age, pedantic and full of affectations. It is his merit that with him this is less so than with most. A few of his poems are simple and beautiful, indicating real love of nature and truth of feeling. Professor Masson has done good service in setting forth his gentle and unselfish life; and though he is now and again a little Carlylian in manner, he is always most pleasantly readable, and often makes the old time vivid to us, even by a touch or two.

Wilkes, Sheridan, and Fox. The Opposition Under George the Third. By W. F. RAE. Isbister and Co.

Whitewashing of historical characters has of late become common. Even Nero has found an apologist. The notion of John Wilkes, derived from historians, is that of a man so dark in purpose, and so utterly without principle, either public or private, that it might seem as though Mr. Rae in resuscitating him, had attached himself to the new school of historical whitewashers. Brougham denounced him; Macaulay dubbed him 'the profligate Wilkes'; Lord Russell designated him 'a profligate spendthrift, without opinions or principles, religious or political.' What need then to revive his memory, one might ask, in face of what is written? It is enough to say that Mr. Rae justifies his position. He does not try to paint Wilkes as a pattern man; but he has made out such a case for Wilkes' public career as will hereafter make it plain how much England owes to the indefatigable founder of the *North Briton*. The whole sketch indeed rather puzzles us, by demonstrating how much rough, energetic, public spirit may exist along with very poor morals. For it must be said that Mr. Rae is compelled

to allow that Wilkes, if no worse, was no better than the men of that day generally; save indeed in one thing which his father had most earnestly warned him against—gambling; and having been bitten once he carefully kept aloof from that. But his marriage, at the wish of his father, to a rich lady, his senior by many years, of a strict and severe character, and so penurious that she would have condoned his vices, if it had not been for the money they cost, was unfortunate, and his speedy separation from her no doubt threw Wilkes all the more into reckless debauchery. It is certainly surprising that in a man who had passed through such a career of youthful extravagance—embracing that horrible Medmenham episode—the 'pious, punctilious' George III., whose strongheadedness and arbitrary ways had come near to wrecking constitutional government in England, was to find his great opponent. The king had managed for a time to govern, through ministers of his own choosing, Bute and the rest, and had actually tried to pack the House of Commons with his creatures. It was to assert the rights of the English people that Wilkes stood forward. When his election for Middlesex was declared to be null and void, and when Colonel Luttrell was nominated by the Crown over his head, the last step of a long course was taken—representative Government was gone: what had been done once might be done often, and English liberty cast to the winds. It was a thing that brought matters home to the nation. The king and his ministers, in doing this, only carried to their legitimate issue the ideas on which they had long been acting. The nation had vaguely seen and deprecated the course that was being taken; but no man had come forth to utter adequately the stifled sentiment. Politicians of all shades indeed seemed to be paralyzed, and court influence disastrously supreme. Wilkes at length spoke the word that was wanted, first in the *North Briton* and afterwards in Parliament. 'Politically,' says Mr. Rae, 'he was little more than the conductor of an electric shock; the electricity which produced the shock had been previously stored, and was ready to flash into action.' Mr. Rae shows how thoroughly Wilkes did his work. As the king and his ministers proceeded from one extreme to another the firmer he stood for liberty. They ransacked his house, and seized his papers, and arrested him without trial; but the courts pronounced these proceedings illegal; and in spite of king and court Wilkes made his way back to Parliament; and not only that, but became Lord Mayor of London—an office of more weight then than now. He was mainly influential in securing the liberty of the press and had a chief share in opening Parliamentary debates to the reporters; he made clear the rights of the subject against arrest; he advocated the abolition of religious tests, and the separation of Church and State. The political lethargy of England at the time is seen in the immunity which the sovereign so long enjoyed—an immunity which was at length disastrous; for it lulled the ministers into a false

security that prompted to the extreme actions which gave Wilkes his chance. To acknowledge the benefit England derived from his efforts it is not needful to apologize for his private life. The most attractive thing in it is his affection for his daughter, who loved and revered her father's memory. Wilkes was no great orator, but he was a powerful and pointed writer, though perhaps lacking the finish and lustre of Junius; he was a brilliant conversationalist, and of such abounding wit, that wagers were laid on the number of people whom he would send away laughing in the course of a journey through the streets. Mr. Rae gives several of his jokes. This is one:—'Mr. Alderman Burnell, who had begun life as a bricklayer, having a soft pudding to help, and doing it clumsily with a spoon, Wilkes advised him "to take a trowel to it."'

If the demagogue is a man who makes use of political difficulties and the ignorance of certain orders for his own advantage and profit, then Wilkes was no demagogue; for it is very hard to see where his profit or even his comfort was. He spent his means in defending public rights and in printing helpful documents, and made himself poor when he might have lived luxuriously. He was in prison, he was outlawed, he lived in exile and would have been pilloried, if policy had not been against the step; and for the greater part of his political life he knew no rest, no reward save the admiration of the people. His personal appearance was clearly against him, and he knew it. He squinted terribly, and the caricaturists used his squint; and he himself, with right good sense, took off the edge of Hogarth's noted effort by saying that he had caricatured what nature had already caricatured.

The sketches of Sheridan and Fox are perhaps executed with quite as much care; but they have hardly such an interest, because Mr. Rae was not able, so to say, to reveal them to us in such new lights. But with reference to both, he brings forward some fresh details, and gives us really brilliant studies of the men. What a contrast we have in the early education and aptitudes of the two; Sheridan so dull and lazy that no knowledge could be drilled into him; and Fox, so studious and clever, in spite of his father's efforts to initiate him into profligacy. In several other points the two characters were through life contrasted; but both were alike in extravagance. It is very odd to find that Fox's maiden speech was made on behalf of the expulsion of Wilkes from Parliament; but at that time Fox had not shaken himself free from family traditions and influences, which were far from good, politically as well as morally; and these speeches he must have regretted afterwards, as they gave his enemies a handle against him.

Mr. Rae writes with vigour and grace, has a fine eye for characteristics and traits that illustrate each other. He has, by means of these three biographies, drawn a masterly sketch of a transition time in English politics when popular rights were anew declared and secured. If Mr. Rae is too uniformly high-

pitched and antithetic, he never becomes rhetorical nor weak. He is full of matter, and has regard to Voltaire's maxim—'Woe to the man who tries to say everything that might be said.'

Recollections of Sir George B. L'Estrange, late of the 81st Regiment. With Heliotypic Reproductions of Drawings by Officers of the Royal Artillery. The Peninsular War. Sampson Low, Marston, and Co.

Sir George L'Estrange was born in 1797. He was educated at Westminster; in 1812 he got his commission and sailed for Portugal to join the Peninsula army, and found his regiment, the 81st, at a village called Ceclavin; was present at the battle of Vittoria and at all that followed, to the last fight with Soult at Toulouse, fought on Easter Sunday, after Napoleon had abdicated, and peace was really proclaimed—it is thought knowingly on Soult's part, that he might have a chance of winning a battle. The book is one of miscellaneous reminiscences, originally written as 'Scraps from Recollections,' and contributed to the *St. James's Magazine* as the personal recollections of almost the last of the Peninsula veterans, himself nearly an octogenarian. They are very interesting; they contribute nothing new to history, but they record the impressions of an eye-witness, and furnish estimates of famous men, formed by a contemporary before they became famous. Among the recollections is inserted a remarkable account of the escape of a cousin—Major Edmund L'Estrange—from the French prisons of Verdun and Bitche. Few more romantic narratives are to be found in the history of war. The book is a very pleasant gossipy miscellany.

Life and Times of Louisa, Queen of Prussia.

By E. H. HUDSON, author of 'Queen Bertha.'

Two Vols. Isbister and Co.

Miss Hudson has found a capital theme in Queen Louisa. Her fine qualities were so conspicuous, and they gathered such fresh lustre from the disastrous circumstances amid which it was her lot to live, that the dullest biographer would be enthusiastic over it. She rightly loved to relieve the stately idea of queenhood by proclaiming herself 'The mother of the country.' Strong in purpose, and inflexible in her notions of right, she was yet so sweet and attractive, so kindly without condescension, so considerate without pretence, that she won all whom she came in contact with, from Napoleon, who regretted that he had reviled her, down to those quaint Hallors, who found such odd ways of expressing their gratitude. Fancy a queen so relaxing court discipline as not only to tell an old veteran general that he might enjoy the innocent luxury of a pipe while in conversation with the royal couple, but contriving it so that she was able to surprise him by herself becoming his pipe-lighter! From Queen Louisa the few scattered spirits in Germany, who first saw the evil that had been done to the nation by its acceptance of the spirit of the Revolution,

derived an impulse that held them united till deliverance was complete,—that, in one word was influential in creating a new era for Germany. Her life, therefore, is European. It is indeed astonishing that till now no attempt has been made to give in English a really complete popular history of Prussia, with Queen Louisa's share in it made duly prominent; and this Miss Hudson may be said to have supplied. Her Introductory Sketch gives all the preliminary knowledge that will be required by the mass of readers. She has applied herself carefully to the sources of information by residence in Germany, has taken care to group her facts very faithfully round her main figure, so as to bring it into prominence, and writes with a sedate simplicity that is very attractive. Without pretending to much philosophy, she has penetrated so far into the true bearing of events as to see that no real understanding of Louisa's time was possible without tracing out the leading influences that produced the prostration of political life in Germany under Napoleon; and she has accordingly given a very good preliminary sketch of previous German history. If occasionally she falls into something like levelness of style, a glimpse of Louisa recalls her. The book is not only a well put together repertory of the facts of the period, but forms very attractive reading. We do not hesitate to say that from its fine domestic tone and the nobility of its subject it ought to become a common family and school book in our country. No better present or prize book could be named.

Distinguished Persons in Russian Society.

Translated from the German by F. E. BUNNETT. Smith, Elder, and Co.

Although the writer of these brilliant and well-informed sketches seems to identify himself with the nation whose celebrities he delineates, the unmistakable indications are of some German observer, who, probably through diplomatic facilities, has acquired a very intimate knowledge of Russian society and politics. His pen is very keen, and his sarcasm does not spare. He probably does less than justice to many of his subjects, for he produces the impression of a social and political life in which there is little but venality and trickery; and yet his conclusions harmonize very singularly with that general impression, which is a kind of vague and undefined infallibility in its conclusions about men and things. Nothing can be more melancholy and hopeless than the impression which his sketch of General Ignatieff leaves upon us of the aims and methods of Russian diplomacy in the East—so utterly selfish, unprincipled, and wicked is it—deliberately and systematically perpetrating any fraud, and sacrificing any national interest for the promotion of its own venal lust of conquest. If ever man justified Johnson's definition of an ambassador, 'a person who goes abroad to lie for the good of his country,' it is General Ignatieff; who by his unblushing mendacity has earned for himself in Constantinople the sobriquet of 'father of lies.' He is in every way the most notable of the politi-

cal personages of Russia, and is already regarded as the rival of Prince Gortschakoff for the chancellorship of the Empire. Since Sir Stratford de Redcliffe left Constantinople he has been by far the most able diplomatist in the East, and the history of his successes and methods, as here detailed, is as humiliating as it is portentous. Happily his mendacious intrigues have already done much to neutralize his influence, which according to the closing representations of this acute and well-informed sketch is greatly reduced both in Athens, Bulgaria, and Constantinople. The situation is worthy the grave political study of our new Ministry. There are eleven other sketches, most of them of persons but little known to the English public, Prince Gortschakoff excepted. Most of them are personal rather than political; they are important and interesting as throwing light upon the present character and the probable future of Russia. They are the work of a very clever artist, who has had special opportunities of studying his subjects.

A Dictionary of Artists of the English School: Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers, and Ornamentists. With Notices of their Lives and Works. By SAMUEL REDGRAVE. Longmans, Green, and Co.

No conceivable literary work demands so much patience, learning, and judgment as dictionary making. A good dictionary, indeed, is as much a growth as language or history itself. It is the arrangement of materials which hundreds of persons, through preceding generations, have contributed in direct and indirect ways. Other men labour, and the compiler of a good dictionary enters into their labours. Mr. Redgrave has prepared himself for his present work by his researches for his 'Century of Painters of the English School,' and of course has availed himself of the labours of Ottley, Nagler, and others. He has bestowed infinite labour upon his work, and has done it with great judgment. We can easily imagine the difficulty of obtaining information which he says 'has been sought in out of the way places, and has been the result of private and personal inquiries,' especially concerning those less known persons about whom it is the chief merit of dictionaries to tell us. That he has obtained all the information that is desirable, or that he has avoided errors, is of course impossible; but he has unquestionably produced the best existing work of its kind—a work which it is as interesting to peruse as it is useful to refer to. Perhaps some names have been included whose amateur performances scarcely entitled them to be classed with artists. For the first time artists of the English school, including painters, sculptors, architects, engravers, and ornamentists, have been combined in one work. Mr. Redgrave combines simple literary taste, a straightforward practical purpose, and adequate artistic judgment, so that he not only informs us of facts concerning men—he enables us to form a judgment concerning their artistic place and power. It is scarcely too much to say, concerning the majority of the articles, that they are

a gallery of well-executed medallions. The book is a valuable addition to our libraries of reference.

Reminiscences of a Canoness: Anecdotes and Sketches of Court Life in France during the Reigns of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. Selected by the VICOMTESSE DE KERKADEC. From a Diary hitherto unpublished. Two Vols. Virtue, Spalding, and Daldy.

It is necessary to state that the genuineness of the diary from which these translations have been made by the Countess de Kerkadec herself may be fully relied upon. The book is not fiction founded upon fact; it is the veritable diary of Mademoiselle de D——, daughter of the Marquis and Marquise de D——. Consigned by her somewhat harsh mother to the care of her aunt, who was *sous-prieure* of the Bernardine Convent in Paris, she became a *chanoinesse* at Remiremont, where another aunt Madame la Comtesse de D—— was *chanoinesse*, by whom she was presented at the court of Louis XIV., which she frequently visited, and where she seems to have become a favourite of the king. She seems to have improved her opportunities, and to have diligently recorded in her diary the knowledge of persons and things which she acquired, and the impressions which they made upon her. She observes keenly, and describes vivaciously. Her book belongs to the class of memoirs *pour servir*. It has the terrible frankness of the Duc de Simon's memoirs. Such revelations are enough to make kings and great people tremble to think what portraits from life may be secretly drawn, destined to give colour and character to history. Mrs. Elliott has recently in her 'Court Life in France,' described for us the courts of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. With great industry and pictorial skill she has sought the materials of her terrible pictures in the memoirs and other literature of the time. The book before us belongs to the class of original materials which such writers work up. It is scarcely possible to differ about the character of the life described. It is to Mrs. Elliott's credit that the present work is in colour and tone perfectly harmonious with her own. From beginning to end the volumes are full of piquant sketches and anecdotes. The writer details not only what she sees, but what she hears in connection with what she sees. A good deal that she tells is of course familiar, the histories of Madame de Maintenon, the widow of the poet Scarron, of Madame de Montespan, the Duchesse de Chateauroux, Madame de Pompadour, and others, for instance. Many of the anecdotes too are familiar from other sources; some however, are new, and they deepen our melancholy impression of these disreputable courts. It is interesting to read the records of a certain enthusiastic admiration which at first the young girl felt for 'the greatest monarch in the world;' but her vigorous moral feeling rectifies her judgment, and she passes her strong verdict of condemnation upon the profligacy and demoralisation of the court life that more than anything else prepared for the Revolution. Perhaps the chief addition to our knowledge is in the notices of Richelieu, with

whom the writer and her family were on terms of intimacy; the aspects of his character chiefly presented are his vanity and gallantry, and the kind of magical power which he had over women. Of necessity the life described is unspeakably vile; the writer is perfectly pure, but it is impossible to write of the court life of these two infamous monarchs without constituting an atmosphere that is unspeakably offensive. Here and there too the writer reflects the sentiments of her day, when it was almost a reproach to be virtuous. The book is valuable as confirming and adding to our historical knowledge of the most scandalous period of French history; if, indeed, we do not already know more than enough. Would it not be better could all that we do know be forgotten and consigned to oblivion?

Threading my Way: Twenty-seven Years of Autobiography. By ROBERT DALE OWEN. Trübner and Co.

A very interesting series of biographical sketches which Mr. Owen has contributed to the *Atlantic Monthly*. As the son of Robert Owen, Mr. Dale Owen's reminiscences of his father, and of the great philanthropic experiment at New Lanark, are very interesting. They produce the impression of a strong, independent, benevolent nature working out its own half-informed projects with great determination, and at any cost of self-sacrifice. Mr. Dale Owen frankly admits his father's mistakes, owing to his imperfect education and defective acquaintance with political and social economy; but he vindicates him as a noble-hearted and high-toned man, whose personal character and domestic life were very beautiful; and who was far more than a mere employer to his people. He was 'guide, philosopher, and friend,' settling disputes and reforming moral habits with as much wisdom as authority. He was the founder of infant schools, and a very earnest economical reformer. Mr. Dale Owen's description of his own childhood and home, of the pious influence of his Presbyterian and Evangelical mother—not always wise or beneficial—and of the singular blending with this of the moral influence of his free-thinking father, who at a meeting in the London Tavern in 1817 openly 'renounced and rejected all the religions of the world,' and bought ninety thousand newspapers to make known the fact, are very interesting; also his sketches of his piquant school and college life in Switzerland. His account too of the rise and progress and beneficial results of co-operative societies, which Robert Owen regarded as the solution of the great problem of the age, is just now full of interest. He very frankly admits the failure of his father's costly communistic experiment at New Harmony, and accounts for it. The volume is enriched with sketches of notable people with whom Mr. Dale Owen was brought into contact. It contains a very beautiful love idyll of which one Jessie was the heroine, and closes with his emigration to the United States in 1827, he being then twenty-seven years of age. As our readers are aware, Mr. Dale Owen is a spiritualist, about which he has published two books. He is

another illustration of the tendency of opinions to generate their extremes. The subject is not, however, introduced into this volume. We shall look with interest for the continuation of these very pleasant sketches.

Life, Legend, and Canonization of St. John Nepomucen, Patron Saint and Protector of the Order of Jesuits. By A. H. WRATISLAW, M.A., Head Master of Grammar School, Bury St. Edmunds. Bell and Daldy.

The argument of this volume is very compressed and its learning rare; and the author succeeds in demonstrating the incredible credulousness and shameless chicanery involved in the various processes which led the Jesuits to force on the reluctant Church of Rome the canonization of an individual who is now proved, in the sense in which the society hold him to have been worthy of this honour, never to have existed. Mr. Wratislaw, with a knowledge of Bohemian history which does him infinite credit, shows that a John of Nepomuk, a doctor of law, and general vicar of the archdiocese of Prague, was barbarously murdered by order of King Wenceslas, in the year 1393; and by a great variety of legal and other documents, proves that for forty years after his death no cause for his murder, beyond a quarrel between the king and the archbishop was known to exist. He then in chronological order details the growth of the myth, to the effect that the cause of this murder was the refusal of the said John of Nepomuk to violate the secrets of the confessional, which the king is said to have demanded with reference to his own queen. Not till the year 1541 did the story grow into the history of two distinct personages, an impossible queen's confessor and martyr of the confessional in 1388, and a genuine victim of Wenceslas' rage in 1393. The ecclesiastical machinery of the seventeenth century continued by unscrupulous forgery and lying, in spite of serious remonstrances, to elaborate the story of the saint into multitudinous details and to force on his canonization. The most scandalous and iniquitous miracles are said to have been wrought by the saint, and the eagerness of the Jesuits to secure a patron for their powerful instrument, the confessional, has ended in procuring the canonization of the wrong man. The literature of the subject is considerable, and Mr. Wratislaw has apparently waded through and accurately gauged its significance. His work is a brief but crushing exposure of the practice of the Jesuits, and is not without its bearing on the dogma of the infallibility of the Pope.

Ever Working, Never Resting. A Memoir of the Rev. John Legg Poore. By JOHN CORBIN. Hodder and Stoughton.

Few ministers of Jesus Christ have more justified the descriptive motto which Mr. Corbin has prefixed to this memoir, or have more abundantly exemplified what influence a consecrated, energetic man may acquire, or what work he may do. Mr. Poore's distinctive characteristic was pious energy, made effective by imperturbable geniality and amiability, which is not always the accompaniment of energy.

Where ordinary men deliberate Mr. Poore acted. It was only characteristic of him that, having returned from England to Melbourne for a mission to procure ministers for the Australian colonies, he should set sail on a second mission to England within sixteen days of his landing. In his pastorate at Manchester, not only did the newly-formed church spring up rapidly, but his schools became distinguished even among the large schools of that city—they numbered 1,300 children. As secretary of the county union, he inspired everyone with enterprise and vigour, and was the means of erecting more new chapels than perhaps any other man. In Australia he planted twenty new churches; he traversed all the Australian colonies, preaching and speaking incessantly; three times he visited England; during his last visit he acted for a while as Secretary for the Colonial Missionary Society on the retirement of Mr. James, and visited the Churches of Canada on its behalf.

It will be long before the impulse given by him to the Australian churches will be forgotten. Hardly was Paul himself 'in labours more abundant.'

Mr. Corbin has narrated the story of his life with a graceful simplicity, and with the tender sympathy of a warm personal friendship. It is a beautiful record of a consecrated and useful life.

The Heart of Africa; Three Years' Travels and Adventures in the Unexplored Regions of Central Africa, from 1868 to 1871. By Dr. GEORGE SCHWEINFURTH. Translated by ELLEN E. FREWER. With an Introduction by WILWOOD READE. Two Vols. London: Sampson Low, Marston, and Co.

The world is growing old, much older than it was when the wise man said, 'there is nothing new under the sun.' Yet it is just in what may be called the oldest part of the present world—the continent of Africa—that the most surprising geographical discoveries of our day have been made. To the lamented Dr. Livingstone almost alone belongs the honour of converting the blank, which Southern Africa used to present in our maps, into a picture of thronging life, furrowed by multitudinous streams, and laved by inland seas. On the other hand, Northern Central Africa, the country between Khartoum and the equator, has been invaded by a considerable number of explorers, amongst the most enterprising and successful of whom we must certainly reckon Dr. Schweinfurth. We may credit him with one of the rarest discoveries in these modern times—that of a hitherto unknown nation, which, though almost entirely isolated from the outer world, has a civilization of its own. It is true this civilisation is unfortunately consistent with cannibalism. But still it displays more skill in the constructive arts than was known to be possessed by any untutored African race. We refer to the kingdom of the Monbutto, which, so far as can be ascertained, had not been visited by any white man before the arrival of Dr. Schweinfurth. This kingdom is situated mainly between the parallels of 3° and 4° north latitude, and

between 28° and 29° east longitude. It will be observed that in maps of dates previous to 1870 this space is an entire blank. According to Schweinfurth's information the dominion is very limited. But his stay in the country was too short to give much assurance on this point, and the traveller himself mentions a number of dependent governors, who must be sadly short of elbow-room if the kingdom is no larger than he supposes. But perhaps Schweinfurth's description refers only to the metropolitan province of the kingdom. Of this province the traveller says:—

'The Monbuttoo land greets us as an Eden upon earth. Unnumbered groves of plantains bedeck the gently-heaving soil; oil-palms, incomparable in beauty, and other monarchs of the stately woods rise up and spread their glory over the favoured scene; along the streams there is a bright expanse of charming verdure, whilst a grateful shadow ever overhangs the domes of the idyllic huts. The general altitude of the soil ranges from 2,500 to 2,800 feet above the level of the sea. It consists of alternate depressions, along which the rivulets make their way, and gentle elevations, which gradually rise till they are some hundred feet above the beds of the stream below.'

The people who inhabit this naturally delightful land, are described as characterized by 'a lighter tint than that of almost all the known nations of Central Africa.' Some five per cent. of the population are said to have light hair; but this seems to be the result of albinism. Dr. Schweinfurth, who, though a botanist by profession, seems to have made a great study of skulls, is of opinion that 'in the physiognomical form of the skull the Monbuttoo in many ways recall the type of the Semitic tribes; and they differ from the ordinary run of negroes in the greater length and curve of the nose.' Their only clothing is formed of bark, and their land seems to be 'an Eden' in other respects besides its natural beauty. But though quite ignorant of weaving, they have considerable skill in smelting and manipulating iron. They are also excellent potters, and their designs, both of weapons and vessels, show a good deal of artistic capability. But their principal achievements seem to be architectural. Not that they know anything of stone or brick buildings; but the king's palace contained amongst its wonders two large halls, the greater of which was 150 feet in length, and about fifty feet in breadth and height. Schweinfurth's description makes us think of a miniature Crystal Palace—minus the glass:—

'Considering the part of Africa in which these halls were found, one might be truly justified in calling them wonders of the world. I hardly know, with all our building resources, what material we could have employed, except it were whalebone, of sufficient lightness and durability to erect structures like these royal halls of Munza, capable of withstanding the tropical storms and hurricanes. The bold arch of the vaulted roof was supported on three long rows of pillars, formed from perfectly straight tree stems; the countless spars and

rafters, as well as the other parts of the building, being composed entirely of the leaf-stalks of the wine palm (*Raphia vinifera*). The floor was covered with a dark red clay plaster, as firm and smooth as asphalt. The sides were enclosed by a low breastwork, and the space between this and the arched roof, which at the sides sloped nearly to the ground, allowed light and air to pass into the building.'

Dr. Schweinfurth was introduced into this structure for the purpose of an interview with Munza, the king. In the importance attached to pageantry, the Monbuttoo might pass muster even with the *Court Circular*. 'Officials with long sticks,' heralds, marshals, and police running excitedly to and fro, an analogy to Venetian masts with trophies gleaming upon them, horns and kettle-drums, ivory trumpets and iron bells, together made, both in the German and the English sense, a 'spectakel' which would have done no discredit to a West-end progress, and showed of course a remarkable advance in civilization. But King Munza seems more active, and more anxious for the delectation of his admirers than his colder-blooded royal brethren in the north. He delivered a vigorous oration, which elicited loud shouts of 'Ee, ee, tchupy, tchupy, ee, Munza, ee.' Then, taking up a new part, he assumed the baton, and beat time for the band as conductor. Another time he danced for the public amusement in the midst of all his wives, who duly applauded the gyrations of their lord.

But one of Dr. Schweinfurth's most singular discoveries was that of a small race of men, averaging about 4ft. 7in., who are subject to the Monbuttoo, and whom the traveller regards as the veritable pygmies of Homer and Herodotus. This may or may not be; but in any case the account given of them here is interesting. It seems almost sad to think that at Monbuttoo Schweinfurth was within some 250 miles of Dr. Livingstone. Could the two have joined hands across the equator, the Nile problem *must* have been solved; for every step of the way from Cape Town to Cairo would have been traversed by intelligent observers. As we read Schweinfurth's account of the watersheds he traversed, of the lands he observed, and of the great stream of the Welle flowing due west through Monbuttoo, it is difficult to see how it can be at all possible to trace the Nile upwards beyond the equator. But we are warned by the mistakes of 'easy-chair geographers,' and content ourselves with commending to our readers one of the most interesting and admirably-illustrated books of travel which it has ever been our fortune to read.

The Wild North Land. By Captain BUTLER, Author of 'The Great Lone Land.' Sampson Low and Co.

Captain Butler is a daring traveller, and a most observant one. After he had performed his share in disposing of Riel, the leader of the revolt on the Red River, of which he gave us a full account in his former work, 'The Great Lone Land,' he seems to have been fired with a desire to traverse the wilds that lay

yet farther beyond. He accordingly crossed the great prairie wilds of the Saskatchewan, paddled his canoe up the Athabasca and Peace Rivers, then struck through the Rocky Mountains, and by devious tracks, where the feet of few, if any, white men had ever trod, he reached New Westminster, the capital of the British colony on the Pacific. He writes with great vigour and picturesque force, bringing vividly before us the scenes and the life of these untraversed wilds, glancing aside now and then to tell us of the faithfulness of the Esquimaux dogs—his own most serviceable specimen, 'Cerf-vola,' of course being duly celebrated, as he well deserves; then he gives us a glimpse of the Indians, who pathetically flit through all narratives of these parts, with occasional dark hints at the scandalous way in which they are treated by Europeans, who are speedily destroying them. Nor does he even forget to mourn the fate of the poor buffaloes, who are being decimated to supply 'pemmican' for the Hudson's Bay Company. His narrative is instinct with the finest sympathies. Captain Butler, we knew, was a brave, daring soldier, whose life is a practical proof that the genuine man makes a career, if he does not find one; but the exquisite susceptibility and sympathy shown throughout is as pleasing as it is almost unexpected. Our readers will remember how Captain Butler, unable 'to purchase,' was very near leaving the service of his country in disappointment, when, hearing of the Red River revolt, he went thither, made a place for himself, and fully justified the appointment to it. He volunteered, too, for Coomassie, and has done good work out there. We can cordially recommend his 'Wild North Land,' which not only shows the true traveller, but the man of high culture and noble heart.

Two Years in Peru, with Explorations of its Antiquities. By THOMAS J. HUTCHINSON, F.R.G.S., with Maps by DANIEL BARRERA, and numerous Illustrations. Two Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

Mr. Hutchinson claims, with apparent justice, to be the first of the multitudinous writers on Peru, who gives an independent judgment of its archæological remains. We are all familiar with the number, magnitude and importance of the ruins that are scattered throughout the country. The first object of Mr. Hutchinson is to give an account of such of these as his two years' residence in Peru, and the means at his disposal gave him an opportunity of examining. This he does with sufficient fulness and abundant illustration. He examined not only ruined buildings, so as to throw light upon Peruvian architecture, and to contribute various objects, such as vases, utensils, bits of cloth, fish-nets, &c., for the illustration of art and social life, but by diligent and extensive diggings in cemeteries, which are often huge mounds full of human bones, and of immense antiquity—older, perhaps, than Memphis—he contributed to comparative physiology by an immense collection of Peruvian skulls. We feel, of course, that in many

places he only scratched the surface of what may prove to be rich mines of discovery for more complete exploration. But he has made a beginning in the right way, and has achieved far greater results than have hitherto been realized. His second object has been to correct the misinformation given by previous writers—from the MSS. of the lawyer Polo de Ondegardo, A.D. 1550, and the fabulous trumpeting in the commentaries of Garcilasso Inca de la Vega, A.D. 1609, down to the "goody-goody" pages of Dr. Baxley, in 1865. The early Spanish writers are responsible for an immense amount of error and exaggeration. They attributed to the Incas, whom Pizarro conquered, and of whom Atahualpa was the last representative, all the grand monumental ruins, and all the artistic remains of the country. Mr. Hutchinson has come to the conclusion that the Incas were simply conquerors and destroyers of a pre-existing civilization, that there is no evidence to accredit them with any of the monumental records of the country; these belonged to the prehistoric tribes whom they destroyed. Mr. Prescott, who never visited South America, has given too much credence to his Spanish authorities. We should add that Mr. Hutchinson's convictions have been wrought by independent investigation. When he went to Peru in 1871 he was 'in the Inca groove,' but he soon became convinced that 'the relics of art and architecture, between the first line of Cordilleras and the Pacific, belong to a time far and away before that of the Incas,' and that 'there appears no evidence of the Incas having ever done anything in the parts just named but to destroy and blot out.' He does not, however, give us the data from which he reached his conclusion. An independent work like this, from a keen investigator and a well qualified antiquarian, is a genuine contribution to archæological science.

Khiva and Turkestan. Translated from the Russian by Captain H. SPALDING, F.R.G.S. With a Map. Chapman and Hall.

Central Asia and the Anglo-Russian Frontier Question: a Series of Political Papers. By ARMINIUS VAMBÉRY. Translated by F. E. BUNNETT. Smith, Elder and Co.

On the Road to Khiva. By DAVID KER, late Khivan Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*. With Photographic Illustrations and Military Map. Henry S. King and Co.

The vitality and momentousness of the progress of Russia in Central Asia are evinced by the amount and the character of the literature elicited by it. Whether the progress of that power is in pursuance of a settled policy of ambition and conquest, whether it is inspired by a deliberate purpose to cripple England in the event of wars in Europe by threatening our Indian empire, or whether, as we ourselves were, Russia is led on by political and social necessity, and in spite of her own wise purposes, from one inevitable acquisition after another, are questions demanding large and specially-informed discussion, such as we can make no pretensions to here. If we are to

trust Herr Vambéry, the former is true; if we are to rely upon the anonymous work which Captain Spalding has translated, Russia is more impelled by inevitable circumstances than by a perilous lust of conquest. If we can trust Mr. Ker, the progress of Russia has been too rapid for consolidation, and she holds her posts in Turkestan and upon the Syr-Daria (the Jaxartes) river, by a very precarious tenure. So long as she is at peace in Europe, she may keep in subjection the Kirgiz, the Khivans, and the Khanates generally; but it requires too large a portion of the resources of the empire to transport armies across the steppes and deserts of Central Asia, to make this possible when her energies are otherwise taxed. Of the 7,000 camels which, during the late Khivan expedition, started from the banks of the Jaxartes with the column of Turkestan, only 600 reached the Oxus. What changes may take place in the population and civilization of Central Asia it is impossible to forecast. M. Lesseps may construct his railway from Orenburg to Samarcand, commerce may develop great populations and roads; but at present no difficulty appears to be so great as that of transporting an army across Central Asia. From the three books mentioned at the head of this article, a fair notion of the problems of the question, as contemplated from various points of view, may be obtained. The book translated by Captain Spalding presents the Russian point of view, with which the translator seems to sympathize. In the introductory historical sketch, although there is a note of defiance of English opinion rather too hysterical to be very genuine, the writer aims mainly to show that the progressive steps of Russian progress to within some 800 miles of the borders of Afghanistan have been the imperative necessity of circumstances, rather than the result of deliberate purpose. Common sense somewhat favours this view; but the tone and arguments are more apologetic than convincing. In conquest and despotism necessity is the tyrant's plea. The rest of the book is a description of the Khanates of Turkestan and Khiva, their inhabitants, customs, geography, climatology, natural productions, commerce, &c., with an account of the relations of both to Russia. It is a well-informed and careful book concerning countries of which we know but little.

Herr Vambéry's book consists of ten papers, discussing Russian policy in Central Asia, published at different times during the last ten years. The author, as is well known, is a Russiaphobe; his feeling towards Russia somewhat resembles that of Mr. Newdegate towards Popery. This, with a tendency to minor inaccuracies has somewhat unduly discredited his authority. He attributes to Russia the most ambitious projects, and the most unscrupulous methods. The subjects of his papers are (1) 'The Rivalry of Russia with England in Central Asia,' (2) 'A General Survey, from 1864, including Russia's Conquests in Central Asia within the last three years, Russia's Designs upon India, The English Optimists, &c.,' (3) 'Fresh Advances of Russia in Central Asia,

1868;,' (4) 'Persia and Turkey,' (5) 'Herat and the Central Asian Question;,' (6) 'Social Transformations in the Interior of Asia, 1870;,' (7) 'The Russian Campaign against Khiva,' &c. Thus submitted to ten years' test of history, Herr Vambéry may fairly boast that his predictions of the progress and policy of Russia have almost all of them come true. They indicate, therefore, both his knowledge and his judgment. His book is thoroughly well-informed, and deserves attentive perusal.

Mr. Ker will be remembered as the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent, who prematurely announced the fall of Khiva, reproduced an 'old savage' of one of his Crimean pictures, in a description of the inhabitants of the Tartars of the Volga, and otherwise so reproduced himself as to lead some to the conclusion that his letters, as 'Own Correspondent,' were concocted in Fleet-street. He publishes this narrative of his travels to demonstrate that he was 'on the road to Khiva,' although owing to the mention of his name in the English papers, he was detained for seven weeks in a fort in Syra-Daria, near the Sea of Aral, and ultimately reached only Samarcand. He explains satisfactorily enough how he was misled about the fall of Khiva, but confesses that in the exigency of such journeying as his he did repeat himself in descriptions of people and habits, that were identical. He saw in Turkestan not one only, but many old savages of the Crimea.

A special correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* is under special temptations to colour highly, and group things melodramatically. Mr. Ker has not escaped the temptation in his book. Like many others, he has found that the easiest way of dealing with temptation is to yield to it. But making due allowance for this, his descriptions are both graphic and clever; he tells a good story, and paints an effective picture; and clearly he achieved a very arduous journey, with a great deal of pluck and skill. His book is eminently readable, and conveys a good deal of information.

The Mishmee Hills: an Account of a Journey made in an attempt to penetrate Thibet from Assam, to open New Routes for Commerce. By T. T. COOPER, F.R.G.S., Acting Political Agent at Bhamo. Henry S. King and Co.

Any one looking at a map will see that the great Brahmapootra River connects the mouth of the Ganges with the narrow mountainous region of the Mishmee country, which separates India from China. Indeed, Sudiya, the north-east outpost town of Assam, and the boundary of our Indian territory, is within 200 miles of Bathang, which, although in Thibet, is virtually the frontier town of China. This is the only inland route from the one to the other, and, if available for commerce, would not only save the long voyage by the Straits of Malacca, but would bring into close and wholesome intercourse the two nations. The overland passage has not yet been accomplished by any Englishman. The Chinese Government hold a monopoly of the export tea trade, and have granted the retail monopoly to the Lama priests of Thibet; which is at once a protection to Chi-

nese commerce and to the Lama religion—tea being a necessary of life to the Thibetans. The opening up of Thibet to the rival tea gardens of Assam would imperil both the commercial monopoly of the Chinese government, and the priestcraft of Lamaism. The most jealous opposition, therefore, is offered to any endeavour to pass from the one to the other. Mr. Cooper first tried to effect the journey from the east, and traversed safely enough the vast empire of China. But when he reached Bathang he was arrested by 200 Lama soldiers, and cast into a Chinese prison at Weisee-foo. He then resolved to make the attempt from India, and after a conference with the Indian authorities, and especially with Lord Mayo, he ascended the Brahmapootra, and reached Sudiya; whence, having secured a powerful mountain chief as a guide, he attempted to cross the Mishmee Hills, but was not permitted to proceed farther than a village called; Prun, and, sick, and baffled, had to retrace his steps. The attempt was a gallant one, and the pluck, adroitness and temper of Mr. Cooper were admirable. He conciliated the tribes through whose territory he passed, and if he has failed in his object, he has evidently prepared the way for success, by disarming hostile feeling and creating a favourable predisposition towards the Indian Government. We could have dispensed with some of the political disquisitions about the treatment of native peoples, and the true principles of commerce; but the narrative of travel is vivacious and modest, and is interesting from the first page until the last. The melancholy picture of Assam has its bright obverse in the possibilities and prospects of the future.

A Whaling Cruise to Baffin's Bay and the Gulf of Bothnia, and an Account of the Rescue of the Crew of the 'Polaris.' By ALBERT HASTINGS MARKHAM, F.R.G.S. Sampson Low, Marston, and Co.

Commander Markham entered himself as one of the crew of the good ship *Arctic*, of Dundee, for one shilling a month, and one penny for every ton of oil brought home in the ship, and one farthing for every ton of whale-bone, whalers having no licence to carry passengers. His object was to see the phenomena of the Polar seas, and the processes of whale fishing. This book is simply a record of what he saw. It gives us vivid pictures of both the scenes and the processes of whale fishing, and is full of sporting adventure, and whaling incident. The novel features of the story are the practical changes in the daring and achievement of whale fishing which steam has introduced. The incident of picking up some of the crew of the *Polaris* is not very prominent. The main interest is in the descriptions of whale catching and stowing. We have rarely read a more vivacious, entertaining, and instructive narrative.

The Wonderland of the Antipodes. Sketches of Travel in the Northern Island of New Zealand. By J. ERNEST TINNE, M.A., University College, Oxford. Sampson Low and Co.

Mr. Tinne tells us in his preface that,

already, according to Mr. Anthony Trollope, there were in existence four hundred and one books on New Zealand, which statement is rather apt to make one suspect that his book—the four hundred and second—must be rather stale, and this quotation rather *maladroit*. But dipping into Mr. Tinne's book the feeling is soon modified. It is the south or middle island that has been mostly 'done' by travellers, whilst the northern island is even more interesting in many respects, and as Mr. Tinne made his journey through it in quite a leisurely way on horseback, he not only meets with fresh objects, but keeps his eye clear from day to day. He found the Maories very superstitious, unclean, thievish now and then, fond of drink generally, and not over apt at keeping promises; yet even in the disaffected districts he met with great kindness from them. But they are untamable. 'Many of the half castes in New Zealand have a strong tendency to resume their savage nature and rejoin their tribes, after becoming apparently civilized.' Perhaps the most interesting chapter is that on the flax manufacture, which shows that that industry is profitable, and promises to be yet more so. The Kawau—that odd relic of an older world, for it would seem the main Islands are of the newest—is certainly full of interest, Sir George Grey, the proprietor, having done much for its improvement. There reigns a teetotal law, which seems to work well, and really the account of it is very interesting and attractive. There are, however, only forty souls on the Island, which Sir George means to increase to two hundred. There are many misprints here, probably accounted for by Mr. Tinne himself not having seen the proofs. Sometimes, too, rather trivial stories are retailed; but there are pieces of real adventure, and much information is given in a very light-some manner, while some of the autotype illustrations are very admirable.

New Japan, the Land of the Rising Sun: Its Annals during the past Twenty Years. Recording the remarkable progress of the Japanese in Western Civilization. By SAMUEL MOSSMAN. With Map. John Murray.

Perhaps no nation has a revolution to record within such a limited period which in many features of it is so remarkable as that of Japan; the history of which Mr. Mossman here presents to us. The means by which it has been achieved are as surprising as the revolution itself. Twenty years ago Japan was, and for two centuries had been, almost hermetically sealed from the rest of the world; its inhabitants were nearly independent of extraneous supplies, whilst the most stringent laws prohibited all intercourse with foreigners; the government refused all intercourse with outside barbarians, except through the small and ignoble Dutch settlement at Nagasaki. Everything pertaining to Japan was wrapped up in mystery, its very government was unknown; even Mr. Oliphant, who was attached to Lord Elgin's mission in 1853, utterly misconceived it in some important particulars. It was supposed, for instance, that the supreme power was vested in two coequal

personages, the 'Spiritual Emperor' or Mikado, and the 'Temporal Emperor' or Tycoon, more properly, Mr. Mossman tells us, the Sigoon. The fact really was that the Sigoon, as the title signifies, was only the generalissimo of the forces; the sole, legitimate, hereditary sovereign being the Mikado, or 'Great Emperor.' The policy of the Emperor was to maintain this misconception, that he might at any time declare null and void any treaties made by the Sigoon. Through the diplomatic skill of Sir Harry Parkes the Mikado was induced to endorse and confirm all that the Sigoon had done. The office of Sigoon was hereditary in one or two great families. The Damios were great feudal nobles having immense estates, some of them producing an annual revenue of seven or eight hundred thousand pounds. They had enormous numbers of retainers, were not very obedient to the sovereign, and often made war upon one another. The revolution of the last twenty years, developed through two or three important stages, consists of the opening of Japan to foreigners, and the substitution of a constitutional monarchy for the feudal system. To the Americans the credit belongs of having first compelled diplomatic and commercial intercourse; England followed, and by a more magnanimous and consummate policy soon took the lead; Russia, France, Prussia, and other nations followed. Some of the great Damios opposed intercourse with foreigners, and incited their followers to frequent outrages and murders, which the Sigoon was powerless to prevent. It will be remembered that a series of gross outrages led to an attack by the British fleet upon the forts of Satsuma, and the bombardment of Kagosima, which at the time produced a great sensation, and incurred much unmerited condemnation. It proved the turning point in the internal history of Japan. Satsuma, a clever and patriotic prince, was convinced of his error, and with three or four other great Damios became the advocate of intercourse with foreigners, and set himself to abolish feudalism. A civil war ensued, which ended in the abolition of the office of the Sigoon, and the establishment of a constitutional monarchy; Satsuma and the other Damios rendering the latter possible by a voluntary surrender of their feudal revenues and power. Few passages in history record more patriotic acts than this. It is full of the chivalry of romance. Japan is now governed constitutionally, it is open to intercourse with the whole world, and is making more rapid progress than any nation of the East. This wonderful story is narrated by Mr. Mossman with succinctness, and yet with fulness, in a plain matter-of-fact way, and with a knowledge derived apparently from journalism, and from a patient and minute acquaintance with diplomatic papers, books of travels, and apparently with those best informed concerning Japan. In virtue of its simple facts the book is full of interest, and will be to most readers an entirely new chapter in the world's history. We cannot commend it too highly.

From the Indus to the Tigris; a Narrative of

a Journey through the Countries of Baluchistan, Afghanistan, Khorassan, and Iran, in 1872. Together with a Synoptical Grammar and Vocabulary of the Brahoe Language; and a Record of the Meteorological Observations and Altitudes on the march from the Indus to the Tigris. By HENRY WALTER BELLEW, C.S.I., Surgeon Bengal Staff Corps. Trübner and Co.

The region traversed by Mr. Bellew in his mission to the Persian capital is invested with high interest by its historic associations, and its political importance at the present time. Lying between our Indian possessions on the one hand, and those of Russia on the other, it must excite the growing solicitude of statesmen and politicians, and command the attention of all who take any interest in the progress of European civilization. At present it is defaced by barbarism, anarchy, and oppression, and awaits the civilizing influences of some nation more advanced, and capable of raising it from its forlorn and debased condition. It has been the scene of many conflicts, and has been described by many travellers; but still the present narrative of a march from the Indus to the Tigris is valuable as well as interesting. Without any reference to the political objects of the mission, it very accurately describes the general nature of the country, illustrates the character and habits of its various peoples, and sketches the state of society prevalent among them. Passing on from one stage of his march to another, Mr. Bellew enlivens his narrative with many incidents, graphic sketches, and historic references. It is by no means a dry detail of encampment, locomotion, distances, and culinary preparations, but the accurate descriptions and enlightened views of an experienced and accomplished man. With unabated interest we have accompanied him throughout his extended march, and have derived pleasure and instruction from his narrative. A good map of the journey is wanting to the completeness of his volume. Many of his readers, unacquainted with the geography of the countries through which he passed, will fail in the interest they otherwise would have felt. With this exception the book has our unqualified commendation.

Wonders of the Yellow-stone Region in the Rocky Mountains, being a Description of its Geysers, Hot-springs, Grand Cañon, Waterfalls, Lake, and surrounding Scenery, explored in 1870-71. Edited by JAMES RICHARDSON. Illustrated by Twenty-one Wood Engravings, and Two Maps. Blackie and Son.

Books of travel or exploration abounding in descriptions of remarkable phenomena and scenery are numerous enough; but few can be found to equal, and certainly none to surpass, that now before us in its accounts of the marvellous and the magnificent. The Yellow-stone Region, of which this volume is a description, lies more than 6,000 feet above the level of the sea, and is hemmed in by the highest peaks of the Rocky Mountains. It covers an area of fifty-five by sixty-five miles, abounds in geysers unequalled in the world, and is throughout en-

riched with such beauties of scenery that it must seem a kind of fairyland. It is distant from New York 2,272 miles, and the United States Government have set it apart as a great national pleasure ground. The volume has been compiled by Mr. Richardson from reports and articles by various explorers who have furnished descriptions of the region, and will be read with great interest and amusement. One of the chapters, containing an account of the sufferings and privations of a Mr. West, who wandered from his party, and was lost for thirty-seven days, is one of the most thrilling things we have ever read.

The Alps of Arabia. Travels in Egypt, Sinai, Arabia, and the Holy Land. By WILLIAM CHARLES MAUGHAN. Henry S. King and Co.

In the Holy Land. By the Rev. ANDREW THOMSON, D.D. T. Nelson and Sons.

That Goodly Mountain and Lebanon. Being the Narrative of a Ride through the Countries of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee into Sgrïa, &c. By THOMAS JEUNE. Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

Palestine is more familiar to most of us than Yorkshire, and few ordinary travellers can hope to make any substantial addition to our knowledge of it, while few have individuality enough to make their subjective thoughts and feelings valuable. And yet few seasons pass without three or four books describing again the well-worn routes; and strange to say a book must be exceptionally bad not to find readers—for our interest is undying in

‘Those holy fields
Over whose acres walked those blessed feet
Which eighteen hundred years ago were nailed
For our advantage to the bitter cross.’

Of the three books before us, the first, a goodly octavo, is the most pretentious. It is, however, essentially commonplace; the mere record of a diary, giving but little information, and very jejune in remark. Our own familiarity with the ground travelled predisposes us to read with interest every description of it; but Mr. Maughan is too much for us—he cannot be excited either to enthusiasm or brilliancy.

Dr. Thomson who did not enter the desert, but took ship from Egypt to Joppa, and therefore is limited in his descriptions entirely to Palestine, has produced a much more vigorous and interesting book. Fully alive to the importance of what is being done by the Palestine Exploration Society, he made himself acquainted with its investigations, and every place is noted with a scholarly eye. The descriptions are quick and unpretentious, and free from false sentiment. The book adds nothing to our knowledge, but it is pleasant and stimulating to read, and is well illustrated.

Mr. Jeune traversed almost the same route as Dr. Thomson; but his book is not equal to that of the latter, it is more cursory, and is little more than a diary with here and there pious reflections. What he did not himself see, Sebaste, for instance—the interesting site of Samaria, he describes by quotations from those

who have seen it. The book is simple and unpretending, and will interest the author's friends.

Memorials of the Rev. James Rowland, of Henley-on-Thames. By his THREE DAUGHTERS. Preface by the Rev. T. BINNEY. Introductory Letter by JOHN STOUGHTON, D.D. (Hodder and Stoughton.) Mr. Rowland almost realized the ideal of a Christian pastor. Devout, gentle, genial, wise, and loving, he invited religious confidence by his manifest religious sympathies, and in his sphere, and according to his intellectual power, was perhaps as helpful to men's religious life as any minister of this generation. Of pious parentage, he early devoted himself to the ministry, and pursued an uneventful life, full of goodness, simplicity, and consecrated purpose. This simple memoir of him is charming in its tenderness, and full of spiritual inspiration. Mr. Binney, who introduces this memoir of his friend, has, alas! soon followed him. His greater gifts and more prominent services will in due time demand fitting recognition.—*Memoir of John Lovering Cooke, formerly a Gunner in the Royal Artillery, &c.* With a Sketch of the Indian Mutiny of 1857–8. By the Rev. CHARLES H. H. WRIGHT, M.A. (James Nisbet and Co.) John Cooke, the son of a Devonshire farm labourer, enlisted in the artillery, and was one of the force which, embarking for China, was diverted to India, where it did such great service in quelling the mutiny. His services give occasion for the sketch of the mutiny, which is drawn chiefly from Sir J. W. Kaye's ‘Sepoy War,’ and the lives of Havelock and Lawrence, in addition to some interesting details of Cooke's own experience. Cooke, after previous religious impressions and purposes, and after severe struggles and fluctuations, became a religious man in Lucknow. He returned to England, obtained his discharge, and married; became a policeman, and at length found his work as a missionary to seamen in Boulogne. The narrative is full of unusual interest, both of incident and of religious feeling.—*Memoir of the Rev. John James Weitbrecht, of the Church Missionary Society.* Abridged from his Journal and Letters by his WIDOW. With a Preface by the Rev. HENRY VENN, B.A. (James Nisbet and Co.) We need only announce an abridged and cheaper edition of one of the most interesting missionary biographies of our day.—*Sketches of Modern Paris.* Translated from the German by FRANCES LOCOCK. (Provost and Co.) A series of light and pleasant sketches of the Paris of the Second Empire, its scenes, manners, and celebrities. They are written by a German, and were first published in Germany. The writer seems to have had access to certain court *fêtes*, and describes court life at the Tuileries and Fontainebleau. The sketches are full of reminiscences of Louis Napoleon's early fortunes, and those of his friends, and therefore of piquant contrasts. The writer has an amiable feeling of admiration for success, and the curtain falls before the huge catastrophe of

1870. Some of the stories told, illustrative of Parisian life, are very curious. The book throughout is very interesting.—*Winter at the Italian Lakes*. (Sampson Low and Co.) Perhaps the best praise that we can bestow upon this little book is negative. It is not bump-tious, nor gushing, nor extravagant, nor affected. It narrates in a simple matter-of-fact way the personal experiences and impressions of some English travellers on journeys and in places that are almost as familiar as Cheapside. There is, *apropos* of Dover Castle, a needless gird at Mr. Gladstone and the advocates of disestablishment, but generally the travellers are good-natured, and disposed to be pleased with anything reasonable.

POLITICS, SCIENCE, AND ART.

Verfassung und Demokratie der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Von Dr. H. v. Holst, A.O. Professor an der Universität Strassburg. 1. Theil: *Staatsouveränität und Sklaverei*. Düsseldorf: Julius Buddeus.

Considering the multitude of works already published on American politics, another history of the United States ought to have special merits to warrant its recommendation. Nevertheless, we do not hesitate to recommend Professor Holst's volume very cordially. It is an instalment, as the author deals here only with the origin of the Union and the domestic history of the States up till 1838. After he has completed the historical part, he proposes in another work—if encouraged to carry out this plan—to discuss in detail the constitutional principles that have taken firm root in American institutions, and the rights and privileges of the people under them. Then, in a further work he will consider the actual political and socio-political circumstances of the United States. His plan is comprehensive, and we hope he will be able to execute it. For the present we have to do only with the first portion of the historical introduction. It has been prepared with marked carefulness, and is the fruit of much industry and research. But its merits consist not in this only or chiefly, but in the admirable clearness with which the author traces the distinctive characteristics and perils of the United States from the formation of the Union. The seeds of all the controversies and quarrels which resulted at last in the Civil War were laid in the circumstances and conditions of the Union and in the Constitution. The United States originated not from the independence of individual States, but from the declaration by Congress of their collective organization. They were no longer thirteen, but one. Nevertheless the independence of the individual States was at the same time maintained. It was assumed that each of the thirteen States was 'a free and independent State,' although as a historical fact there was no independence of the separate colonies

before the 'Declaration of Independence.' Two opposite tendencies were thus adopted, and found expression in the Constitution itself—the tendency towards national unity, and the tendency towards State sovereignty; and with them the seeds were sown of all future divisions and controversies. Accordingly Professor Holst lays down the proposition that the question of nullification and secession was not first raised by Calhoun and his followers, but was as old as the Constitution, and was always a living question, though it was sometimes in abeyance. Its roots lay in the actual relations of the States; and the Constitution was an expression of these relations. In the work before us the growth of these early seeds is traced, and we see how they came to be closely associated with the question of slavery. Slavery after a time was geographically defined, and the opposition between the slave and the free States was intensified by economical considerations. Their interests became economically antagonistic. From the moment that slavery was confined to a definite portion of the United States cut off from the rest by a clear geographical line, a struggle was inevitable, and it was hardly possible it could have been decided without war. The Civil War has, of course, decided it, and the United States are now by force of events a nation, with the unity of a nation, and capable of collective national action. The Constitution left the problem unsolved. The Constitution attempted an ineffectual compromise between the two tendencies, and therefore the roots of the Civil War were in it, or rather in the relations which it consolidated. Professor Holst's work is of value, because it makes all this clear.

Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. By JAMES FITZJAMES STEPHEN, C.Q. Second Edition. Smith, Elder, and Co.

In our notice of the first edition of Mr. Stephen's book we pointed out how in his violent reaction against indifferentism shielding itself under the broad ægis of liberty, he really teaches a doctrine of sheer force as the ultimate and supreme authority of civil government; thus virtually retrograding to the old sanctions of despotism. In a lengthened preface to this second edition he endeavours to meet the objections to this teaching of Mr. John Morley and Mr. Frederick Harrison—the one as representing the Positivist the other the Radical objections to his views. This consists chiefly of a more explicit reiteration of the positions maintained in his essay, which he thinks Mr. Morley has failed to apprehend. Chiefly Mr. Stephen maintains that the attempt to distinguish between self-regarding acts and acts which regard others, which is the pivot upon which Mr. Mill's theory of liberty turns, is like an attempt to distinguish between acts which happen in time and acts which happen in space. Mr. Mill's theory is, that compulsion in relation to the self-regarding parts of conduct and in societies of a certain degree of development, is always bad. Mr. Stephen's, that every moral and religious system, and every social relationship necessarily involves com-

pulsion, and is to be vindicated. The truth is, that Mr. Mill's doctrine of freedom is carried to an extreme, which has generated Mr. Stephen's extreme doctrine of force. The argument is necessarily one of details, which we cannot here follow. Mr. Harrison's chief objection is that Mr. Stephen believes in a future state of moral reward and punishment. He teaches a horrible form of religion, which Mr. Harrison calls 'The Religion of Inhumanity,' or 'Stephenism,' the central article of whose creed is a belief in hell—to which Mr. Stephens replies 'that there is not a word in my book which implies or suggests that I believe in hell—that is, in any place or state of infinite torture reserved for the wicked after death. In fact I do not hold that doctrine; for I see no sufficient evidence of it.' The hopeless feeling which such an inability on the part of a man like Mr. Harrison, to understand a plain statement, produces may well excuse our pursuing farther the logomachy of this preface. Mr. Stephen, no doubt, in the estimation of all Comtists, has committed an unpardonable sin, in maintaining that morality has any relation to a future state, although he reduces belief in this to a minimum, and puts it almost apologetically; but this is no reason why his meaning should be misrepresented, or even misunderstood. Mr. Stephen simply refuses to renounce a hope to which the strongest instincts of our nature point, upon which the very possibility of religion is conditioned, and which with exceptions so few as to be virtually unworthy of notice, all the generations of mankind, including its greatest heretics, have firmly held.

The Principles of Science. By W. STANLEY JEVONS. Two Vols. Macmillan and Co.

Professor Jevons has devoted himself to the most abstract, and therefore the most barren and unpopular, of the sciences with more than professional zeal, and this comprehensive work will worthily sustain his high reputation. It aims to apply to all the processes of mind concerned in reasoning, a single principle, of which, till lately, Mr. Jevons believed that he was the discoverer. He is consequently able to give a unity to the science of logic which it has never yet possessed. Hitherto, logicians have either, like Hamilton, been slaves of the Syllogism, and practically ignored Induction, or, like Mill, have laboriously examined the pretensions of Deduction, only to bow it respectfully out of court. Mr. Jevons believes that he can restore the balance, by depriving the one of its scholasticism, restricting the other to its proper province, and showing that both are forms of the same process. This process is the incessant establishment of identities, and the supreme rule of inference founded on it consists in the direction to affirm of anything whatever is known of its like, equal, or equivalent. Mr. Jevons first proposed to employ this process in his 'Pure Logic,' in 1864, and the wide scope of the principle he first stated in his 'Substitution of Similars,' in 1869. He now discovers that, in the application of it to the syllogism, he has been anticipated by Beneke

and the Port-Royalists. We may add, and are surprised that Mr. Jevons seems unaware of the fact, that he has been anticipated by Mr. Herbert Spencer in the application of it to all processes of reasoning whatever. The logician's 'substitution of similars' is merely the psychologist's 'equality of relations;' and Mr. Spencer's analysis of equivalence in all mental relations, and Mr. Jevons' substitution of similars in all inferential acts, have merely such differences (apart from a fundamental one on the limits of reasoning) as are incident to the logical and psychological characters of the two treatises. In the order of his exposition Mr. Jevons first comes to *terms*, and finds it necessary (in the interest of the identification he establishes between the methods of mathematics and logic) to show that they are governed by two laws—the law of simplicity (that the combination of a logical term with itself is without effect) and the law that the manner of their combination is a matter of indifference. (The latter is psychologically justified by Spencer in analyzing the relation of co-existences.) Mr. Jevons next applies his principle of substitution to propositions, for the reason that these assert *identities*—of space, time, manner, quantity, degree, &c.; and though the word identity is metaphysically objectionable, there is, perhaps, no other single word which expresses so well the idea of equality, equivalence, co-extensiveness, or perfect similarity. As every proposition can be reduced to the form of an identity, all the old rules for the conversion of propositions are rendered needless, and puzzled youths may shut up their 'Whately': they will now have the easier task of reducing propositions to identities, and then find that these convert themselves. The materials for inference—terms and propositions—being now sorted, Mr. Jevons analyzes the simplest mode of reasoning—direct deduction—and shows that all its forms can be explained by his principle of substitution; and thus he finally unmasks—for he is completely successful—the venerable imposture of the Syllogism. The only defence Mill could set up for the ancient method was that it enabled us to detect or to avoid fallacies; but Mr. Jevons proves that in this respect too its 'occupation's gone.' Mr. Jevons has indeed carried his process of simplification so far that he has replaced the Syllogism by a machine which might astonish Aristotle as much as Albert's automaton did Thomas Aquinas. The possibility of thus performing logical operations mechanically seems to him to prove that mathematics and logic are concerned fundamentally with the same process; and he undoubtedly improves on Boole by regarding mathematics as a differentiation of logic, and not logic as a simpler form of mathematics; logic is the most abstract and remote of all the sciences. Up to this point we have found ourselves in almost complete agreement with Mr. Jevons, and have confined our remarks to simple exposition. But with the statement, which he seems to regard as novel, that induction is the inverse process to deduction, he enters on the larger half of the

province of logic, and there his conclusions may meet with a less unqualified approval. His definition of induction will be objected to by no one; it is that equally of the metaphysical and of the scientific logician; it is when he distinguishes between perfect and imperfect induction that he parts company with the latter to camp out in the cold with the metaphysician. 'Induction is perfect,' he says, 'when we assert of a whole class what we have previously found to be true of every single member of it.' As Mr. Jevons admits, this is merely to sum up in a brief form a multitude of particulars. But though the abbreviation of mental labour is, as he contends, an important aid in the acquisition of knowledge, it does not follow that it is reasoning; and unless Mr. Jevons has something more to say in its favour than that it is absolutely essential to any high degree of mental achievement, we see no reason to reverse the judgment pronounced by such a logician as Mill, and confirmed by such a psychologist as Spencer, that this process is not rightly described as induction. It is simply, in fact, classification, and as involving no act of inference but only perception, is to be connected with the kindred processes of naming and recognition, which, like it, are the necessary preliminaries of induction. With such a definition of perfect induction, Mr. Jevons was bound to make a bold stand against the men of science. He accordingly defines imperfect induction as that in which the proof is incomplete, and of which the results, 'however well authenticated and verified, are never more than probable.' Induction 'never makes any real addition to our knowledge;' it 'merely unfolds the information contained in past observations or events.' The argument in support of this position is logical, and psychological. As psychological, it maintains that we cannot make 'any real additions to the contents of our knowledge, except through new impressions upon the senses, or upon some seat of feeling.' As logical, it asserts that we can never be sure that the future will be as the present—that nature is like an infinite ballot-box, the contents of which we imperfectly know, and which will not necessarily remain unchanged. With regard to the former, is it consistent with the assertion (vol. i. p. 9) that, 'before the mind can perceive or reason at all it must have the conditions of thought impressed on it,' since these conditions may be such as, certain members of a class having been given in experience, to compel the drawing of a conclusion true of the whole class? Is it consistent with the admission (which Mr. Jevons is ready to make) of Mr. Spencer's views, according to which things impress their conditions on thought, and thus bringing the mind into alliance with nature—an alliance brought ever closer by the lapse of generations, justify that tendency of the mind to proceed in advance of its actual experience, which is ascribed by the older sensationalists (like Bain) to the 'corruption' of human nature? With regard to the logical argument, we will say only that the progress of science is all in the direction of confirming the stability of nature and extending the reign

of law, and that the development of the cosmos itself tends increasingly to exclude those extensive alterations and sudden catastrophes which Mr. Jevons appears to think not impossible. It would be indeed disheartening if all the sciences—the bulk of each of which consists of inductions—were shown to be built on the sand. But Mr. Jevons, who refuses to believe in Mr. Gladstone's mortality, until it is satisfactorily established that the properties of the ex-Premier are identical with those of men who have already died, is extremely exigent in the matter of proof; and while it is desirable that young students of logic should imbibe somewhat of his caution, we doubt the propriety of throwing down in the last pages of a book a rash subversive proposition, the improbability of which does not prevent a theory of inductive inference from being based on it. But while disposed to be critical over some twenty or thirty pages of these two volumes, we feel bound to express our sense of the very great merits of the whole work. The chapters dealing with the quantitative developments of logic are of the highest value, and appear to constitute a real advance in logical science.

Animal Locomotion; or, Walking, Swimming, and Flying. With a Dissertation on Aëronautics. By J. BELL PETTIGREW, M.D., &c. Henry S. King and Co.

The seventh volume of the International Scientific series is a treatise on a most interesting and complicated subject. Animal locomotion involves the most complicated problems in dynamics which have ever been posed. There is no subject on which it seems easier to theorise, and none on which it is more difficult to reconcile theory with observation and experiment. Hence there never was a subject which has been encompassed with greater errors. Observation of flying bird or bounding quadruped, is itself difficult. The conditions of successful experiment are most complicated, and even an isolated motion can scarcely be reduced to a mathematical formula. It is to be feared that this volume will disappoint the general reader much, the student more, and the physicist and mathematician most of all. The author, it is true, has read on the subject. He has observed, and also experimented; but he cannot be said to have mastered any branch of his subject; and by distributing his powers over so wide a field he has failed to make any part of it clear, or even to follow it for future cultivation. The language is indefinite where it needs to be precise, and when the meaning is gained, it is often found to be vague, contrary to experience, and even impossible in fact.

After the introduction, the subject is naturally divided into progression (1) on the land, (2) in the water, and (3) through the air. There is an added chapter on Aëronautics, which, with that part which treats of the difference in structure of the wings of insects, bats, and birds will be found to be the best worthy of attention. M. Marcy, of whom the author speaks somewhat disparagingly, is engaged in resolving the problems of flight in a far more systematic way

than seems to have been adopted by Dr. Petigrew, and such part of the subject as can be derived from observation of birds in flight, assisted by theory, has been anticipated in a far more fascinating style by the Duke of Argyll in his 'Reign of Law.'

The defect of the book arises from the complicated nature of the question involved rather than from the inadequate powers of the author. Science has scarcely yet advanced into the outskirts of the subject, and hence any treatise which runs over such a wide range of yet untrodden ground is necessarily unsatisfactory.

The Naturalist in Nicaragua; a Narrative of a Residence at the Gold Mines of Chontales; Journeys in the Savannas and Forests. With Observations on Animals and Plants, in Reference to the Theory of Evolution of Living Forms. By THOMAS BELT, F.G.S. John Murray.

This work may take rank with the best books of travel. If it fall short of those contributions to our knowledge of distant regions which have been made by Darwin, Livingstone, Ellis, Wallace, and Bates, this is because the country whose natural history and objects of interest it describes is not so exclusively opened up to us by the author, as were the countries visited by the before-mentioned travellers. Mr. Belt is an accomplished naturalist. A practical geologist and mineralogist, as his employment as manager of a mining company requires, he gives evidence of the possession of considerable knowledge of physics, botany, and natural history. Even these subjects do not monopolize his attention in so rich a field as central America; for the ethnology and philology of the country occupy some very interesting pages in the treatise.

The author says truly of his book, 'it is full of theories.' His trust that they are not unsupported by facts has also been justified. Indeed, in this case it has always been the facts observed at first hand, and verified by a constant and close inspection of nature, which have suggested the theories. This is in happy contrast to those books which we are so often called on to notice where novel theories exercise a selective, if not a creative influence, on the facts which are subsequently enlisted in their defence. One of the most interesting of these theories is the explanation of the origin of whirlwinds and cyclones. These, the author remarks, always occur in still, hot, clear weather; and he attributes them to the heating of the air in contact with the heat-absorbing earth till it becomes lighter than the superimposed strata, while it retains its place by the viscosity of the air, favoured by the absolute stillness of the atmosphere, until some slight cause creates a local upward motion of a column, whose stream being fed from all sides, becomes rotary, just as occurs in the converse case when water runs out at a hole at the bottom of a vessel. This theory well agrees with the phenomena of mirage, whose explanation presupposes a denser atmosphere above, and a lighter one nearer the earth.

Mr. Belt has embraced the Darwinian hypo-

thesis with ardour; and he contributes many facts which he believes support it, chiefly turning upon what has been ill-advisedly called mimicry, and on the interdependence of species, as when ants protect trees which afford them special vegetable food, or cherish and defend plant lice, scale insects, and leaf-hoppers, as kine which afford them nectar in return.

Another instance of the acuteness and logical power of the author is given in accounting for the wide range of fresh-water species. This was treated by Darwin as a difficulty in the acceptance of his theory; but Mr. Belt adduces it as the most probable result, assuming his theory to be true.

Instances of the reasoning powers of ants and monkeys, derived from personal observation, will be found to be of great interest, and would serve to prove that ants may take the first rank among insects for intellectual endowments, and that the new-world monkeys, though they may be of lower type structurally, are not inferior in mental ability to their old world congeners. The author evidently thinks that the supplanting of the ancient Indians by the Spanish and mongrel races, which are now driving them out, is a matter of regret rather than of congratulation.

The Unity of Natural Phenomena; a Popular Introduction to the Study of the Forces of Nature. From the French of M. EMILE SAIGEZ. With an Introduction and Notes by T. F. MOSES, A.M., M.D., Professor of Natural Science in Urbana University. Boston, U.S.: Este and Lauriat.

This is the first volume of a series entitled 'Science for the People.' The treatise propounds a theory which is a modification of that which, from the interchangeable nature and commensurability of the physical forces, has announced their unity. Sound, light, electricity, chemical action, the attractive forces, and mechanical action are stated to be but modifications of the same dynamic agent. This theory is somewhat abruptly and theatrically expressed in the exclamation—'The atom and motion: behold the universe!' The atom here spoken of, however, is used in a sense different from that in which it has hitherto been employed, either by the physicist or the chemist. It is an imponderable and ultimate particle of an ether which pervades all space, and permeates all substances. This, however, is not a simple revival of the hypothesis of an ether which was considered the necessary medium of light; for though imponderable itself, the atom of ether would seem to be capable, according to the author, by aggregation of like atoms, of forming ponderable molecules of matter. The theory is stated boldly, the illustrations are striking and clear, and some of the arguments ingenious.

Surely, however, this is not a well-chosen introduction to popular science. If it be, then Bacon's inductive system must be considered to be quite superseded. To commence with a theory which, in the form in which it has been already adopted by its advocates has been scarcely made to apply to many phenomena, notably including those connected with electricity, and

to engraft on to this a modification which appears to be in one aspect untenable, and in another gratuitous, is not the way to inculcate upon neophytes the best scientific method.

Etruscan Researches. By ISAAC TAYLOR, M.A., Author of 'Words and Places.' Macmillan and Co.

If we say that Mr. Taylor has written a book which has all the interest of a romance, we may seem to pay but a doubtful compliment to the learning and labour of which this volume is the result. Yet for all who know that history has many a true story to tell which is stranger than fiction, there will be nothing surprising in the assertion. The literature of the Etruscans consists of some hundreds of inscriptions, many of them so mutilated as to be beyond deciphering, and few of them giving information more important than that which may be read on the ordinary grave-stones of our country churchyards. But this nation which has thus passed away (if indeed it be a fact that it has passed away) sojourned for at least a millennium, and perhaps for a vastly longer period, in a land where it was surrounded by tribes utterly alien to it, it would seem, in language, in thought, in religion, in habits, in law—unaffected itself by their social order or their creeds, yet influencing indefinitely their faith and their usages, whether in peace or in war. It rose to greatness, it attained to wealth, and as living in the future rather than in the present, it lavished its wealth in adorning the homes of the dead rather than in furnishing the dwellings of the living. The dead, in truth, were for them more really alive than the men and women who passed before them in this life of change and sorrow; and for those who had but gone before them on the path which all must tread, they employed all the resources of their art and all the powers of their genius. Unquestionably these powers were not insignificant. Their sepulchres, their vases, their mirrors exhibit the work of sculptors very little behind the greatest of the Hellenic race, and of painters whose appreciation of colour and fearlessness in employing it were perhaps unsurpassed even in the age and the country of Pericles. Mr. Taylor may well ask whether from this people, who, although conquered by Sulla, were not extinguished, may not have come the heritage of that splendid intellect which has made the Tuscan art of Christian ages, the art of Giotto and Fra Angelico, of Leonardo and Correggio, of Michael Angelo and Raphael (all, with a host of others, Tuscans), the wonder and admiration of the world.

If, then, the matter of their inscriptions may be in itself not much more attractive or important than the records of the antediluvian patriarchs of the Pentateuch, the language of these inscriptions has an interest which cannot be exaggerated. A knowledge of their speech must, it is impossible to doubt, show us where to look for the path by which this strange people reached their Italian home, and the stock from which they sprung. Nor can it be said that efforts have been lacking to open the locks of which the key had been lost for ages. But

these attempts have been made on some preconceived theory as to the family of languages to which the dialect or dialects of the Etruscans belonged; and the result, it must candidly be allowed, has been thus far a failure. Mr. Taylor has rightly chosen to follow a different method, by making 'everything subordinate to the task of establishing the ethnic affinities of the Etruscan people, and confining himself, therefore, as far as possible, to the analysis of words and phrases of which there exists some independent indication.' (P. 377.) But in the compass of a few paragraphs we can do no more than state the general results of his inquiry, and the process by which it has been reached.

More important perhaps, even than grammatical forms are the numerals of a language; and happily the discovery in an Etruscan tomb near Toscanella of a pair of dice, in 1848, has helped to bridge over a gulf as impassable as that which yawned before Egyptologists prior to the discovery of the Rosetta stone. On these dice were cut six monosyllabic words. The presumption, of course, was that these words were the numerals from one to six; the task was to trace these numerals into some other language. All attempts to identify them with either Semitic or Aryan numerals proved wholly vain. It remained only to compare them with the numerals in dialects belonging to the Turanian family of speech. In Mr. Taylor's belief this comparison alone suffices to disclose the secret. 'Not only are these six numerals clearly and decisively Ugric, but in several cases they actually supply the ancient forms from which the modern Ugric numeral must have been derived, and thus enables us to connect apparently unrelated numerals in various Ugric languages.'

We may hesitate to commit ourselves, at this stage of the inquiry, to positive conclusions which may possibly have to be modified hereafter, or to be rejected; but we may at least say that Mr. Taylor has brought together evidence vast in extent and unquestionably great in its cumulative force; and that he has fairly swept away the presumptions which might be urged as reasons for refusing to examine that evidence on the threshold. That some links in his chain may be weak he candidly admits; but his main conclusion can scarcely be affected, even if it should turn out that on some points he has pushed his argument too far.

If, however, his general conclusion be established, we are brought face to face with problems of absorbing interest; and it will be the duty of philologists not merely to allow that some connecting links between Aryan and Turanian speech may be forthcoming hereafter, but to examine those which, as it is asserted, have been discovered already, and to determine, if it be possible, whether Aryans and Turanians were or were not once one people, as certainly as Hindus, Persians, Greeks, and Teutons once dwelt together in a common home. The establishment of such a connection will not, we may be assured, leave the Semitic tribes on one side.

Mr. Taylor's careful and conscientious work

makes us still more impatient for the long promised volume of Professor Corssen. If the methods and conclusions of these two scholars should be in substantial agreement, we may look for a rich harvest of facts which may displace many old theories, and shake many long-cherished convictions.

Body and Mind: an Inquiry into their Connection and Mutual Influence, Specially in Reference to Mental Disorders. An Enlarged and Revised Edition, to which are added Psychological Essays. By HENRY MAUDSLEY, M.D. Macmillan and Co.

The additional matter appended to the original contents of this volume, consists of important essays which, like the body of the work, give us the impression of a man who has resolved to survey the universe, to estimate history, to measure genius, and to judge of theological as well as psychological facts from the stand-point of morbid anatomy, from the wards of a lunatic asylum.

The address on 'Conscience and Organization' delivered before the British Medical Association, denounces 'the theologic notion of the relations of mind and body,' as though the psychology of the Bible were confined to the theory of diseased mind, or mainly occupied with the doctrine of diabolical possession. It is impossible not to echo his disapproval of the cruel methods of treatment adopted with different forms of mental disease, nor to accept his conclusion that science has been more merciful than either the metaphysical or theological hypothesis of the facts. He pretends to discuss the question 'whether there is not the same essential connection between moral sense and brain which there is between thought and brain?' 'whether the conscience is a function of organization?' His answer is that moral insanity is connected with diseased tissue, and inherited neurosis. He certainly establishes by startling facts the visitation upon successive generations of the sins of ancestors, in the shape of morbid propensity and deficient will, as also the occasional effects of mental insanity upon the moral feelings. He shows that there is room for large investigation, but we feel convinced that it will lead to a deeper recognition of the prime necessity in which human nature stands of that supernatural life the record of which is the history of the kingdom of God upon earth. Those who have studied that record with scientific care to note all the facts, know well that there is no change in human nature so wonderful and complete as that from the anarchy of the passions to the peace of the Gospel, from the utter latency of all the gene-

rous altruistic emotions to their glorious blossoming, from barbarism to loftiest spiritual culture, from darkness to marvellous light. One of these days scientific men will be compelled to deal with the facts of the kingdom of God and the divine life which is evolving itself in regions where they might see it if they would. *

The essays on Hamlet and Swedenborg are full of interest. The first is somewhat diffuse and wandering, but is a study of character which may take a fair place in the literature which has gathered round that wondrous creation. It is with considerable skill that Dr. Maudsley shows how his conception of the peculiar moral weakness and mental strength of Hamlet breaks through the mask of the feigned madness, how irresolution and impulse dominating the fixed idea of the duty of vengeance imposed upon him led him at last to stab his uncle, without at the moment being conscious of the weird weight of his life-long passion of revenge for his father's death.

The essay on Swedenborg is an elaborate estimate of the philosopher and enthusiast from the stand-point of morbid mental conditions. While honour is done to the brilliant flashes of genius that are scattered through his writings, and a just estimate given of the utterly unscientific method of Swedenborg's physical science, large space is devoted to the incontestable proofs of Swedenborg's mental disease at the great crisis of his life, and which must be held to account for the dogmatical absurdities of his special revelations and interpretations of Scripture. The other papers in the volume are on the 'Theory of Vitality,' and the 'Limits of Philosophical Inquiry.'

The Great Ice-Age and its Relation to the Antiquity of Man. By JAMES GEIKIE, F.R.S.E., F.G.S. Isbister and Co.

In this work, which consists to a great extent of a series of essays published in the *Geological Magazine*, Mr. James Geikie has made a serious literary mistake. He intended it, he tells us in his preface, to relate to the ice-age of Great Britain, and yet subsequently he has tacked on to it general conclusions as to the glacial phenomena of the whole of the northern hemisphere, without the knowledge necessary for success. As a special treatise on the minute and complicated glacial deposits of Scotland, it is of great value; but the patriotic attempt to make that small region the standard by which 'the great ice-age' in Europe, Northern Asia, and North America is to be measured, could obviously end only in failure. He classifies the Scotch deposits in the following ascending order:—

1. Till, with intercolated and subjacent deposits.
2. Boulder-clay in maritime regions; till in the interior, and perched blocks at high levels.
3. Morainic *débris*; perched blocks; and ancient river-gravels or diluvium with animal remains.
4. Kames.

{ Intense glacial conditions (general ice-sheet) with intervening periods, marked by milder climates.

{ Ice-sheet melting back; gigantic local glaciers entering the sea.

{ Further retreat of the ice; local glaciers; large rivers; climate passing to temperate.

{ Depression of the land; climate temperate, or cold-temperate.

5. Brick-clays, &c., with arctic and boreal shells; erratics.

6. Valley moraines.

If we allow that this scheme represents the sequence of events over the whole of Scotland, which is a generous concession to make, since all the glacial deposits of that limited region have not as yet been explored, we deny that it applies to those of England. The labours of Darwin, Ramsay, Hull, Kinahan, and others, which are most admirably summed up in Sir Charles Lyell's 'Antiquity of Man,' have merely resulted in the recognition of three distinct phases: First, a period of intense cold, during which a great ice-sheet occupied the higher grounds to the north of the valley of the Thames; secondly, a warmer period, in which the region north of that line was submerged, and Britain was reduced to the condition of an archipelago; and thirdly, a reversion to a cooler temperature, marked by the local glaciers which flowed down from the hills of Wales, Derbyshire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Ireland, which were higher then than they are now. These three divisions have been proved by Mr. Jamieson in 1865 to apply equally well to Scotland.

The local variations in this three-fold arrangement in the English glacial deposits are so great that it is impossible in the present state of our knowledge, to attempt a more minute division applicable to any large area, a point on which we would refer Mr. Geikie to the maps constructed by the geological surveyors. Further than this, the knowledge of the glacial deposits is at present so imperfect, that it is not certain that the three divisions in Lancashire and Cheshire are contemporaneous with the three in East Anglia. If we reflect on the necessary results of a severe climate, it is evident that an appeal to the mineralogical condition of the surface accumulations does not afford a means of fixing the age. Ice may have covered, and probably did cover all the higher hills, depositing a *moraine profonde*, while the rivers deposited sand and gravel in lower districts, or icebergs dropped their burden of boulder-clay over a submerged area as close by. We therefore hold Mr. Geikie's correlation of the English with the Scotch deposits to be altogether without value, and the classification of the lower boulder-clay of Lancashire with the second of his divisions to be untenable.

Still less will this complicated classification apply to the Continental deposits of the ice-age. They fall naturally into three divisions—two glacial separated from each other by inter-glacial accumulations—peat, lignite, sand, and gravel—formed under temperate conditions. With regard to the last, the author makes the careless mistake of asserting that the Asiatic elephant, which has never yet been found in Europe in the fossil state, and the cave bear, were among the animals discovered in Dürnten, apparently in ignorance of the list of species identified by Falconer and Rüttimeyer.

The author concludes his work with the
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Return of glacial conditions; period of floating ice; climate not so intense as during accumulation of till; re-elevation of the land. Final retreat of the glaciers.

extraordinary speculation that all the deposits in valleys containing the remains of man along with the bones of the extinct animals, are 'inter-glacial,' and that the palæolithic age is divided from the neolithic by an icy barrier. The arguments brought forward by Prestwich, Evans, and others, that palæolithic man inhabited Europe in post-glacial times, because his implements occur in gravels, such as those of Hoxne or Bedford, which are later than the adjacent boulder-clays, are set aside by the unsupported assertion that the latter belong, in the author's opinion, to the older series or the till, or boulder-clay of Scotland. We would call his attention to the well-known discovery of a refuse-heap at Schussenreid on an ancient moraine, which places the fact beyond doubt that palæolithic man lived in Germany after the retreat of the glaciers of the Rhine, or in post-glacial times. On the other hand, we challenge Mr. Geikie to quote one example of an inter-glacial deposit in any part of Europe containing palæolithic implements. Even if one such could be found, he would find some difficulty in referring the gravels of the Seine, the Somme, or the Thames, to his inter-glacial series of strata.

The 'great ice-age' was merely a phase in the history of the pleistocene period, and not confined to that period. We hold that there is no proof of the severity of climate having extended over the whole of the northern hemisphere at the same time, which the author assumes. To quote the words of Professor Phillips, 'one is almost frozen to silence' at the extreme views held by the 'glacialists.' We close this book containing the latest development of these views, with the wish that they had been advanced only in relation to Scotland, which the author knows as well as any man. The history of ice action in general, and the classification of the glacial deposits, are far more ably and philosophically treated in a few chapters of Lyell's 'Antiquity,' than in this costly and well-illustrated book.

Darwinism and Design, or Creation by Evolution. By GEORGE ST. CLAIR, F.G.S. Hodder and Stoughton.

Mr. St. Clair accepts the evolution hypothesis of Darwin and Spencer, and in fact presents with remarkable clearness and succinctness the evidence on which it rests, and the phenomena which it seeks to explain. He admits the subjective character of species, and the origination of variety under the pressure of external conditions, and the tendency of the variety most in harmony with its environment to prevail over that which is less so. He treats the preservation of homologous parts in the great families of animated nature as signs of hereditary relationship rather than as indications of a vast plan. He allows the prodigious influence of sexual selection on the development of special peculiarities in both sexes. He re-

fers rudimentary organs and partially developed peculiarities to the same general theory of evolution of all things, and resists the criticism by which many of these positions have been assailed. So far the volume is a valuable text-book to the doctrine of evolution, as every statement is confirmed or even made in the language of one or other of the distinguished writers who have been chiefly associated with the modern promotion of the idea. Here, however, he parts company with many of them, and proceeds to argue the mental necessity in which the theory lands the student, of supposing a Creator of boundless wisdom and beneficence. He endeavours to maintain that evolution is the method of creation, that the design-argument is unaffected and even re-constituted by the hypothesis; and so far from accepting the 'purposelessness' of nature, he handles with great acumen those which have been advanced; and shows that—as e.g., in the foetal teeth of the whale—if the whole of the long process of modification be regarded as the Divine method in which needful and excellent varieties are obtained and certain peculiarities dispensed with, the changes which are effected would not have been possible unless the force were present, which would be certain to eventuate in some other correlated peculiarity. Mr. St. Clair lays great emphasis on the properties of living substance being foreseen in all their infinite complication, and as designed to evolve their innumerable varieties. He shows that the simple, broad facts of evolution, or rather the commonly accepted phenomena of heredity and variation, ought to inspire admiration and wonder. Why not go further, and see in the laws and properties of matter the direct operations of the Creator, alike of things and of their forms and modes of behaviour? Whence came the properties of nitrogen, and the undulations of æther, and the protoplasmic energy? Neither the universality nor constancy of a relation like that of heredity throws a ray of light upon its mystery. We agree that the acceptance of Darwinism need not deprive us of our Creator, nor ought it to blind us to His intelligence or goodness, but we are satisfied that Mr. Darwin has given a most insufficient exposition of the origin of the moral nature of man, and that the attempt to refer Christianity to the same general theory does much to unwind the strands of the whole argument. We will not contest the point here, but simply remind Mr. St. Clair that it is not enough to reply to the objection to evolution based on its abolition of the soul and its immortality that evolution is not answerable for these difficulties, and to say that other hypotheses about the human embryo and the birth of man are beset with like puzzles. We congratulate the author on the ground of his conscientious and scientific treatment of a profound and intricate problem. He suggests from the correlation of the physical and vital forces that, if the final evolution of energy is consciousness, and will, it is reasonable to suppose that the starting-place, the origin of all force, is *infinite* mind and will. This is an ingenious *argumentum ad hominem*, but we are far from

accepting any such transmutation of force as is implied. If we should be compelled by Dr. Bastian or others to believe in the purely physical origin of life, and if the correlation of the phenomena of mind with the physical forces be ever established on irrefragable basis, we should hail the suggestion of Mr. St. Clair. At present, we are content to lay it by for possible use.

Sound and Music; a Non-mathematical Treatise on the Physical Constitution of Musical Sounds and Harmony. BY SEDLEY TAYLOR, M.A. Macmillan and Co.

The author's aim is to give 'an intelligible and succinct account of that part of the theory of sound which constitutes the physical basis of the art of music.' The 'argument' of the book is as follows. A musical, as distinguished from a non-musical sound, is the result of an equal number of equal vibrations executed in an equal interval of time. Musical sounds differ from one another, or may differ, in loudness, or pitch, or quality; and these are the only respects in which they can differ. The *loudness* of a musical tone depends on *the extent*,—the length of the vibrations in the medium through which the sound is conveyed (commonly the air). The *pitch* is determined by *the number* of aerial vibrations produced in a given time. And *the quality* depends on *the number, order, and relative intensity of the overtones* by which every fundamental tone is accompanied, every musical sound being really a *clang*—that is, not a single tone of a determinate pitch, but a sequence of such tones, a composite, and not a simple sound.

The several points of this argument are clearly and profusely illustrated and explained, so that even the unscientific reader may easily master them. Mr. Taylor has fully reached his aim; he has given a succinct yet intelligible account of a somewhat abstruse subject; and we cordially commend his book to that large class who love music, and would like to acquaint themselves with the physical basis on which it rests, but have no faculty for mathematical demonstrations, or no skill in them.

Lectures on the Geography of Greece. By the REV. HENRY FANSHAW TOZER, M.A., F.R.G.S., Author of 'Researches in the Highlands of Turkey.' With Map. John Murray.

Who has not longed, after reading Dean Stanley's 'Sinai and Palestine,' that some competent scholar and scientific traveller should deal in similar manner with that other land, the history and thoughts of whose people enter so extensively into the culture of our higher life, and have done so much to create our current ideas? We cannot say that Mr. Tozer has quite fulfilled this desire, but he has offered us a most valuable contribution to geographical science, and has discussed the external features of the country with elaborate detail, and from many different standpoints. Thus, the general position of Greece is defined, the parallelism between it and Italy ex-

plained, and the limited acquaintance with the form of the country possessed by Homer, where the geographical line beyond which accuracy in delineation fails, and the definite description of veritable sites fades away into the grotesque and fanciful, are clearly exhibited. The ancient and modern geographers of Greece are referred to. Strabo and Pausanias are admirably contrasted and appraised, and our debt of obligation to Colonel Leake is justly admitted. The lecturer then proceeds in a lively and rapid narrative with his description of the mountains, coast lines, islands, and promontories of Greece, revealing the prodigious influence of the sea upon the national character, and of its presence everywhere around the deeply-indented coast; and also the different notion which the Greeks entertained of the sea from the spirit of Horace, when he defined it as *dissociabilis*. To the Greek it was the highway of commerce and adventure—the *πonton*—the bridge, in fact, which conveyed them further and ever further in search of wisdom and pleasure, and enterprise and profit.

The secondary features of the country, its rivers, springs, lakes, caverns, and gorges are reviewed in a very interesting discussion. Some curious speculations arise in the etymologies of the river names, and concerning the legends hovering over the fountains. It is true, washer-women have taken the place of the nymphs of classic story who haunted the sacred fountains. As Mr. Tozer justly reminds us, nymphs and princesses were, in ancient time, according to that story, often occupied in the same fashion. After contrasting the waterfall of the Styx with the beautiful vale of Tempe, lying between the slopes of Olympus and the precipices of Ossa, he declares that notwithstanding the numerous descriptions in classic writers of this celebrated valley, 'there is not one that can be spoken of as fairly accurate.'

An interesting lecture is devoted to the soil and minerals of Greece, to the volcanic activity and frequent occurrence of earthquakes, to the great varieties of climate that may be experienced within the compass of a few miles, and to the changes which have occurred in the configuration of the soil through the violence of volcanic upheaval, since the days of Demosthenes. By-the-by, the map which accompanies the volume does not correspond with the text, and does not sustain the remark, or show how the view of Athens from *Calaurea* could be interrupted by the upheaval of the mountain of *Methana*. It would have been well, too, to have observed the same spelling in the map and the text, and not to have omitted the river Styx or its waterfall from the delineation of *Arcadia*. The most interesting lecture is that 'On the Effect of the Conformation of Greece on the Character and Politics of the Greeks.' Though it presents a combination of the beauties of Switzerland and Italy, yet 'the full perception of its scenery . . . is an acquired taste—as, in fact, are all our finer tastes in their more advanced stages.' We have not space for the eloquent words and apt quotations in which Mr. Tozer helps us to under-

stand the peculiar and subtle beauty of the Attic mountain, and the effect of the weather on the white marble of *Pentelicus* and *Mount Athos*, or those in which he describes the delicate grey hues of the first, and the opaline splendors of 'the watch-tower of the *Ægean* in the light of the westering sun.' Our author discusses the question of the indifference of the Greeks to natural scenery, and does much to remove the impression left by Ruskin's splendid affirmations on this disputed matter. Surely he is right when he says 'that those who spoke of the "rosy fingers and saffron robes of *Aurora*" can hardly be regarded as deficient in the sense of natural beauty.' He animadverts on Mr. Buckle's theory of the prodigious influence of climate and soil upon the character and development of a people. Surely the frequency of volcanic action has left comparatively few traces in the philosophy and religious ideas of the Greeks, such as those which Buckle's hypothesis would have taught us to expect. Mr. Tozer does not exaggerate these influences, but shows in how many ways they were modified. He shows that 'the moderation and sobriety and symmetry which are so marked a constituent in the character of the Greeks, and was the secret of their taste, is equally inscribed on the face of the country.' The comparison between an Egyptian propylon, revealing a sense of the overwhelming power of destiny, and a Gothic minster, expressing aspirations after another world, with the Greek temple, satisfied with its own ideal beauty, and with the existing order of things, is most ingenious and suggestive. In reading the volume we have rather longed for more historical reference. In Stanley's '*Palestine*,' scarcely a sacred text fails to find illustration, nor a great historic deed to be better understood, and every mountain and city and fountain is shown to be the site of some famous event. Mr. Tozer passes by *Leuctra* and *Salamis*, *Marathon* and *Thermopylæ*, *Thebes*, and even *Athens* itself with few historic references. We can scarcely state even the subject of the remaining lectures on the geography of Northern and Central Greece and of the Peloponnese, on the relation between Greek geography and mythology, and the etymological discussions with which the volume closes, but we can promise the reader the rich results of well-considered material and scholarly workmanship.

Diamonds and Precious Stones; a Popular Account of Gems, &c. From the French of LOUIS DIEULAFAIT. Blackie and Son.

This is a very interesting book. Beginning with a scientific account of precious stones, it proceeds to a historical survey, which embraces ancient and modern ideas concerning their nature, properties, and classifications. The different stones, beginning of course with the diamond, are then treated separately—their source, value, and composition, with an account of more celebrated stones, their price, artificial production, false stones, artificial colouring of stones; then cutting, polishing, setting, engraving, &c., are all popularly dealt

with. It is a little handbook as interesting to general readers—for precious stones, like gold, have a fascination for everybody—as it is a valuable guide for those who have commercially or artistically to do with them.

Health and Education. By the Rev. CHARLES KINGSLEY, F.L.S., F.G.S., Canon of Westminster. W. Isbister and Co.

Canon Kingsley has drawn in too much of inspiration from Carlyle to be a good practical reformer. He is apt to run in one groove and to harp on one string. He has, however, this advantage over his master, that his mode of life has, from first to last, compelled him to see a good deal of men, and, in certain ways, to work with them. Hence, though he has hobbies, he is not tyrannical. He knows the law of give and take, and though he sometimes speaks strongly, there is in him so much real frankness that he seldom offends. Besides, his scientific studies have helped him to a certain exactitude of statement, so that whatever fault we may find with his inferences, we are sure in his pages always to meet with many facts most admirably presented. In this book—which is hardly so homogeneous or systematic as the title might lead one to suspect—we have, first, the more practical essays of a social and economical character which, during the past few years, he has written in various magazines; and next, we have his educational papers, which are very suggestive in several ways. As Canon Kingsley's theory of education is, more than that of many others, framed on a recognition of the necessity of physical development and health, the mind being so completely dependent on the body that no really valuable mental result can be looked for from those of stunted and unmuscular frames; and inherited physical weakness and degeneracy being the greatest drawbacks we have to contend with in educational processes, we can easily see the connection which the writer supposes to exist between the two classes of papers we have here. But this, we fear, implies too intimate an acquaintance with Mr. Kingsley's methods for the mass of readers. A very little extra work on the author's part might have made this a very complete book. But as it is, it is eminently readable. Even when most extravagant, as in 'Nausicaa in London,' how delicious is the fun, how fine yet how broad the satire, and what an air of strong country health there is about it! It is as though a Melibœus had been *inspired* to pen it! Of more practical value than 'Nausicaa' we think the article on 'The Two Breaths,' in which we have an exceedingly clear popular statement of the laws of ventilation; and 'The Air Mothers,' in which we have a dissertation couched in a sort of monologue on the virtues of 'Pure Water.' Here we think Mr. Kingsley's satire on the stupidities of towns and corporations is right well in place. The whole essay deserves attention from sanitary reformers; for, though it does not contain much that is practically new, the points are most strikingly put. The essays on 'The Study of Natural History,' and 'Bio-geology,'

are extremely interesting, as exhibiting Mr. Kingsley's idea of the place which observation of nature and out-of-door study should hold in all true education. The essays on 'Superstition' and 'Heroism' advance more into the region of 'generals;' and we confess that we do not here follow Mr. Kingsley's swift deductions and sweeping statements with the same satisfaction as in the case of the former ones. The biographical sketches of George Buchanan, Rondelet, the Huguenot naturalist, and Vasa-lius, the anatomist, are admirable—full of insight and sympathy. These three may, perhaps, be taken as illustrative types of Mr. Kingsley's principles of education. It is noticeable that he admires Buchanan's manliness more than his scholarship, and exults that his love of nature and his patriotism, which made him take part in the wars of religion, saved him from the degradation of becoming a pedant. This is a most original and suggestive, if sometimes whimsical book, which we have great pleasure in recommending. But we are astonished to find Canon Kingsley so careless in citation; scarcely one of his quotations is accurately made.

Handbook for Hospital Sisters. By FLORENCE S. LEES. Edited by H. W. ACLAND, M.D., F.R.S., Regius Professor of Medicine in the University of Oxford. Isbister and Co.

The efforts of Miss Nightingale, to whom this manual is dedicated, and Miss Lees, and some other Christian ladies, have in our day raised hospital nursing to the rank of a fine art. Not that Christian women at all times did not love to minister; the necessity that lay on them to do so was the highest enforcement and help that nature drew from grace, showing that both were brought into close unison in that effort. But it is only in recent years that loving study has resulted in complete and accepted methods. The application of many minds, brought into sympathetic and ungrudging rivalry, has resulted in some great principles which every woman now must master and be able to apply before she can claim to be a trained nurse. Not that great faculties of mind are needful, so much as devotion and the methodic attention which can come only of it. Miss Lees, who has visited many countries, studied in many hospitals, and been engaged as nurse in times of war, here sets down in simplest style, and in the best order, the results of her fruitful experience. The pervading idea of the handbook is that no woman can teach others nursing who has not herself gone through a thorough training, and who is not able to do all that she has to teach others—superintendence, ministration, housework. And this is presupposed. We find described here the whole routine of hospital work, with short directions for the minutest duty—from the manner in which to undress a patient, to the administration of hypodermic injections. Then there are careful recipes for common diseases, and directions how to prepare invalids' food, together with a simple directory for detecting symptoms of the more prevailing diseases. Though the book is

primarily intended for hospital sisters, our readers will at once see how useful it will be as a family reference book. It is clear, practical, orderly, and simple; it is provided with a good index, and cannot but be found useful. We cannot, however, but express our surprise to find Miss Lees speaking as she has done of the Kaiserwerth Deaconesses.

The Operations of the First Army under General von Steinmetz to the Capitulation of Metz. Based on the Records of the Headquarters of the First Army. By A. V. SCHELL, Major in the General Staff. Translated by Captain HOLLIST, R.A. With Maps. Henry S. King and Co.

The Operations of the First Army under General von Goeben. Compiled from the Official War Documents of Headquarters of the First Army. By A. VON SCHELL. Translated by Colonel C. H. VON WRIGHT. With Maps. Henry S. King and Co.

The Government of the National Defence, from the 30th of June to the 31st of October, 1870. By M. JULES FAVRE. Translated by H. CLARK. Henry S. King and Co.

War Chronicle. With Memoirs of the Emperor Napoleon III., the Emperor-King William I., Maps and Official Documents. From the Breaking out of the War to the Final Evacuation of French Territory by the German Troops. By Captain BEDFORD PIM, R.N. Provost and Co.

The first two of these volumes are a continuation of the admirable series of military works prepared by the sanction of the Prussian Government, in which almost every detail and operation of the German armies is scientifically explained and appraised. They are books for military students, and must necessarily contribute much to their information concerning the present state of military science. They are, however, not without interest to the historical and general reader. The account of the first army under General von Steinmetz, for example, narrates its rapid mobilization and concentration on the left bank of the Moselle. It then describes the important battle of Spicheren and the operations during the investment of Metz, including the battle of Noisseville, which virtually determined the fate of the French army, until the capitulation of Bazaine, October 27th.

The second volume describes the operations of the first army under General von Goeben, forming a sequel to Count Wartensleben's work, and 'The Operations of the First Army under General Manteuffel.' It gives an account of the two days' battle of Bapaume and the siege of Péronne, the battle of St. Quentin, and the pursuit of the French army of the north.

M. Jules Favre's book is not a military memoir. It is a deeply interesting and affecting narrative of the Government of the National Defence, from the commencement of the war to October 31st, when the National Guard suppressed the insurrection of the Communists. It includes the fall of Napoleon and the melancholy mission of Thiers to Vienna, St.

Petersburg, and London. Europe does not deserve the reproaches of M. Favre. She had no moral right to interfere. France had rejected her advice, and set at defiance her policy. It would have been criminal to have hindered Prussia from asserting her own liberties and avenging her own wrongs, and to have saved France from the heritage of retribution, which for three generations she had prepared for herself. The Great Powers did all that wise kindness could do in ameliorating the evils that France so wilfully and wickedly brought upon herself and Europe. It was imperative that she should reap what she had sown. It is simply childish for France to denounce what in her own case she would have perished sooner than have submitted to. M. Favre's narrative of the internal Government of France is analogous to Lamartine's 'History of the Hundred Days.' It is affecting from the very hopelessness of the feeling concerning France which it inspires.

Captain Pim's book is worthless, save for its collection of facts and dates. It professes to be impartial, and in the preface denounces as 'shameless partisanship' the judgments of the newspapers when adverse to France. The author declares Napoleon III. to have been as great a statesman as Napoleon I. was a conqueror.

Pictures of Sir Edwin Landseer, Royal Academician. With Descriptions and a Biographical Sketch of the Painter. By JAMES DAFFORNE. Virtue, Spalding, and Daldy.

Whether it be through the intrinsic greatness of the painter or through the interest quickened by his recent loss we do not know, but this is unquestionably the richest, hitherto, of the series of art volumes of the works of great painters which Messrs. Virtue are publishing. The plates are well brought up, and Mr. Dafforne has put out all his strength in the critical biography which illustrates them. There are twenty plates, most of them attesting the renown of the painter, by our familiarity with them. The biography, which extends to eighty pages, is the first that has appeared since the painter's death. It is almost entirely an art biography, restricted to the chronology and enumeration of the pictures. An outline of the painter's life is given, with lists of his exhibited and engraved pictures. Mr. Dafforne's criticisms are modest, appreciating, and restrained; they are just sufficient for an intelligent understanding of the engravings; they are not so penetrating and spiritual as those of Ruskin, for instance; but they are perhaps more useful for the guidance of ordinary persons. All who have any appreciation of art will put a high value upon this rich and beautiful volume.

The Stately Houses of England. By LLEWELLYN JEWITT, F.S.A., and S. C. HALL, F.S.A. Illustrated with 210 Engravings on Wood. Virtue and Co.

The mansions of England are as distinctive a feature of its higher circles of home life as ruined castles are of the scenery of the Middle Rhine—there is no richer treat for either fo-

reigners or Englishmen than to 'see over them.' The interest excited by the publication of the Countess of Liechtenstein's two volumes on Holland House is proof of this. The idea embodied in this volume, therefore, is a happy one, and it has been well executed. The homes illustrated are Alton Towers, Cobham Hall, Mount Edgecumbe, Cothele, Alnwick Castle, Hardwick Hall, Arundel Castle, Penshurst, Warwick Castle, Haddon Hall, Hatfield House, Cassiobury, and Chatsworth. We miss one or two, Somerleyton for instance, which appeared in the series as first published in the *Art Journal*, and those which appear here have been enlarged and rearranged. The letter-press, which is historical, biographical, and descriptive, is done with great skill and good taste. The woodcuts are carefully and artistically executed, and on the fine toned paper of the volume stand out well. We are glad to read that this is only the 'first of a short series of volumes devoted to this pleasant and interesting subject.' Such charming illustrated hand-books to our historic mansions will be a feature in our literature, and an interesting appendage to more stately histories.

Homes, Works, and Shrines of English Artists, with Specimens of their Styles. To which is added Rambles in Rome. By FREDERICK WILLIAM FAIRHOLT, F.S.A. Virtue and Co.

This is also a reprint from the 'Art Journal,' of papers contributed by the late Mr. Fairholt, whose name is a sufficient guarantee of artistic scholarship and taste. The homes and haunts of seventeen English painters and sculptors are described in a pleasant, chatty way, interspersed with critiques on pictures, wood engravings of many of which are given, as well as illustrations of places described, from Mr. Fairholt's own pencil. Thus we renew our acquaintance under pleasant and competent guidance with Reynolds, Hogarth, Gainsborough, Morland, Turner, Collins, Etty, Blake, Nolteken, &c. Mr. Fairholt blends biography and art-criticism in a very effective way. The Rambles in Rome are slight, but careful and picturesque. They describe both the monuments of the old city, the galleries of ancient art, and Rome as the metropolis of modern art, down to Canova. The volume includes fifteen illustrations of these which did not appear in the 'Art Journal.' For young people with artistic tastes the little volume will be a worthy and acceptable present.

The Study of Sociology. By HERBERT SPENCER. H. S. King and Co.

So unconventional a thinker as Mr. Spencer could not fail, even in a slight work written to serve an immediate purpose, to say a great deal that should have permanent value; and, amid such ephemeral matter—introduced in support mainly of that doctrine of 'administrative nihilism' or 'specialized administration,' which he preaches unweariedly to an unbelieving generation—there are chapters rich in profound suggestion. Only a very fertile thinker could have afforded to throw into a foot-note the germs of an original work

on the comparative psychology of the sexes; and the chapters on the nature of the Social Science, and on the influence of biological and psychological laws on social equilibrium and social growth, could have been written only by a philosopher of his encyclopædic grasp of principles. Anyone who would learn why Mr. Spencer is likely to become, what Comte admittedly was not, the founder of the Social Science, will turn to the second of the chapters we allude to—that on 'Preparation in Biology,' and inwardly digest the criticism on the fundamental mistake of Comte's sociology, as it was, in another form of his entire system. The advance implied, in that criticism, from a linear to a many-planed conception of human development, is one of Mr. Spencer's most notable contributions to Sociology, and it is adequately reflected in the catholic sympathies that are everywhere manifest in this fine *parergon*.

POETRY, FICTION, AND BELLES LETTRES.

Fables in Song. By ROBERT LORD LYTTON, Author of 'Poems by Owen Meredith.' Two Vols. William Blackwood and Sons.

With a rich conceit Lord Lytton comes across 'the ancient Fox of Fable,' who tells him that 'old Æsop' 'never having been born hath never died;' that he lives

'In me; in thee;
For he lives in each living creature
(Man, beast, bird, blossom, and tree),
And his life is the love of Nature.'

Many, perhaps most of these fables, reveal the lessons which some aspect or condition of some living creature has to teach, and educe the sarcasm which life in lower forms may be heard to utter on the perversity of man, and the puzzles of his fate. But Lord Lytton does not confine himself to living things. Windmills and winds hold conversations, and have provisionally to be endowed with consciousness, and human passion, and self-sufficiency, before they can utter their scorn of our modern philosophy, or their scoff of our ancient beliefs. The fables are moreover interspersed with 'legends' such as that which is meant to illustrate Schopenhauer's dictum, that 'virtue awaits its reward in the next world, ability in this, genius in neither, for it is its own reward;' and the legend is grim enough to satisfy Schopenhauer himself. The 'Fables' are sixty in number, and of very unequal merit. In some there is a fine perception of the charms of Nature, a real joy in her loveliness which remind us of the noblest bits of Tennyson; but in many of these pieces the harshness, hardness, and unmusical rhythm, though relieved by extravagant alliteration, produce a feeling of genuine indignation. What right has a man to rub dust into one's eyes, and insert spikes in one's sandals for mere wilful-

ness? There is a dismal, hopeless, angry snarl at the universe and its God in many of these utterances, which if they were outspoken would equal in severity and malice the fiercest raving of Shelley; and we think that much of the misanthropy and the hatred of the order and law and grace of the central Power of the universe calls for the author's own savage rebuke of the modern criticism of ancient greatness, in his fable of the serpent that tried to rival the contortions of that of the Laöcoon, by coiling round an antique statue, and hurting nothing there but itself; and to him we venture to say—

‘Be content

To writhe in elegiac ecstasies
Round subjects fitted to your strength and size.’

On the other hand, there are fragments of exceeding beauty and high and delicate fancy. We have turned back again and again to the first poem, entitled ‘The Thistle,’ with genuine delight, and learned of the coming of spring, how—

‘The rumour ran over the meadow,
With its numberless, fluttering feet:
It was told by the water-cresses
To the brooklet that in and out
Of his garrulous green recesses
For gossip was gadding about.

The daisy awakes,
And opens her wondering eyes, yet red
About the rims with a too long sleep;
Whilst bold from his ambush, with helm on
head,

And lance in rest, doth the bulrush leap.

And the blithe grass-blades that stand straight
up
And make themselves small, to leave room for
all

The nameless blossoms that nestle between
Their sheltering stems in the herbage green;
Sharp little soldiers, trusty and true,
Side by side in good order due;
Arms straight down, and heads forward set,
And saucily-pointed bayonet.’

‘We have not space for the career of the Thistle itself in its battling for breathing space, its fight with nature and man, its persistence, its ‘trying with all its might to cling close to the soil, and appear to be dead,’ and how at last ‘he blossomed his whole heart out of his bosom.’ The ‘Mountains of Time’ is a grand conception; and the ‘Far and Near’ very truthful representation of the fact that our own present condition, if viewed in the blue haze of distance, would rival the dream of our fancy. ‘Only a Shaving’ is a delicious little idyll in its way, and it is clear, and crisp, and lustrous, ‘rare damask, of dainty design,’ and full of teaching. There is so much that is good and healthy and soothing, that it is with heart-sickening that we read ‘the Horse and the Fly,’ and are amazed at the sheer commonplace of ‘the Plane and the Penknife.’

The Disciples. By HARRIETT ELEANOR HAMILTON KING. Henry S. King and Co.

Miss King has dramatic force and fervour sufficient to justify the treatment of a theme such as she has chosen, albeit it is close to

contemporary interests. But she has more. Self-restraint, elevation, and imaginative delicacy enable her to transform and idealize events not long past; and persons, some of whom yet live. She touches no detail that she does not make typical; and whether or not she has consciously appropriated her master, Mazzini's, idea of the relation of the individual life to Humanity, in and through which alone it can realize its ideal, she is enabled dramatically to seize and to exhibit it. The poems are dedicated to Mazzini, and it is a touching circumstance that he died just the day before a copy reached him in Italy. ‘The Disciples’ are four of the more prominent Italian patriots who rallied round him. In the form adopted there is occasionally a suggestion of Mrs. Browning; but individual notes supervene, and throughout, the verse is stately and strong, clear and piercing, unhampered by any strict deference to rules and precedents. The ‘Overture’ recites the circumstances under which the poems were written, and has, in spite of certain irregularities, a rare inwoven sweetness, touched with the tenderest pathos. To Ugo Bassi, the monk, who was led to go with Garibaldi, and was wounded and suffered sore, and at length died from Austrian cruelties, the largest section of the work is devoted. Throughout it breathes restrained passion and lofty sentiment, which flow out now and then, as a stream widening to bless the lands, into powerful music. The narrative is relieved by fine passages of analysis, of which even Mr. Browning might not be ashamed; and there is a wealth of reflection seldom found in association with such marked narrative and dramatic power. We say this, though Miss King needs to guard against departures from rule becoming actual affectations with her. We regret we have no space to give specimens, but, cordially recommending the book to all lovers of sincere and highly earnest poetic work, we content ourselves with presenting this exquisite description of Rome from ‘Ugo Bassi:—

‘I, too, gazed that way.

And in the farthest light the eye could reach,
Low down on the horizon, I beheld
Against an orange sky a purple cloud:—
A cloud that did not change, nor melt, nor move.
And still there were faint shadows in the cloud—
A mystery of towers and walls and hills,
And in the shadow a great dome in the midst
All purple—and I knew that it was Rome.
* * * * *

I only knew of Rome, that I was there:
A great strange city, lovelier in its lights
Than all the golden greenness of the hills;
And in its shadows, glorious, far beyond
The purple dropping skirts of thunder-cloud.
A city of all colours and fair shapes,
And gleams of falling water day and night;
Resonant with bells, and voices musical;
Lit up with rainbow fountains in the day,
Lit up with rain of coloured stars by night;
Where one might wander each day and be lost,
And every day find some new wilderness;
And full of some invisible, strange charm
Of presence—what, I know not;—but it seemed
As if the air was breath of many souls
Sighing together in a speechless hymn,
In a long sadness that was yet not pain.’

Our readers, we think, will agree with us that this comes from the soul and the pen of a true poet.

The Iliad of Homer. Translated by J. G. CORDERY, late of Balliol College, Oxford, and now of H. M. Bengal Civil Service. In two Volumes. Rivingtons.

These volumes have come under our notice only recently. They were prepared in ignorance of the fact that so many other minds were engaged on a similar work, and have the advantage of illustrating 'anew some essential characteristics of the many-sided original.' The author is singularly modest in his estimate of his own work. He has adopted a species of blank verse which does not pretend to be Miltonic in its sonorous periods, or complicated harmonies, but which is rapid and flowing, line by line painting the vivid pictures and sustaining the high debate of gods and men.

We have compared considerable portions of Mr. Cordery's translation with that of the late Lord Derby, and feel that it is by no means inferior to that remarkable work in either faithfulness or animation. In the passage at the close of the eighth book, which has tasked so many noble hands, it will be remembered that Mr. Tennyson translated *ὁπρὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπερβόην ἄσπερος αἰθήρ*—

'And the immeasurable heavens
Break open to their highest.'

Mr. Cordery most conscientiously acknowledges his indebtedness to the Laureate for the hint, and he has, we think, slightly improved upon it. We give the whole passage, which will very adequately represent the care and vivacity with which the entire work has been completed.

'So lifted high with hope, the whole night
through

They camped outside upon the foughthen field;
And many a blazing campfire flamed upon it.
As, when in heav'n about the fair clear moon,
The stars rise bright, deep in a windless air
And every peak and promontory and grove
Stands forth, whilst to their highest the heavens
break up,

A boundless empyrean; every star
Shows, and the shepherd sees with gladsome
heart;

Such and so thick in front of Ilion's towers
Midway betwixt the fleet and Xanthus's streams
The watchfires kindled by the host of Troy.
A thousand blazed upon the plain, by each
Within the ruddy glow sate fifty men;
While by their chariots stood their steeds, and
champ'd

Corn and white barley, patient for the Dawn.'

The Poetical Works of Robert Buchanan.
Vols. I. and II. Ballads and Romances; Ballads and Poems of Life. H. S. King and Co.

Mr. Buchanan's worst enemies, we believe, would not deny that he possesses power of a certain sort. If he continues to exercise the self-severity, which we can trace in these two volumes of his collected works, he will give a guarantee for a judgment which may astonish some of them. He has reprinted from his earliest volume, 'Undertones,' four pieces;

'The Ballad of Persephone' (which there appears as 'Ades, King of Hell'); 'Polypheme's Passion'; 'Pan'; and 'The Last Song of Apollo'; and these he has submitted to such a rigid process of revision and retrenchment that he shows the growth of real discernment. Whole passages, too much suggestive of modern feeling, have been pruned away, involved passages rewritten, and doubtful terms struck out under the exacting demands of simplicity; till now, we do not hesitate to say, that 'Pan' and 'Persephone' are as clear and finished exercises in their peculiar line as are to be found anywhere out of Matthew Arnold or Goethe. There is, however, a good deal that is arbitrary in Mr. Buchanan's arrangement, which has doubtless been dictated by a desire to give in each volume as it comes out at least some impression of the width and variety of his range. Such mystico-lyrical poems as 'The Dead Mother,' and 'The Ballad of Judas Iscariot,' with its weird simplicity, resorted to with the direct purpose of loosening certain hard theological constructions, appear in the some section with these classical restorations, under the head of 'Ballads and Romances,' which, too, includes such semi-historical renderings as 'The Death of Roland' and 'The Battle of Drumliemoor.' The second section, headed 'Ballads and Poems of Life,' is more homogeneous. It contains chiefly poems which had appeared in 'London Poems,' or which professedly belonged to that series, with one or two from the volume called 'North-coast Poems.' 'Meg Blane' is the most noticeable of this set, and shows a remarkable power of rising to true tragedy, by faithfully following out and exhibiting the workings of simple elements of feeling that at length break back upon themselves like a spent wave, for want of a natural object. Different as they seem in mere theme, 'The Scaith of Bartle' and 'Kitty Kemble' really belong to this class; while 'The Starling,' with its dry, bald, grotesque humour-someness could not well be otherwise classed. 'The Wake of Tim O'Hara' is a piece of strong Irish realism, and shows Mr. Buchanan's rare power of embodying general traits in vivid word-pictures. From the mystic weird suggestiveness of the 'Ballad of Judas,' to the utter realism of the London poem, 'Nell,' from the airy, fanciful conceits of 'Clari in the Well,' so daintily wrought out, to the severity of some of the portions of 'Polypheme's Passion,' we must admit that there is a wide reach. This reach, however, Mr. Buchanan has traversed with more or less of success; and if we say that he has uniformly been firmest in his touch when his themes seemed the most perilous, we only say that he is gifted with strong dramatic instinct, which, whatever his faults, enables him to lay hold of new subjects, and to treat them with a freshness and breadth of grasp alike surprising. In the poem 'Bexhill, 1866,' which stands as a kind of preface to the second section, Mr. Buchanan has given us some glimpses of his personal determinations, which students will value. It is very odd to notice, however, that Mr. Buchanan is not, in our opinion, nearly so successful in his correc-

tions of his more realistic poems, as he is in those of the classical reproductions and the more fanciful ones. Especially do we demur to some corrections in 'The Battle of Drumlie-moor.' The second volume besides the remaining 'Ballads and Poems of Life,' contains 'Lyrical Poems,' including selections from the 'Undertones,' 'Songs of the Terrible Year 1870,' and the series of sonnets entitled 'Faces on the Wall.' The vigour and variety of Mr. Buchanan's range are made still more strikingly manifest whatever may be said of details. The London poem, 'Liz,' and 'Tom Dimstan' (which has a rattle of humour, made more telling by a grotesque thread of pathos run through it), strike us as the best of the class. Nothing could surpass 'Poet Andrew' and 'Willie Baird' in a simple realism of manner that gives force to the sentiment. There are some exquisite lyrics,—'The Songs of the Terrible Year' are unequal; and one or two of the sonnets, 'Faces on the Wall,' are carefully finished.

Hymns for the Church and Home. Selected and Edited by the Rev. W. FLEMING STEVENSON, Author of 'Praying and Working.' H. S. King and Co.

Hymns Selected from Faber. By R. PEARSALL SMITH. Isbister and Co.

Supplement to the Congregational Hymn-Book. Hodder and Stoughton.

Mr. Stevenson has brought an admirably cultured sense to the work of selecting and editing hymns, and he has produced a book which will be valued by hymnologists. Not that he has achieved much in the work of reclaiming for Church-service the strays that are year by year being thrown into the wide field of secular literature. But he shows great taste in choice of readings, and he has written a most excellent biographical index, which we regret to see is injured by an appendix. Miller might have been oftener consulted—for one or two dates are wrong. We are glad to see that Mr. Grosart is followed in assigning to Michael Bruce the hymn, 'Where high the heavenly temple stands,' as well as several others. In the biographical index, however, it should have been said that Bruce 'studied for the [Scottish Secession] Church.' The section for children is uncommonly full, and well done.

Mr. Pearsall Smith's volume is exceedingly chaste and neat, and the matter it contains is worthy of the outside. Faber, though sometimes wanting in intensity, always strikes a true note; and a genuine editor, with the chances Mr. Pearsall Smith has had, might have made a unique book. But he has done rather recklessly, deleting passage after passage, merely from personal considerations. It is easy to see why he deleted stanza 6 of 'Desire for God;' but we do not think he was justified in weakening the connection by so disposing of stanzas 4, 10, and 14. The latter, indeed, is the true climax:—

'Yea, pine for thy God, fainting soul, ever pine,
Oh, languish 'mid all that life brings thee of
mirth;

Famished, thirsty, and restless; let such life be
thine;
For what sight is to heaven, desire is to earth.'

So also in that fine hymn, 'Our Heavenly Father,' where the last stanza is sacrificed for no apparent reason; and in many other of the hymns it is the same. Where the hymnist has embodied a universal thought, sentiment, or longing, and where that is so wrapt up in the strain of the music that one who has once carefully read the hymns in their entirety is pulled up and misses it, then we think the editor is *ultra vires*. Faber laid it down as a strict rule for Protestants that, while omissions might be made in the hymns, no alterations should be attempted, and Mr. Pearsall Smith has duly observed this instruction, so far as we can make out. In spite of faults, his little volume may be found of great use to many. We are surprised, however, that he should spoil the music of one of Faber's finest couplets by substituting 'thirst' for 'hunger' in a quotation in his eloquent preface.

The Congregational Union of England and Wales has found it necessary to keep pace with the rapid advance of hymnology, and to add to their hymn-book, compiled nearly twenty years ago, a supplement of 281 hymns. The defects of the former compilation were, perhaps, inevitable. No satisfactory result can be arrived at by a large committee. Conservative feeling will always maintain much that should be excluded, and exclude much that should be accepted. It would be easy to make out a list of hymns, at the exclusion of which from that book one marvels—'Nearer, my God, to Thee,' 'Bread of the world in mercy broken,' for instance. Since then, Bonar, Rawson, Lynch, Faber, Matson, Ellerton, and many more have added rich contributions to the song of the Church. The best of these are included in this supplement, which supplies an emotional element in which the first compilation was sadly defective. We think there is an undue proportion of odd-metred hymns, which do not by their excellence compensate for their uniqueness, and scarcely justify the special provision of tunes for them. Such hymns as 1006 and 1009 will never be popular. We do not think either that the alterations in well-known hymns—*e.g.*, in Dr. Iron's grand rendering of the 'Dies Iræ,' which, by the way, was excluded from the first compilation because it was thought to savour of Popery, is any improvement. It is a sad emasculation to alter the opening verse—

'Day of wrath! O, day of mourning
See! once more the cross returning
Heaven and earth in ashes burning.'

to—

'Day of wrath, that day dismaying,
Shall fulfil the prophet's saying—
Earth in smouldering ashes laying.'

Equally feeble are the alterations in Faber's hymn—

'O, come and mourn with me awhile.'

But on the whole the selection has been well made and edited.

The Parisians. By EDWARD BULWER, LORD LYTTON. Four Vols. William Blackwood and Sons.

We have now before us the last work of one of the most versatile men of the nineteenth century, and in spite of all that has been written upon it, there is some little difficulty in arriving at a fair estimate of its real merits. We are compelled, however, to acknowledge that, like most of Lord Lytton's works, it is unsatisfactory. Its noble author always gives us the impression of striving after an ideal which it is impossible for him to attain. There is no other author of whom it can be said that he retained for nearly half a century the friendly interest of the public; and yet, at the same time, there is no other author with whom we have been so frequently disappointed. Lord Lytton appears to us to be one of those writers who are never able to decide what is their real *forte*; and accordingly we find that in poetry, fiction, and politics, he was able to make an equally creditable, if not a striking appearance. His great fault undoubtedly was that he simulated an 'enthusiasm for humanity' which he did not really possess; and a comparison between any of his novels and a single work of George Eliot's will demonstrate the absence in Bulwer of that terrible earnestness which marks the highest genius. His society is restricted, and his sympathy is still more so. True, occasionally he takes us into society where it is necessary for the aristocrat to don the kid gloves which belong to his class, but as to representing the real condition and characteristics of the humbler classes of the kingdom, he is in no sense a trustworthy guide. He does not mean unfairly to represent humanity, but with his associations and personal idiosyncrasies, it is impossible for him to do otherwise than give us a distorted view of those classes whose peculiarities he occasionally professes to depict. Sympathy, that unflinching distinguishing quality of real genius, is almost absent in Bulwer, whilst talent, which can be frequently cultivated to a high degree of perfection by the *mediocre* man, is developed in him to a very high degree. We believe it is really this power of assimilation of the stores which have been collected by others which has enabled him to keep his place next to the highest of our modern novelists, but certainly not to equal them. 'The Parisians,' in some respects, is more unsatisfactory than any of his novels, except those of the 'Pelham' school, which there is good authority for believing he himself would have been glad to suppress in later years. The plot is not one that would commend itself to the majority of writers of novels. After leading us on in doubt for nearly three volumes as to the sole great point upon which it turns, Lord Lytton, in the fourth volume, suddenly confronts us with a character, hitherto very subordinate, upon whose shoulders the most important part of the revelations are made to rest. In addition to this, there are other characters which must not only be pronounced failures, but badly executed altogether, whilst those in which the novelist has been successful present

not a single new feature of interest. It is obvious that the author has been indebted to the remarkable series of papers which recently appeared in a popular periodical for many of his views upon modern France; and in adopting these views he has not always been the fair and unbiassed artist. His own conclusions and judgments have too frequently interfered with matters in which he should have been a calm and impassive spectator and registrar. The character-drawing is somewhat more praiseworthy, especially as regards Gustave Rameau and Isaura Cicogna; but on the whole, the novel is not equal to 'Kenelm Chillingly,' which was an excellent specimen of freshness, and of talent recuperating itself in old age. 'The Parisians' is still further inferior to 'My Novel,' which is almost the only work of fiction by Lord Lytton which would suggest the possession of real genius, and that is so overlaid by the author's conventionalities, as to detract largely from its otherwise sterling merits. As a final conclusion, we are bound to say that in his last two novels Lord Lytton was too much of a manufacturer of fiction to satisfy posterity. If his name lives, it will be because of earlier work. But his strength was squandered by too much variety, and the verdict upon him will be that, in essaying the highest in too many directions, he has barely escaped an inferior reputation in all. The want of an all-potent sincerity would have retarded his growth, had not the lack of the highest genius prevented his taking his place with the few chosen modern novelists of the first class. As it is, he remains an extraordinarily brilliant and prolific workman of the second.

Ribblesdale; or, Lancashire Sixty Years Ago.

By Sir JAMES KAY SHUTTLEWORTH, Bart. Three Vols. Smith, Elder, and Co.

Ribblesdale is a very carefully written novel, and evinces considerable local knowledge and intellectual strength. Its style, however, needs flexibility, and its incidents are too crowded and too abruptly introduced. In the intricacy of its plot, and the melodramatic character of its incidents and development, it resembles a romance of sixty years ago more than a character novel of the present day. The evil genius of the piece is the dowager Lady de Legh, the Corsican grandmother of the family, whose insane jealousy lest the pure ichor of the family should be polluted by plebeian marriage, leads her to the perpetration of wrongs and crimes out of which the intricate plot of the story is woven. She characteristically commits suicide, when all is unravelled, by injecting the poison of a Lucretia Borgia ring. The delineation is not so much of the artisan life of Lancashire as of the aristocratic and manufacturing life, and of the relations between the two. Rufus the hero belongs to the aristocratic Legh family. Alice the heroine, to that of a self-made wealthy manufacturer—Mr. Hindle—who is also a pious Puritan, as is his daughter. Rufus resolves to win Alice. Alice is not to be won without the consent of Rufus' family, and because she fears the life to which

as a countess she would be elevated, would be an incongruous and perilous life. Both are well drawn—Rufus, in the noble resoluteness and fidelity of his love, and Alice, in the sweet charm of her beauty, and her Puritanic culture and saintliness. The local descriptions are from nature, the scene of the story being chiefly that part of Ribblesdale which lies between Clitheroe and Ribchester, of course as it was sixty years ago. The novel is too sensational for high literary art, but it will repay perusal, and give a good impression of the rivalries and antipathies of manufacturing wealth and aristocratic blood.

Llanaly Reefa. By LADY VERNEY, Author of 'Stone Edge,' &c. Smith, Elder, and Co.

The excellence of this volume consists in its admirable and even exquisite description of natural beauty, and in the patience with which a few strongly-marked but low and small natures are depicted. One of the purposes of the author seems to have been an expression of sympathy with the benevolent legislation of Mr. Plimsoll. The wickedness of the ship-owner in sending crazy craft on long voyages under heavy insurance, and the terrific perils of the sea under such circumstances, are told without exaggeration. The malign selfishness of the wrecker, and the spirit of the average sailor, are contrasted with some ability. The plot of the story is obscure and uninteresting, and it is a most lamentable defect that every individual who is introduced either talks a dreadful Welsh-English patois, or the most vulgar and commonplace provincialism, which, by the way, represents no well-defined dialect, but is a bad amalgam of two or three incompatible elements. Lady Verney has described with undoubted brilliancy of touch and finish the South American landscape, the mule ride in the Cordilleras, the earthquake, and the copper mine, as, also, the cattle-fording at the Menai Straits. The clanship, the selfish greed, the ill-balanced and oddly-consorted friendships of the little Welsh group are cleverly painted, but do not leave a satisfactory impression.

The Vicissitudes of Bessie Fairfax. By HOLME LEE. Three Vols. Smith, Elder, and Co.

Bessie Fairfax is a daughter of Geoffrey Fairfax, a younger son of a north country squire, who marries a poor clergyman's daughter, and is left by his father to bear the impecunious consequences. Bessie's mother dies. Her father marries a second time. Then he dies, and his widow marries Dr. Carnegie, a Hampshire village doctor, but in tolerably good circumstances. Bessie is welcomed with her step-mother, and becomes the eldest and much-beloved child of a large family. For fifteen years her grandfather Fairfax leaves her uncared for; but through matrimonial failures on the part of his two surviving sons, Lawrence and Frederick, Bessie becomes the heiress apparent of the large Fairfax estates. She is then sent for by her grandfather, goes for three years to a French school in Normandy, and then becomes the inmate of her grandfather's house at Abbotsmead, but fails to fulfil her grandfather's matrimonial projects concerning

her; and as her uncle Lawrence is found to have contracted a secret marriage, and to have two stalwart sons, poor Bessie is left with a legacy of five thousand pounds to marry Harry Musgrove, a Hampshire youth of comparatively humble origin, an early playfellow of Bessie, who has greatly distinguished himself at Oxford, but whose failure of health blights the great promise of his legal career.

The interest lies in the development and delineation of Bessie's character, and in the portraiture of the people who surround her. This is done with the truth and delicacy which are so characteristic of the writer. The subtle touches whereby character is exhibited and developed are very admirable. Dr. Carnegie, genial and generous; Lady Latimer, generous but not genial; Mr. Wiley, the clergyman with his tactless gaucheries; with the minor personages of the Hampshire village, are perfect in their individuality and truth: so are Mr. Fairfax senior, with his yearning for love, but with the hauteur which repelled it; Mr. Cecil Burleigh, the clever young statesman, the husband intended for Bessie; Lady Angleby, the managing and worldly aunt of Cecil; Miss Burleigh, kindly, genuine and ladylike; Mrs. Chiverton, with her blended ambition and philanthropy; and, above all, Harry Musgrove and Bessie; the character of the latter especially, with her warmheartedness, honest fidelity and independence, has been a careful and successful study. The story is full of delicate discriminations and admirable literary workmanship. Its defect is that it is somewhat too thin. It lacks incident, and while it interests us as a study of character, and is what painters would call a charming little bit, it is defective in the strong passion which takes possession of us.

Argus Fairbairn. By HENRY JACKSON, Author of 'Gilbert Ruggie,' 'Hearth Ghosts,' &c. In Three Volumes. Sampson Low, Marston and Co.

We think Mr. Jackson has fully maintained, by the publication of this story, his well-earned reputation. He generally works much below the surface of his narratives, and his studies of character have often been finely chiselled and well grouped. He is, moreover, accustomed to teach deep moral lessons by gentle touches and natural incidents. He clearly loathes a mere scene, and never tears his passion to tatters. The moral he sets himself to establish in this very attractive novel is that 'that which is crooked cannot be made straight.' In terrible earnest he preaches on this theme to the selfish and voluptuous; and yet there is not a line of 'preaching' in the three volumes. The consequences of one act of sin are traced over many lives. A fate as persistent as that of Greek tragedy follows the seduction of Lois Williams by the wealthy and brilliant Tressant. There are a thousand influences at work, to try, as it were, to soften and smooth and obliterate the curse which falls on the father and the bastard child. The remorse of the father, his unavailing desire to discover, and even to marry the peasant girl

whom he had deceived; the subsequent most cleverly-contrived marriage of the destitute girl to a man of fortune, who knows all the evil that he would cover with the mantle of his love; the marriage of Tressant to one of the most lovely characters of modern fiction; his parliamentary eminence and wealth; the real love between him and his wife, notwithstanding her discovery of the guilty secret of his former life; the marvellous succession of Providences which watch over and educate the child of Lois Williams, who is Argus Fairbairn, and the sad hero of the story; the desire to repair the wrong done to the boy, and the supreme efforts made to reconcile him to his father—all the shifting, changing scenes which might be supposed varied enough to wipe out or overlay the bitter memory of the past, yet all fail—the crooked thing cannot be made straight.' There are called forth all kinds of passions; and many new acquaintances whom we have not space to characterize are introduced. But the end is told with a touch of dramatic force worthy of a great master:—'He murmured a faint "Thank you!" After that he never spoke again. His eyes turned away from his father, and rested their last gaze upon Mr. Staynes, who stood at the foot of the sofa; and upon him his gaze remained lovingly fixed, till it grew dull and expressionless in death.'

We admire the descriptions of scenery, storms, and shipwreck, the great rapidity of the narrative and the ease and purity of the style. We accept, to some extent, the truth of the inexorable law which is thus pictorially set forth. It lies at the awful roots of sin and guilt. There is room for another parable where Divine love and the power of the Cross, not the interchange and play of all humanizing and loving fortunes, should be shown triumphant over all the curse, and with grace in them to blend and heal even broken hearts.

Young Mr. Nightingale. A Novel. By DUTTON COOK. Three Vols. Sampson Low, Marston and Co..

Mr. Cook's novel can claim the merit of distinctive individuality. He has a style of his own, and conducts his story along paths more frequented by Fielding, Smollett, and Le Sage, than by modern novelists. His book is full of pictures of the seamy side of life; a profligate nobleman and a selfish and unprincipled artist, strolling players and theatrical stars, prize-fighting and gambling houses, the studio of a fashionable painter and the office of a bankrupt solicitor, are the chief characters, incidents, and scenes of his story. These are not sufficiently relieved by either noble character or better scenes of life. Mr. Cook has moulded his novel after the pattern of Thackeray, and permits his monologues and moralizings to run somewhat to an excess; but he says good things, takes pains with his work, and, while with plentiful satire he conducts us through 'Vanity Fair,' he is careful never to overstep propriety. So strong is his Bohemian tendency, that his hero himself is a kind of virtuous ne'er-do-weel, and as we read the

record of his marriage on the last page, we have an uneasy feeling about the way in which he will provide for his wife. Rachel does not seem to have mended matters much.

Transmigration. By MORTIMER COLLINS. Three Vols. Hurst and Blackett.

Mr. Collins is in great danger of being given up to mere eccentricities. Books like the 'Coming Race,' 'Erewhon,' and 'By-and-Bye,' have a certain justification in their theories of scientific, social, or religious development; they delineate a conceivable sequence, and have a certain value, as showing the ideals which the writers desire, and towards which they labor. It is perfectly legitimate, and also helpful to know whither, according to their conception and desire, we are tending. Our sympathy with their present process is regulated by our sympathy with its results as they conceive it. There is no sequence in Mr. Collins' idea of transmigration; neither duty nor agency is involved in it. It is a mere fancy dependent upon the fates, not upon ourselves. His story delineates three lives: the first a life upon earth under ordinary conditions, only somewhat fast; the next a disembodied life in the planet Mars; the third a regeneration upon earth; in which the hero passes through the stages of physical infancy and childhood, with the knowledge acquired during his two previous conditions of existence, and marries his early love, who reappears in the person of her grand-daughter. The first life on earth is a little wild, but is full of brilliant sparkles of thought and dialogue, and of odd positions; the second life in Mars is chiefly an intercourse with classic personages—most of them Homeric—and is made the medium of half the reminiscence of a classical dictionary, the hero's intercourse being chiefly in a transmundane Troy, with Helen, Paris, Catullus, and Cassandra; it is a little warm, and of course eating and drinking are idealized into a perfection which makes a *bon vivant* smack his lips. The third life has not the psychological congruity and interest that it might have had. Mr. Collins is never dull, he is always clever, and often brilliant; but in its amorphous and inconsequential character his present book must be pronounced a failure. It fails as much in philosophical idealism as it does in congruity.

A Chronicle of the Fermors: Horace Walpole in Love. By M. F. MAHONY (MATTHEW STRADLING). Two Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

This is a historical novel, of a somewhat unique character. The author has compiled his information from the letters of Horace Walpole, Mrs. Delaney, and others; and has depicted a social interior of the time, in which a genuine love story runs its course, amid very fashionable surroundings and very melancholy intrigues. Lady Pomfret, a fashionable mother, consecrates herself to effect good settlements for her four daughters, and succeeds, although not in every instance according to her precise wishes. One of them, Lady Sophia Fermor, is a great beauty. The scene opens

in Italy, where both Italians and Englishmen are represented as dangle about her. Among others Horace Walpole is, on somewhat apocryphal authority, said to be smitten; but he is choked off by the clever scheming mother, while several other eligible parties are refused. The mother's supreme ambition is to marry her daughter to Lord Lincoln, the nephew and heir to George the Second's great statesman, the Duke of Newcastle. Lincoln is really in love with Sophia; but fearing the wrath of his uncle, he flees her in Italy, only to be again caught and formally engaged to her at Easton Norton, the Earl of Pomfret's seat in Northamptonshire. We fear the author has yielded to the temptations of Horace Walpole's renowned name. There is not much about his love, and his admiration is too distant, doubtful, and cynical to justify the second title of the book; it is really the story of Lord Lincoln's love, who, engaged by his crafty old uncle to marry his cousin, Catherine Pelham, has no chance against the dukedom, the property, and the policy of the Duke. After one or two scenes with the latter well described, he succumbs, and Sophia within a week accepts old Lord Carteret, afterwards Lord Granville, Newcastle's political rival, and old enough to be Sophia's grandfather. Within twelve months she dies; Lincoln marries his cousin, and degenerates into a rich obese nobody, and the curtain falls. The value of the book, so far as it has a value, consists in its careful study and description of character. Lady Pomfret, Horace Walpole, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Lord Lincoln, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Carteret, and a host of others are acutely and dashing sketch—sometimes with considerable satirical power, only Walpole has done it better for us. This detailed historical study of personages and surroundings somewhat retards the action of the book, and becomes tedious; but it is a picture of the times that is valuable from its painstaking, its skill, and its apparent truthfulness.

The Fall of Prince Florestan of Monaco. By HIMSELF. Macmillan and Co.

This very clever *jeu d'esprit* has sorely perplexed its reviewers, who have sniffed about it very like a dog about a hedgehog, not knowing either what kind of an animal it was, or how they were to handle it. This perplexity was caused first by the singular emphasis given to its announcement, the publishers—who are by no means given to puff—having with mysterious brevity bespoken in the weekly literary journals an entire page for the simple announcement of its title-page. Its contents again are of a very hybrid order, fact and fiction, real locality and imaginary surroundings, actual personages and creations of fancy, are blended together with so much of De Foe-like seriousness, and with so little of the epigram and wit of a squib, that neither the fact nor the meaning could be discriminated. Its intimate political knowledge, its admirable literary skill, and its unmistakable anti-Philistinism, led rash critics to attribute it at once to Mr. Matthew Arnold, a compliment promptly dis-

claimed by that gentleman. So far as we can judge from a reperusal of the work in the light of the various speculations of the critics, the purpose of the writer is not to parody Mr. Gladstone's political fall, nor Mr. Forster's blind obstinacy, nor anything else in particular; but under the guise of a veritable history of a reigning prince to point the moral of *festina lente*, the certain and utter smash to which men and things will be brought when Radical reforms are pressed too eagerly or achieved prematurely. Financing is illustrated by M. Blanc of the Casino; Red Tape by M. de Payan, the court official, and the swarms of officials, and the report which was presented to the prince with his coffee; Priestism by Father Pellico and the Jesuits. Scores of subtle clever touches point the moral of the satire. The prince just from Cambridge, and full of Radical ideas derived from the lectures there, and from M. Sardou's *Rabagas*, undertakes to reform his little State according to democratic ideas; but a democratic constitution is a difficulty when all the people are opposed to it. After appealing in vain to his courtiers, who each approved his proposed reforms in all departments but his own, he chivalrously undertakes them alone. He does away with morning 'reports,' abolishes the State church, reforms the police, and mobilizes the national army, all of which are disapproved by his subjects. He is finally shipwrecked on the Education question and the 25th clause, aggravated by a visit from Garibaldi; and after vain attempts to get his revolutionary 1,800 subjects to hear his explanations, he abolishes himself, and escapes in his yacht to Marseilles. The same day a *plebiscite* of his principality gives, for annexation to France, 1,181 *oui*, 1 *non*; the solitary dissentient being M. Blanc. Neither description nor citation can give a just impression of the subdued raciness, the subtle insinuation, the pertinent suggestion, and the almost perfect style of this clever little *brochure*. Its formal moral is, 'no system of government can be permanent which has for its opponents all the women in the country and half the men; and any party will have for opponents all the women, which couples the religious question with the political, and raises the flag of materialism. Women are not likely to abandon the idea of a compensation in the next world for the usage which too many of them meet with in this.'

Tales from the Fjeld: a Second Series of Popular Tales. From the Norse of P. CH. ASBJÖRNSSEN. By G. W. DASENT, D.C.L. Chapman and Hall.

Dr. Dasent has contributed both to learning, literature, and folk-lore, in his admirable translation of Norse myths and legends. These have a character of rough rampant north peculiarly their own. They are not tales of fairies with their delicate refinements, redolent of quiet woods and gentle flowers, but of gins and trolls, with their rugged storm-blasts, and stern mountains and glaciers, their boisterous horse-play and strong animalism, their loud laughter rather than their subtle humour.

They are a genuine contribution to comparative mythology. 'Dick Whittington,' 'The House that Jack Built,' and other of our popular nursery stories have their analogies or prototypes or variations here. Dr. Dasent, Dr. Ralston, Hans Andersen, and the Brothers Grimm have enabled a comparison of the wild Norseland stories with the similar legends of Italy, the Tyrol, and Southern Europe generally, which may lead to interesting results. The stories are mostly short, but they are equal in interest to Dr. Dasent's former series of translations.

They are taken from an important Norwegian collection published by P. O. Asbjørnsen two or three years ago, who has made Norse folk-lore his study for the last thirty years, and has collected traditional legends from Norwegian peasants, in the way in which Sir Walter Scott collected his border minstrelsy. His first collection was published as early as 1842; from these Dr. Dasent's 'Tales from the Norse' were chiefly taken. We trust that he will translate for us the remaining collections of Asbjørnsen, especially the 'Fairy Tales' published in 1845. The present collection has an irresistible charm, especially in the admirable version in which Dr. Dasent's scholarship and literary skill have presented it.

Literary Remains of the late Emanuel Deutsch: with a Brief Memoir. JOHN MURRAY.

We had read most of the essays in this volume as they originally appeared, and we accordingly turned first to the short memoir prefixed. It is very touching: Mr. Deutsch seems to have been so full of ideas and plans, so little satisfied with what he had attained, so devoted to an ideal that dwelt within him and coloured all that he did and thought. The passion for knowledge was strong in him, and it was combined with that which when it is found in a Jew is always *commanding*—the pride of race. Personally, in no way assuming, but rather humble, diligent, and self-absorbed, Mr. Deutsch as a Jew was self-exacting, and in some sense imperious. It was little that he should live obscurely and retired, that he should not find time even to dine 'as men count dining,' and that he had to put up with a thousand privations, if so be he could do something to interpret the history, the thought, the traditions, the aspirations of his race. It was for that he lived, and we may say it was for that he died in his prime. His discontent began when he could no longer hide from himself the fact that he might fail to realize his hopes. The quiet German student with his dash of naïve humour, that would have made him so companionable, yet went through life companionless—companionless in that deeper sense of finding something to lean on, and thereby escape from the chief concern of his life, to return to it refreshed and stimulated. His friends were men who had like aims with him, and were as full of them as he was: besides his Talmud studies, he had few of those interests in life that draw a man out of himself. His biographer speaks

as though England had not done for Mr. Deutsch what it might have done; and truly in the matter of mere money reward more might well have been done for such a worker. But would that have saved a man of Mr. Deutsch's temperament and tendency? We hardly think so. The interests at the British Museum where he was from ten to four daily, were after all of the kind that he needed—perhaps the more mechanical they were, and the less demand they made on his brain, the better for him. Suppose him relieved from them, what would have been the probable result? Utter absorption in a sort of study that to be efficiently pursued needs every aid that can be derived from attention to many personal details. It is very noticeable that, though Mr. Deutsch toward the end of his life fretted at his position and at his work in the Museum, he should have said, in 1872, when inditing a fragment concerning his studies, 'For nigh twenty years it was my *privilege* to dwell in the very midst of that Pantheon called the British Museum, the treasures whereof, be they Egyptian, Homeric, Palimpsest, or Babylonian cuneiforms, the mutilated glories of the Parthenon, or the Etruscan mysterious grotesqueness, were *all at my beck and call, all days, all hours*—Alexandria, Rome, Carthage, Jerusalem, Sidon, Tyre, Athens.

This, we are inclined to regard as on the whole, the most healthy and the most grateful view. When we think of the poor boy of six or seven, in that distant Silesia full of hospitable hearts, but of climate bleak and cold, morning after morning obeying his rabbi-uncle's orders, and rising at five o'clock both summer and winter to study without fire or food for an hour or two, until the time of the daily prayer had arrived—we cannot resist the conclusion that great harm must have been done to his sensitive frame, and that the seeds were then sown of the disease which carried him off at a comparatively young age, in spite of his wiry constitution. The truth seems to be that the British Museum work—which in itself could never have induced premature disease—was regarded pleasantly rather than otherwise, till such time as Mr. Deutsch actually began to break down; when the great source of his irritation was the haunting thought that the work on the Talmud, upon which he had set his heart, could never now be done. And truly to plan out a splendid edifice—to bring the stones from afar, even from the depths of the sea, and to polish all the capitals and have the architraves wrought in fine devices, and then to know them all doomed to lie, an uncompacted pile, was enough to overcome a strong soul, in moments of pain and weakness. And so precisely it was with Mr. Deutsch, and we yield him our sympathies.

As to the essays, we regard them as even less valuable for what they communicate of fact, than for their form, and for the living imaginative sympathy that informs them, and gives them tone and colour. We see in them from first to last—in the most trifling, as in the most thorough of them—the scholar by

instinct, who lost no chance of perfecting his instruments. There is not a single clause, or even a sentence, which is not polished to express adequately what it was meant to do; there is the certain balance and completeness which come only of mastery—the ease and simplicity without pretension which clearly proclaim the artist. The article on 'The Talmud,' which first made Mr. Deutsch's name widely known, sets forward facts which in a dry and more or less scattered way were accessible to scholars in Continental tongues; but he relieved them from the touch of the Dryasdusts, and filled them as it were with throbbing pulses, as they once had filled and occupied fervent busy hearts. And so it was with the article on 'Islam,' though in it there was scarcely so much concentrated power. Whether it were that Mr. Deutsch here had a subject, which he was less in sympathy with, this essay, though brilliant, is not so successful, and failed to make quite the impression that might have been expected of it. The articles on 'The Targums,' in which we have much minute knowledge, very distant things being brought occasionally to interpret each other; and the 'Lectures on the Semitic Language,' strike us as the next most important contributions. The rest of the volume consists of shorter articles from the pages of the *Athenæum*, and a few condensed reports of lectures given here and there, which at the best can convey but a faint hint of the original form of these addresses. Unceasingly active as Mr. Deutsch was, this volume necessarily gives but a feeble idea of his achievements, far less does it satisfactorily shadow forth 'What might have been.' He contributed no fewer than one hundred and ninety articles to Chambers' 'Cyclopædia' and several to Bible Dictionaries, besides sending constant contributions to magazines and journals. Even before he had finished his studentship in Berlin, he was able to provide for himself with his pen; and it is astonishing that up till the comparatively late date of the publication in the *Quarterly* of the Talmud article, he was quite obscure and unknown in England. This volume will be welcomed as the only record we can now have of the work of a distinguished thinker, and a very accomplished writer.

Biographical and Critical Essays. Reprinted from Reviews, with Additions and Corrections. Third Series. By A. HAYWARD, Esq., Q.C. Longmans, Green, and Co.

Mr. Hayward's essays are scarcely to be surpassed in their peculiar anecdotal line. Instinctively he fastens on subjects susceptible of historical or anecdotal illustration, and with unwearied industry and very great skill he groups together anecdote after anecdote, until one is at a loss which to wonder at most—his notebooks, his *index rerum*, or his memory. The author of 'Cues from all Quarters' is not more affluent in illustrative quotations. Added to this, Mr. Hayward is completely master of his materials; not only do they not master him, but they are equally subject to his artistic faculty and to his critical power. The tex-

ture of his articles is firm and homogeneous. Hence, no papers appear more pleasant to read, and to mere utilitarian readers the pleasure is enhanced by the sense that solid information is imparted with it. As a good teller of good stories Mr. Hayward is unsurpassed. It will easily be understood how much fresh matter Mr. Hayward can bring to the review of such a book as Jennings' 'Parliamentary Anecdotes.' Under his hand it expands to an anecdotal history of the British Parliament and its history. Its characterizations and anecdotes of great speakers are rich in interest. So, also, the paper 'Curiosities of German Archives' gathers up a vast amount of curious and entertaining matter, especially about Frederic the Great, upon whom, *pace* Mr. Carlyle, Mr. Hayward is justly severe. The other papers are on Taine's 'Notes on England,' Lanfrey's 'Napoleon,' Bernard Burke's 'Vicissitudes of Families,' and O'Flanagan's 'Lord Chancellors of Ireland.'

We have also, reprinted from the *Times*, 'The Second Armada,' which many will remember as a reply to the 'Battle of Dorking;' and a *brochure* on the 'Purchase System,' intended also for the *Times*, but which did not get printed in time. Mr. Hayward's volumes take rank with the very best literature of their class.

Toliers and Spinsters, and other Essays. By Miss THACKERAY, Author of 'Old Kensington,' &c. Smith, Elder, and Co.

This volume takes its title from the first essay, which is really a sermon to old maids. While it is pervaded by a gentle air of satire that glances athwart girl-of-the-period notions, the woman's-rights movement, and similar institutions, it is full of bright, cheerful wisdom, which would perhaps look a little stoical and ungenial, if after all it were not so womanly. And it is something that a writer, who has gained such acceptance in good society should here devote herself, with all her exquisite address, to overturn one of the fixed ideas of that very society. Miss Thackeray does not believe that a woman necessarily misses her aim in life when she fails to secure a husband; 'She can still be womanly and faithful,' says Miss Thackeray, 'and that is her real aim in life, which, in spite of securing a husband, she may miss, and be miserable.'

'The ideal woman, as one imagines her, is no social failure. She is calm, beautiful, dignified, and gentle—not necessarily accomplished; but she must be intelligent, a good administrator, wise and tender by instinct; for my own taste she should have, perhaps, a gift for music, and a natural feeling for art; a suitability for her home, and, beyond this home, she should have an interest large enough to care for other people and other things; nor should that which affects the world and her own country-people's welfare, be indifferent to her. . . . Homes, husbands, sons, and daughters, such sacred ties are sweet, but they are not the only ones, nor the only sacred things in life; and some examples seem indeed to show us that love may be strong enough and wide enough to take

the world itself for a home, and the deserted for children, and the sick and sorrowful for a family.'

And when Miss Thackeray speaks of the possibility of yet seeing 'women officially appointed as guardians of the poor,' she indicates a reform that is much needed; since there can be no doubt that in a thousand ways the presence of women on such boards would be beneficial; and that not on points of economy alone, although there, their quicker instincts and their suffrages might soon work beneficial changes. The book abounds with passages of fine insight, genial humour, and deep thought, set forth in the most finished and graceful style. No writer of our time has the faculty of clearing up and exhibiting difficult matters with more ease and simplicity. The essay 'Out of the Silence,' being an account of the Deaf and Dumb Home of the Jews, is most interesting; and there lies implicit in it a whole philosophy of childhood and early education, which we much wish we had time to disentangle and detail. Every one who has to do with child training should read it. A few essays there are dealing with social habits, and points of minor morality—'Five o'clock Tea,' and the 'Croquet Nuisance,' being perhaps, the most prominent of these; while others are mainly descriptive, such as 'Rome in the Holy Week;' but all are written with rare felicity and quiet pointedness. We wonder whether the masterly little article 'Closed Doors,' which so decisively declares for open churches at other times than the special hours for service, will have any effect? The contents look more miscellaneous than they really are; for we catch hint of a purpose more or less clearly running through all. We can honestly recommend this volume, both for its readableness and its practical suggestiveness.

History of English Literature. By H. A. TAINE, D.O.L. Translated from the French by H. VAN LAUN. Vols. II. and III. Edmonston and Douglas.

These two volumes of M. Van Laun's revised translation of Taine's English literature bring the history down to the first chapter of modern life, including Wordsworth, which is a rapid characterization of the chief writers of the period, rather than a careful critique of any one of them. It is often flippant enough—none the less so for there being in it elements of truth which are jauntily exaggerated into caricature, which would recognise even the feeble side of Wordsworth in the following:—'Half of his pieces are childish, almost foolish; dull events described in a dull style, one platitude after another, and that on principle. All the poets in the world would not reconcile us to so much tedium. . . . The specialty of the artist is to cast great ideas in moulds as great: Wordsworth's moulds are of bad common clay, cracked, unable to hold the noble metal which they ought to contain.' Many of Mr. Taine's characterizations are equally shallow and exaggerated. His volumes, however, contain better and nobler things. They are eminently readable, and often rise into genu-

ine eloquence. A grave and adequately informed critic, however, is tempted to break a lance with him on almost every page.

Mary Ellesmere; or, Dawn and Daylight. (Hamilton, Adams, and Co.) The minister's daughter who writes this story, describes it as an attempt to delineate in an attractive form the spiritual character and influence of Nonconformist teaching, and she has put before her readers some very interesting sketches of religious life amongst Dissenters of the older type. Those who know English Nonconformity only as it exists in large towns and prosperous congregations will find in this book much valuable information as to the difficulties of Dissenters in smaller places, where unhappy prejudices and narrow-minded views operate most seriously against the life of our Churches. We must confess, however, that the authoress has scarcely justified her heroine. Mary Ellesmere is the niece of a Dean of the old high and dry school. She is engaged to be married to an amiable young clergyman, but breaks off the engagement because she cannot induce her lover to accept her somewhat unformed ecclesiastical opinions. She is driven from her uncle's house, becomes a governess, and is subsequently adopted by a wealthy London merchant, with whose daughter she had been on terms of loving intimacy. From his house she afterwards marries a rising young minister, and is happily settled as the wife of the pastor of an influential country congregation. Some of the minor characters of the book are better drawn. The old minister and his family, with whom the heroine takes refuge when she leaves her uncle's house, are the most interesting people in the volume. We presume Mr. Winton is the honoured father to whose memory the book is dedicated,—a genial, upright, loveable old Puritan. Some of the descriptions of natural scenery and country life are very charming, and the authoress is evidently more at home here than in writing of London life and society.

Elsie Dinmore; Holidays at Roselands: Elsie's Girlhood. By MARIA FARQUHARSON. (Henry S. King and Co.) The story of Elsie Dinmore, carried through these three volumes, is fitted to interest and benefit youthful readers. The tone and spirit pervading the story are pure and healthy, and free from corrupting sensationalism. Perhaps there is a little straining and over-doing in delineating the character of Elsie and her father, and thus the influence of the story may in some measure be impaired. But on the whole the volumes merit commendation, and may with advantage be put into the hands of young people.

Jupiter's Daughter. By Mrs. CHARLES JENKIN. (Smith, Elder, and Co.) The *motif* of this clever story is to exhibit the arbitrary and cruel working of the French custom of marriage, the determination of which is relegated to parents; and which, therefore, too often disregards the sentiment whose inspirations should be the supreme arbiter of it. Human nature will, however, as-

sert itself, the worldly wisdom of rich parents notwithstanding. Poor Pauline forbidden to marry Vilpont, who is in every reasonable qualification well suited for her, is married to Leon, a wealthy fool; and endures through life the martyrdom of outraged affection. The chief interest of the story, however, lies in its admirable sketches of French life and sentiment, with which Mrs. Jenkin seems perfectly familiar. There is too a good deal of intellectual power in it, clever and thoughtful things not unfrequently occur.—*Two Girls*. By FREDERICK WEDMORE. Two Vols. (Henry S. King and Co.) Mr. Wedmore has advanced upon his former story, 'A Snap Gold Ring,' in the firmness of his grasp and the sympathy of his tone, and is evidently writing with great care and conscientiousness. There is too a good deal of penetrating observation and thoughtful reflection in his work. His great artistic defect is the awkward, abrupt, and improbable construction of his plot. His stories want harmony, tone, and naturalness. It would be easy to point out a dozen instances; some of these, too, the very pivots of his plot, and which ought to have been gradually led up to, but which are in the highest degree improbable. The unquestioning and accommodating acceptance of Welvertree by Lord Rundhurst is an example. Both Cicily and Irma, moreover, are crudely conceived, and are exaggerated; the one in her somewhat stupid amiability, the other in her fiery fierceness. Welvertree again wants backbone and elevation; he cannot be acquitted of base and selfish treatment of Irma, his good impulse notwithstanding. Beddingly Ancot, the philosophical freethinker, in the rudimental conception of his character, is very good. On a larger canvas, and with a more subtle artist he would have been a creation; but the working out of the conception is defective. His schemes to marry his daughter are hardly in harmony with either his sentiments or his affection. This is the general artistic defect of Mr. Wedmore; his conceptions are clever, but he fails fully to realize them. Another defect is a sub-acid of cynicism which is still too perceptible, and which is not an element of power. It is sympathy, not cynicism, that moves men. Mr. Wedmore's story, however, is in many of its literary characteristics a remarkable one. It is so good that it ought to have been better.—*In the Carmargue*. By EMILY BOWLES. (Smith, Elder, and Co.) The Carmargue is the island formed by the division of the Rhone into two branches at Arles, and which is flat, marshy, and sandy, containing, moreover, great salt beds; and being so far south has many characteristics of sub-tropical regions. The scenes of the story are laid in this island; its farm-producing and cattle-breeding features, as well as the manners and customs of the people are well described, apparently with minute familiarity. Noel the heroine is a farmer's daughter, whose father wants her to marry a well-to-do, but somewhat herculean cattle driver. Two Englishmen appear on the scene, the one an artist of good intentions, but of weak resolution. He and Noel fall in love with each

other. Rambert, the cattle driver, is exasperated to madness, but noble feelings prevail, and he saves his rival's life at the sacrifice of his own. The artist returns to London, and weakly falls a victim to a beautiful and artful cousin, whom he marries. Poor Noel devotes herself to hospital nursing. There is a good deal of promise in the story; the characters are well discriminated, the colouring is harmonious, and the tone throughout is well preserved. Its artistic fault is over-intensity, and a somewhat profuse use of superlatives, sometimes of long descriptive words that do not describe. The same fault of exaggeration is seen in the portraiture. Noel is sensitive, sublime, and saintly, almost to hysteria and asceticism,

'A creature far too good
For human nature's daily food.'

Rambert is as grand and heroic as a knight of the Round Table. The other characters are less extravagant; but none of them natural. The Romanism of the district is described in a rose-coloured idealism, which no traveller in Romish countries ever encounters. If the writer will place herself under severe literary discipline, and get rid of the Minerva-Press idealism which disfigures her style and portraiture, we think that there is in her the making of a good novel writer.—*Cupid and Chow-Chow, and other Stories*. By LOUISA M. ALLCOTT. (Sampson Low and Co.) Miss Allcott has the knack of throwing off for young folks graceful trifles, suitably pointing a moral. Here are ten stories, apparently contributed to a newspaper or small periodical, very charmingly written. The story which gives its title to the volume we like the least, although its covert satire on strong-minded women is clever and humorous; but we do not like the precocity of American children playing at marriage, &c., and have no wish that our English children should be initiated into it.—*Thorp's Regis*. By the Author of 'The Rose Garden,' &c. Two Vols. (Smith, Elder, and Co.) We are disposed to pronounce 'Thorp's Regis' the most thoughtful and tender novel of the season. At any rate it contests the palm with 'Mistress Judith.' It is full of beautiful sentiment, delicate discrimination, and charming description. The latter indeed is almost perfect, just because it is true. With a keen eye for form and colour, the author does not catalogue items, she paints pictures full of beauty and suggestiveness. In the early part of the book descriptiveness and sentiment somewhat overlay the story. The characters and incidents do not stand out with adequate distinctness; the whole is suffused with a kind of haze; but as the passion deepens, after Marmaduke reads the letter, the delineation and movement of character become more vigorous, the landscape is subdued to a mere background, and the sentiment into a mere atmosphere—both, however, very charming to the end; while the whole is inlaid with thoughtful apothegms, often of great beauty. The elements of the story are not so much the great tragedies, as the minor misunderstandings and irritations of life, and their power to determine destinies. Three or four deaths occur—but not in any

tragical way—and there is considerable love making: in Stephen's instance, in the gusty atmosphere of passion; in Winifred's, with the silent suffering of which there is much in life. The characters are drawn with great delicacy of discrimination. Winifred, Ada, Marion, Bessie, the bachelor brothers, the old squire, Mrs. Featherly, and not least, David Stephen, the Methodist—who, half fanatic half saint, is however treated as Episcopalians usually treat Nonconformists—are all as distinct as photographs, and as soft and charming as well adjusted lights can make them. The sentiment is as pure as the art is perfect. We have only praise for such a book.—*Sweet, but not Lasting*. By ANNIE B. LEFURT. (Sampson Low and Co.) A fairly written story of Irish life; short, but tragic, with the old, old story—the fate of ill-requited love. Nellie Hume permits herself to love too well, Dr. Halket, who after virtually engaging himself to her, permits himself to flirt, and something more, with Lady Ermegilda Hildebrand; poor little Nellie does not die of a broken heart, but her heart 'brokenly lives on.' She becomes a nursing sister, and ten years after she dies in a French hospital, and he is called in to attend her. The story is slight and brief, and is filled in by a delineation of social life at a village on the west coast of Ireland. Its moral is the ill that may be done to man or woman, 'by want of thought, as well as want of heart.'—*In Strange Company; being the Experience of a Roaming Correspondent*. By JAMES GREENWOOD, 'the Amateur Casual.' (Henry S. King and Co.) Mr. Greenwood, for the satisfaction of his own philanthropic inquisitiveness, or to furnish attractions to the columns of the *Daily Telegraph*, describes his explorations of Bohemian London. He visits all the wretched out-of-the-way places he can hear of; describes the haunts of the miserable and the vicious, and paints pictures of the capital of modern civilization that would have appalled Asmodeus. If well-to-do people wish to know how their near neighbours exist—live they scarcely do—or if jaded novel readers want a sensation, let them read these descriptions of newspaper boys and organ-grinders, of London alleys, and Kentish hoppers. Every page is piteous, and its misery is melodramatic in its strangeness. We have read most of the papers, but selection is simple impossible.—*The Byeways of Two Cities*. By the Author of 'The Romance of the Streets,' with a prefatory notice by the Right Hon. the Earl of SHAFTESBURY. (Hodder and Stoughton.) A book similar in aim, but very different in method. The author is a practical worker in one of the missions organized for the teaching and elevation of the lowest classes. While Mr. Greenwood pays professional visits, and describes their accidental impressions, the author of this volume narrates incidents of his experience while pursuing his noble Christian calling. Lord Shaftesbury vouches for these narratives that they are all true. While therefore they are less sensational, they are more deeply tragic and pathetic. The slums of London are explored—not merely lit up with Bengal lights, and the underlying histories of their misery detailed. Let any one

read the graphic description of Goldenlane and its purlieus—the metropolis of 'costers'—and he will feel with how quick and true discernment a strange and unknown world is delineated; and let him read the account of Mr. Orsman's mission therein, and of Lord Shaftesbury's personal efforts to benefit the 'costers'—'the earl, himself a member of the fraternity, is the best known personage in the district'—and he will feel how nobly men may be inspired, and how much they may do. The book is full of very painful interest, relieved by fine sympathies and hopeful work. The two cities are London and Edinburgh.—*Too Late*. By MRS. NEWMAN. Two Vols. (Henry S. King and Co.) There is a good deal of vigour and movement in Mrs. Newman's story. Nevill Lyford, the heir to a large estate, is opposed in his projected marriage with Blanche Arnold—an orphan, who lives with a brusque, honest, and great-hearted aunt, Miss Barton—by the family pride of his aunt Judith, who declares she will disinherit him. Blanche thereupon breaks off the engagement in such a way as to lead him to think she has never loved him. In leaving her he falls down a cliff, and is nursed in the cottage of a coast-guard'sman; and in his great resentment and pique marries his daughter Margaret, one of Nature's noble-women; and the interest of the story, which is often very great, turns upon her new relations in the higher class of society, and the great power of her self-sacrifice. Mrs. Newman has contrived to construct a story out of the old elements of the course of true love, in which there is considerable novelty of incident and freshness of narrative. Novel readers will pronounce her story sensible, forcible, and interesting.—*Ena; or, The Ancient Maori*. By GEORGE H. WILSON. (Smith, Elder, and Co.) The border land of savagery and civilization is always rich in materials of romance, whether it be that of Saxon and Celt, American colonist and Red Indian, or New Zealand settler and Maori. It needs, however, a Cooper to depict it, and Mr. Wilson is not a Cooper; he writes too ambitiously, and has not sufficient dramatic art to arrange his materials effectively. The story turns upon the internecine struggle of two Maori tribes, with one of whom is a shipwrecked American girl. The narrative is a continuous skirmishing, and has no artistic disposition; although both the fine scenery of New Zealand and the noble elements of Maori character afford rich materials for an effective study. How far facts are the basis of Mr. Wilson's narrative he does not tell us.—*Verena; or, Safe Paths and Slippery Byeways*. A story of to-day. By EMILY SARAH HOLT. (John F. Shaw.) A religious novel, somewhat confused in construction and character, and oddly blending Sacramentarian discussion, Evangelical conversation, and the romance of a lost will and the reversion to a large estate. It seems to be intended as a polemic against Romanising in the Church of England. Some of the characters are well conceived, but very crudely developed. The incidents are abruptly and inartistically arranged, and there is, for our taste, too much of the unctuous phraseology of a certain school of Evangelicals. The dialogue is smart, and the aim of

the writer is one that we heartily sympathize with.—*A Fight for Life*, by MARY THOMAS, (Henry S. King and Co.), has been added to the Cornhill Library of Fiction.—*Through the Mist*. By JEANNIE HERING. Three Vols. (Virtue, Spalding, and Daldy.) We cannot say much for 'Through the Mist,' save that it is the *ne plus ultra* of common-place. We could scarcely have thought it possible to fill three volumes with conversation so twaddling, sentiments so common-place, and incidents so feebly conceived and so mechanically put together. The only good thing in the book is the teetotal moral that it points. Next to poor Dulcie's sad lot in marrying a drunkard, nay worse, is poor Alice's fate in being consigned to a fool. One is comforted by the thought that the authoress has been misinformed; it is the most absurd psychological impossibility. Was it not Miss Bell that Merton Crawshaw married? Even for the most inveterate novel reader, 'Through the Mist' is a book to be avoided.

THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, AND PHILOLOGY.

The Supernatural Origin of the Bible Inferred from Itself. The Congregational Lecture for 1873. By HENRY ROGERS. Hodder and Stoughton.

The unwillingness on the part of many to accede to the supernatural or superhuman characteristics of any particular cycle of events or literature has arisen not infrequently from inability to determine scientifically what are the limits of the 'natural' and the 'human.' It cannot be gainsaid that enlarged study of the development and outcome of that which avowedly transcends neither the one nor the other, has increased the difficulty. The comparison of the Bible and its history, with other books of sacred literature, explains some of the most startling peculiarities of the former. The grave question now propounded to the Christian apologist is, how far does this comparison affect the exclusive or paramount claims of Holy Scripture? Is there or is there not any other extant group of literature which bears as the Bible does so unmistakably, the signature of a Mind and Purpose distinct from those of the natural forces and human hands which have apparently produced and preserved it? In the endeavour to answer this question, the right hand of the author of 'The Eclipse of Faith' has not lost its cunning. The author's well-known ingenuity, freeing itself from all satire, and directed by refined and serious feeling, has never shown to greater advantage than in this volume. His style, compact and lucid, is more vigorous than ever while exhibiting the paradoxes involved in the hypothesis that this book is a collection of sacred writings produced and preserved by the ordinary factors at work in human nature. Mr. Rogers indulges in few positive arguments for a *Divine* origin of either a part or the whole of Holy Scripture; he leaves untouched what are commonly termed

the moralevidences of Christianity; and he contents himself with indicating in an ingenious concluding lecture, an analogy between the constructive method and mental force which have built up the Bible, and the 'constitution and course of nature.' Direct argument for the divine origin, or the plenary inspiration, or the scientific accuracy, or the eternal verity supposed to characterize or qualify these writings does not come within the present scope of the author of this volume. On the contrary, he very frequently repeats his disclaimer of any attempt to produce a positive argument for the truth, or for the inspiration of the oracle to which he refers. He has accomplished his purpose when he has revealed the cluster of improbabilities, incompatibilities, and puzzles which must be harboured in the mind of any sceptic who believes in the purely human origin of the literature and religion of the Bible. Many of these paradoxical combinations of inadequate cause and stupendous effect are shown—with consummate mastery of the conditions of the problem—to be in open and obvious antagonism to the temper and grain of human nature; and the author has never arranged his pieces on the chess-board with more absolute certainty of check-mating his opponent than in this volume. Some of these 'peculiarities,' 'curiosities,' and 'paradoxes' have often before now given vivacity to Christian apology; but such points are stated with great novelty of illustration, even though they are not themselves advanced for the first time. 'I seem to see,' says he, 'unless it be a strange delusion, a multitude of traits which prevent my accounting for the Bible as I can for other professed sacred books, by a reference to the known properties and forces which exist in our nature. . . . And my object is to show . . . that the Bible is not such a book as man would have made if he could, or could have made if he would.' He does not profess to have exhausted the line of argument, and declares that these lectures are not 'controversial.' I simply speak of the impression which certain features of the Bible have made upon me, and state the reasons of it.' Our author's first illustration is found in the 'inveterate proneness of mankind to idolatry,' the tendencies of human nature, and of *Jewish* human nature, are all on one side, showing intense sympathy with idolatry, and 'making it hard to understand how the Jews came by this curious monopoly of unadulterated Monotheism.' A second trait of the Bible, as a whole, on which the author insists, is the unnatural sublimity involved in the perpetual reference to the Will of God, and the subordination of all events to those which illustrate His supremacy, involving an inversion of the relatively great and little in the history of the world. Associated with this is the strict 'subordination of ethics to theology.' He urges that 'the general facts of the world's history show that the whole tendency of mankind (that of the Jews themselves quite as much as of the rest of the race) is in revolt against that view of God's supreme and all-controlling authority, and that perpetual obstruction of his claims which characterize the Bible.' He then argues that the morality of the

New Testament runs counter to the prejudices, and systems of human nature, and that the modifications and emasculations, and corruptions from which it has suffered at the hands of Christians, confirm the same view of the originality of the Bible. He next develops a similar argument, based on the character of the Founder of Christianity, and declares that *that* character on the purely human hypothesis of its origin, is charged with paradox. He uses even stronger language than that adopted by Canon Liddon in his Bampton Lecture, and forces on the alternative that if Christ be not divine, His claims must be treated with 'sovereign scorn.' This would be an unanswerable position, if the perfect accuracy and authenticity of the four gospels were on an admittedly irrefragable basis; those who dispute the superhuman origin of the Bible have been the busiest critics of the evangelical narrative. Mr. Rogers refers to the alternative that the character of Christ is only an ideal creation, and has justly called attention to the verisimilitude attributed by 'a stupid world' to the ideal, while with eloquence he shows how impossible it was for human nature, conditioned as were the Jews of that age, to rise to such a conception. They possessed neither the moral nor the intellectual qualities competent to such a task. When he says that all the mythologies of the world ancient and modern, are now consigned to 'universal contempt or oblivion,' we think he somewhat undervalues the profound interest which has now for nearly half a century been manifested in the study of the sacred books of the Hindus, and the wondrous story of the rise and spread of Buddhism.

In the second lecture the author shows how the Gospel abruptly broke in upon the prejudices of the Jew, and 'as with volcanic force fractured and upturned the solid strata of his belief,' and in one of the most eloquent passages of the volume—which we should gladly quote, but for lack of space—he asks, 'How came incarnate bigotry to go forth as the spontaneous apostle and herald of universal love?' and with equal force he shows that there was not 'a thought, a prejudice, or a sentiment of the Gentiles which could recommend it.' With singular ability he points out further that the New Testament propounds a religion which aspires to universal dominion and yet proposes to achieve it by moral forces alone. The very fact that Christians have departed from the principle of the New Testament is fairly adduced as a cogent argument in the same direction. Mr. Rogers discusses the inferences that may be drawn from the silence of the New Testament touching the relations of the new faith to the civil power, and couples with it the singular reticence of the Bible in relation to the future and invisible world; that whereas other religious systems and books, and the superstitious additions that have been made to Christianity have offered 'pretended discoveries as to the *physical* conditions of the future life,' the New Testament points as with a sunbeam to the *moral* characteristics of the future state. He further urges the difficulty of imagining how human nature could spontaneously have given such a

picture of itself as we find in the statements of the Bible, the tremendous impeachment of humanity without a shadow of petulance, is unparalleled in literature, whereas every corruption of the religion of the Bible has been in the direction of those systems which have men's own signature upon them.

A most interesting lecture follows on 'arguments ancillary to the same conclusions.' The writer then passes on to coincidences between certain statements of Scripture and certain facts of history which are entirely independent of historical criticism, and consist mainly of the broad outline of Christian history as foreshadowed in Holy Scripture. The unity of the Bible forms the topic of the remaining portion of this interesting lecture. We cannot help wishing that the author had put forth his consummate powers at greater length on this all-important item of his argument, instead of confining himself as he does to two or three illustrations.

The fifth lecture consists of a reply to some objections founded on the form and structure of the Bible; and here great stress is laid upon the narrative element that pervades the sacred volume, and the dramatic teaching elicited by the bare mention and juxtaposition of historic facts. The intersections of sacred and secular history are touched rather than investigated; the silences and abrupt terminations of certain narratives are described as part of the proof that some wisdom greater than that of the several authors and compilers, must have presided over the whole, determined the relation of the parts, and directed them to their end.

Two lectures are subsequently devoted to certain peculiarities of the style of the sacred Scriptures. Of these it is difficult to give any adequate conception. The following eloquent passage, which concludes the seventh lecture, is fairly indicative of the spirit of the whole. 'In brief, no small portion of that pathos in which, as I have said, the Bible abounds above all other books, is found in the various manifestations of the paternal character of God; by which He would seem intent on subduing both that dread which results from our sense of guilt, and that intellectual apathy which is the equally certain effect of the bare contemplation of His abstract perfections. All these illustrations are drawn so freely from the depths of our own nature—from that parental heart which He Himself inspired with its passionate and unquenchable love—that no self-despairing, forlorn child of pollution and misery, is without ample warrant to come in his rags and deep poverty, the effect and sign of his transgression, and breaking through the cloud of doubt and distrust which the sense of infinite purity and the awe of illimitable power and wisdom might interpose, to cast himself, though it be with burning shame and blinding tears, into those loving arms, which he is assured, in accents and by arguments so infinitely touching, are ever open to receive them.'

The eighth lecture, on the exceptional position of the Bible in the world, reminds us of some of the most striking passages in 'the Eclipse of Faith.' Here the author compares Biblical literature with subsequent Jewish writ-

ings. He waives any argument derivable from the muster roll of Jewish or Christian martyrs, and does not build on the numbers who accept this sacred book, but wisely calls attention to the wonderful independence of race which is evinced in the welcome given to it—the fact that it has travelled from land to land, from race to race, whereas other religions so seldom transcend the bounds of race and nationality. We entirely agree with him, but we think that he might have contrasted the missionary enterprises of Buddhism with those of Christianity, to the great strengthening of his argument. In ten most characteristic pages—which would be ruined by partial quotation—the author recounts the prodigious literature evoked by the Bible. In spite of all hostile attacks every year multiplies its copies, and makes it speak in some new language. The influence of the Bible on other literature is powerfully defended and sustained by quotations from various sources. The whole of this lecture is marked by glowing eloquence and rich and varied illustration, in which the author has transcended the finest essays that have ever issued from his facile pen.

The ninth, and last lecture, professes to contain the solution of every paradox and 'curiosity' suggested in the foregoing pages. Although the method of analogy is powerful in the refutation of objections, he shows that it is not without force on the positive side, and that, without assuming the actual truth of revelation, there are many analogies between the Bible and the constitution and course of nature. His first analogy is based on the unity of the Bible and the unity of nature, and the long array and succession of means by which in these two great operations of God His ends are attained and His work is perfected. Another analogy rests on the position that if the Bible be a revelation, the mode of giving it falls in with the method by which God usually operates on human destinies; in other words, both in the education of the race generally and in the conduct of revelation, God has been teaching the world, through the agency of great men. A further analogy turns on the material instruments by which the progress of men is in each case secured; that is, it has taken the form of a book. Further comparisons are instituted between the fields which Nature and Scripture provide for inductive science, for systematic classification, and the æsthetic treatment of the ideals they suggest. The subjects of miracles and prophecy are lightly passed over, and many topics suggested by the title, had they been more fully handled by so distinguished a writer, would have been read with avidity. We especially signalize that of the moral and spiritual force which is continually emitted by these sacred pages, and which to the great bulk of Christendom provides such incontestable evidence of its Divine original. However, we gratefully accept this first volume of a new series of 'Congregational Lectures,' satisfied that its popular character will command a wide circle of readers, while the freshness and originality of the treatment of an oft-debated theme, its absolute freedom from all controversial bitterness and dogmatic theorizing, will com-

mend it to the respectful attention of men of the most divergent views. The whole argument steers clear of, and is independent of the attacks of scientific method or historic criticism, and goes a long way towards establishing not only the superhuman but the Divine origin of Holy Scripture with all who believe in a living God.

Present-Day Papers on Prominent Questions in Theology; Catholic Thoughts on the Church of Christ and the Church of England. By the late FREDERICK MYERS, M.A., Perpetual Curate of St John's, Keswick. W. Isbister and Co.

The postscript to this singularly interesting volume was written by the late accomplished and noble-hearted author more than thirty years ago, when it was printed for private circulation.

The editor of 'The Present-Day Papers on Prominent Questions in Theology,' felt, before his own regrettable demise, that the publication of this posthumous work would be timely and valuable. We heartily agree with the late Bishop of Argyll, and strongly commend the perusal of pages which touch the heart of the great questions in ecclesiastic theology of which we now hear so much. The peculiarity of impression they make on our mind is that their author and editor appear to treat the definitions of the Church and its functions, the idea of the sacraments, the significance of the succession, the nature of the Christian ministry, the relation of the ministry to the laity, and even the mutual provinces of the Church and the State which are advocated in these pages, with the regard that ought to be paid to *original* ideas. Now, with few exceptions the positions of Mr. Myers are those which have been urged by thoughtful Nonconformists from time immemorial. The fine catholic spirit of the author is conspicuous on every page. He knows that his views will be regarded as blank heresy by believers and advocates of the successional theory, and he held many of his opponents in the highest esteem as holy men and devout Christian workers. This leads him to guard and refine every statement with scrupulous care so as to avoid the appearance of arrogance. He admits that the majority of Christendom in all ages have declared against the more spiritual theory of the Church, the ministry, and the sacraments; and his most dogmatic statements have the effect of demolishing the exclusive claims of the Catholic priesthood in Roman or Anglican Churches, of repudiating and refuting the arguments by which their claims are buttressed, rather than of proving the utter incompatibility of the sacerdotal hypothesis with Christianity and sound philosophy. Nothing can be nobler than his vindication of religious Nonconformity from the charge of schism, and nothing can be more loyal than his own reverence for the Church of his fathers, looked at from his own standpoint; and, though deprived as he sees it of all the advantages of priestly or mediatorial ministry, doing its work as part of a great spiritual brotherhood in Christ Jesus. He abundantly illustrates the secondary im-

portance of all positive institutions, and justifies development and changes of the ritual and order of Church government, without claiming for these modifications any divine or exclusive sanction. Special attention is drawn to the changes which Mosaism had undergone at the time of our Lord, and to the deference paid to these changes by our Lord and His apostles. This is noticeable in the adoption of baptism and the wine of the Paschal supper which had been unauthorized additions to the old Mosaic ritual; the application of the same principle to New Testament and primitive institutions of the Church is obvious.

The extent and range of these gentle but daring and earnest speculations will be more apparent when we are favoured with the author's views on theology and Christian dogma. Perhaps a few lines from the postscript will set forth the spirit of this volume, and the tone of that which is to follow.

'It has been attempted to assert that almost all things most important to man's spiritual life are unsystematic, indefinite, and immeasurable by human language: that the Church of Christ is, that the Absolutely True is: that Gospel Doctrines are parts of Infinites, and therefore of no form: that Christianity can only be adequately represented as Light accessible in its essential blessedness by all who by God's grace have been brought where it is, in its fulness, namely, into the Church of Christ, but to be comprehended in its essence, or its operations, or its limits by none: and that therefore our first duty and our truest wisdom is to turn off our thoughts from speculations as to its nature to adoration of its Author, and to make the object of our faith, and love, and zeal, a Person rather than a Creed.'

There is much in keeping with the spirit of modern philosophy in this Christian positivism, and we are satisfied that it does not set forth the whole truth about Christian dogma, which he, however, from many other passages would be ready to admit. A meditation of loftier tone or more true catholicity we have seldom read. The present editor, Mr. Whitehead, would have conferred great additional value on the work, if he had in the form of analysis, table of contents, or head lines, given even the slightest assistance to the reader in following the course of the argument.

In the Morningland; or, the Law of the Origin and Transformation of Christianity.
By JOHN STUART STUART-GLENNIE. Longmans and Co.

Some five or six years ago Mr. Stuart-Glennie published a prospectus which contained the programme of a sweeping reconstruction of human institutions generally. Mr. Glennie's scheme was to embrace an exposition of 'the principles of the new philosophy,' the 'ideals of the new religion,' and the 'institutions of the new polity.' After this it seems hardly worth mentioning that by way of 'concluding poetical synthesis,' there was to be a 'drama of the decline and fall of Christianity.' To a thinker with so vast a perspective as this modest scheme implies, the mere existence of

the Christian religion can have hardly appeared important enough to require explanation. Exhaustively to 'explain' and satisfactorily to 'account for' Christianity is, however, precisely Mr. Glennie's object in this initial volume, as a prelude to that 'decline and fall' of it which he is, mayhap, one day to sing. Mr. Glennie advances to the assault with an immense array of siege instruments. There is a new philosophical method, a new logic, a new classification of the sciences, a new philosophy of causation, and a new philosophy of history. As the result of so many novelties there is a new explanation of the origin of Christianity, which is the greatest novelty of all. We cannot hope, within the narrow limits of such a notice as this, to do justice to so encyclopædic a volume, which nevertheless contains much independent and not a little just thinking, shows a competent acquaintance with philosophical principles, and gives evidence of wide knowledge and of exhaustive—we will not say patient—study. A few out of many obvious criticisms may at once indicate the connections of Mr. Glennie's system, and suggest the weakness of its parts. First as to his new method and new logic, which we may conveniently take together, because the one is merely the art of which the other is the science. To inductive and deductive logic Mr. Glennie proposes to add a new 'correlative' logic, founded on a process of thought different from that of either. Dialectics, as he calls it, advances not from generals to particulars, or *vice versa*, but from generals to generals. That reasoning is occasionally so conducted may perfectly well be, though Mr. Glennie has to go for his illustrations of it to 'the speculations of Hegel and the plays of Shakespeare.' But that Shakespeare and Hegel speculated in this way, however interesting to psychology, is nothing to logic. Logic is not concerned, as Mr. Glennie seems to suppose, with 'processes of thought' in general, but is the science of necessary inference; and conclusions logically drawn are rightly drawn, because the inductive and deductive methods are grounded upon certain indisputable axioms. But upon what axioms is the new 'correlative logic' grounded? Upon no axioms, but upon certain constancies in nature, which have been generalized as the correlation of forces, and upon which he hopes to base a 'logic of co-existence.' Mr. Glennie appears to us to confound the science of logic, which is objective, with the theory of reasoning, which is clearly subjective. All deeper insight into the processes of nature will necessarily lead to a truer classification of things, and therefore to a profounder science of logic and a more effectual art of discovery. But no perfecting of either will ever lend any support to Mr. Glennie's unproved assertion that we can or do reason from generals to generals. Apart from this psychological fallacy, Mr. Glennie's new logic, and even its new name, are both very old. Aristotle's 'dialectics' was also a 'logic of correlates,' but he was careful to distinguish between dialectical and scientific reasoning. The sole purpose of the one was to construct opinion, while the other aimed at

the 'evolution of genuine knowledge.' Professor Jevons' 'substitution of similars,' and Mr. Herbert Spencer's 'equality of relations,' contain all that is true, regarded as a theory of reasoning, in Mr. Glennie's new logic. Our scepticism remains when we proceed to examine his application of his logic, his 'method' as displayed on a wide field—the classification of the sciences. He begins with the conception of position, out of which he constructs the mathematical sciences. Now, he says, let us 'differentiate;' position is accordingly 'differentiated,' and presto! out comes motion. Let us now 'integrate' position and motion, and sure enough we get evolution. Our readers must not ask us how these results are reached; we can only refer them to Mr. Glennie's method. Of ourselves we should have said that motion, which is an abstraction, and position, which is a relation, require matter as a preliminary to the evolution of anything whatever. But these three conceptions, however arrived at, enable Mr. Glennie to deduce the natural sciences, mathematic, physic, and cosmogenetic. As a single specimen of the difficulties we find in this way of arranging the sciences, we may mention that biology is included in the second, and the science of organic development (autogenetic) in the third group. But how, we may ask, could biology proceed a single step, but for the facts supplied by that autogeny which, nevertheless, is placed after it? And where, in these groups of objective science is logic? It is relegated to the subjective sciences, as the science of the formal relations of thought, though in reality it deals with relations of likeness or unlikeness among things. To show that it is really objective we have but to ask what would become of Mr. Glennie's organic (which includes botany) without a science of classification; and what else is logic but such a science?

Passing over many other objections to this arrangement of the sciences, we find some obscurity in Mr. Glennie's notion of what an art is. Corresponding to all the sciences of development he has placed what he calls 'arts of description.' But art implies the mixture of human will with natural processes, and is no more descriptive than science is. Nor is the art of therapeutics co-extensive with organics, for it does not include those structural modifications which men can produce in animals by unconscious and deliberate selection. And the word 'tactic' was not invented by Dr. Sylvester, but was used by Ampère. Speaking generally, Mr. Glennie's classification appears to us to err by being too simple, nature being complex, and not developing by Hegelian triplets; but to be right in distinguishing the subjective from the objective sciences, and in attempting to construct (not, as we think, successfully) a third order of sciences dealing with the relations between the two. As the result of this classification, Mr. Glennie thinks he has discovered that all the sciences are sciences of relations, and though he regards this as a powerful weapon to be used against Christianity, we will even say that we agree with him. He proceeds to determine the nature

of the relations in the three orders—physical, metaphysical, and ethical. We have not space here to follow him, but we may take the explanation of the metaphysical relations as typical. Every sequence of thought, he says, 'is the satisfaction of a correlatively determined want of oneness.' It would be equally correct to say that it is the satisfaction of a want of twoness. His master in so many things, Mr. Spencer, might have taught him that evolution of mind, as of all else, advances by differentiation, and that integration is the beginning of dissolution. Note, however, the automorphism implied in the use of the word 'satisfaction' and the phrase 'want of oneness.' It is here that Mr. Glennie gets in his *grand coup*, and after such labourings as we have witnessed, brings forth his new theory of causation. Every change being the result of a 'want,' and moving spontaneously towards a 'satisfaction,' is not the result of will, and our type of causation in the universe is subverted; and he has no difficulty in consequently conceiving the universe as a system, complete within itself, of mutually determined elements. But does it not at the same time appear that in abolishing the will, he has raised each term of every sequence into a separate will; just as the French Revolution destroyed entail in general only to establish a multitude of particular entails? For the assumption of a 'want' is unjustified and unphilosophical, and resembles those assumptions of 'organic polarity,' and 'inherent tendency,' which the evolution biologists are accused of making in order to dispense with the theory of final causes. All Mr. Glennie's ingenious generalizations will not rid us of the consciousness of causation; and after he has packed up the elements of the universe within his self-contained and self-determining sphere, we still ask, how came they there? There may be no answer, but it is idle to juggle with words which assume in the premises the thing to be proved. If, however, this conception of causation, which substitutes co-existences for antecedents, and mutual determination for producing agencies, be true, and be only newly discovered, then the history of thought must be the progress towards it, and in the philosophy of history the explanation of that progress. This, therefore, is Mr. Glennie's philosophy of history:—Men's conceptions of causation, which were once objective, and ascribed the actions of each external object to beings in that object; then subjective, ascribing all actions to wills, human or divine, have at length become subjective-objective, and ascribe actions to 'mutual determination,' to correlated forces, from which spirit and will are equally excluded. We have no room to comment on the two assumptions which underlie this theory, (1) that the history of civilization is a history of consciousness, and (2) that the history of consciousness is a history of our conceptions of causation.

We pass to the application of it to the Christian religion. Christianity, Mr. Glennie says, is an animistic philosophy, because 'events are conceived as being caused by supernatural agents or "spirits." We are afraid there is

no doubt about it; and, of course, if Mr. Glen-
 nie's theory of causation is right, there is an
 end of it. But it is satisfactory to see that his
 dogmatic arguments reduce themselves simply
 to a denial of the supernatural. His historical
 arguments are of a different order, and aim to
 show that Christianity was perfectly natural in
 its origin. It sprang from Osirianism. The
 doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and
 the Judgment are found in the Egyptian my-
 thology; therefore they must have been bor-
 rowed by Christianity. Not a word in proof
 of the actual transit; next to nothing of the
 numerous other Trinities, Incarnations, and
 Judgments, spontaneously evolved by various
 peoples; only the faintest recognition of the im-
 mense gulf between the Christian and the Osir-
 ian Trinity and Incarnation; and no adequate
 statement of the general differences between
 the two religions except this, which we exhibit
 as a logical gem. Finding animal-worship to
 have existed among the Egyptians he looks for
 a corresponding phenomenon among the Jewish
 Christians, and, of course, meets with none.
 Whereupon he 'is tempted to say that the
 want of it is much to be regretted.' Mr. Glen-
 nie has quite forgotten that what he had to
 prove was identity of origin, and that the ab-
 sence of an essential feature of Osirianism from
 Christianity is a problem which he should solve
 and not sigh over.

The Sacred Anthology. A Book of Ethnical
 Scriptures. Collected and Edited by MON-
 CURE DANIEL CONWAY. Trübner and Co.

Mr. Conway applies to the religious books of
 the world the comparative method which in
 philology, politics, physiology, &c., has achieved
 so much for scientific progress; and if the
 conditions of the comparison had been more
 exact, some important and interesting results
 would have been obtained. Mr. Conway not
 only does not severely eliminate the aspects to
 be compared; he permits an avowed compar-
 ison of specified aspects to pass into so much
 of other characteristics as suffices for a mani-
 fest purpose, but does not adduce these in their
 entire claim. Thus, he formally restricts his
 avowed purpose to the moral as distinguished
 from religious teachings of the different sys-
 tems compared; which excludes the superna-
 tural claims and revelations of Christianity,
 and limits his citations from the Bible to its
 ethical teachings. But then he suggests that
 his book will be useful for *religious* culture by
 making known more widely the 'sympathy of
 religion.' Now, a comparison of merely ethi-
 cal elements—which above any other are the
 common property of religions—is at best but a
 very imperfect form of sympathy. The sym-
 pathy or otherwise of *religions*, as such, de-
 pends upon theological and spiritual as well as
 upon ethical elements. Mr. Conway's book
 does, however, afford some very interesting and
 valuable results. Under some twenty-five dif-
 ferent heads, some of which, again, can hardly
 be included under the head, 'moral'—*e. g.*,
 Law, Religion, Theism, Worship, Wisdom,
 Mr. Conway presents simple citations from his
 authorities. These, however, are not restricted

to authoritative religious books like the Vedas,
 the Zendavasta, the Bible, and the Koran, but
 include nearly a hundred works on religious
 subjects, such as H. T. Colebrooke's 'Miscel-
 laneous Essays,' R. W. Emerson's 'Poems,' A.
 B. Mitford's 'Tales of Old Japan,' &c., This
 somewhat loose classification of authorities
 greatly detracts from the value of Mr. Con-
 way's labours. He makes no attempt to dis-
 criminate claims of religious authoritativeness.
 It is as if Mr. Conway were to cite as of equal
 authority the Bible and Matthew Henry's Com-
 mentary thereupon. Thus to use Christian
 books would be a little too flagrant a denial of
 the distinctive place of the Bible. Hence no
 Christian book but the Bible is cited, while all
 conceivable kinds of Oriental books—about
 which common readers know nothing—are in-
 discriminately cited. Perhaps Mr. Conway
 deems the the ethical element of a religion to
 be the only valid and valuable one; if so, it
 would have been fairer, instead of insinuating
 it, to have said so, and to have avowedly elimi-
 nated as mythical superstitions the theological
 and spiritual. Had he restricted his compara-
 tive processes to the eight or ten authoritative
 religious books of the world, and included *all*
 the elements and claims, the result would have
 been of far greater interest. Nor is any at-
 tempt made to determine the relative religious
 authority or ethical value of the ethnical reli-
 gious books. Mr. Conway simply gives such
 quotations as his preference may prompt, or
 his knowledge enable. Dogmatically, there-
 fore, the result is worthless. Of course he
 ignores the distinctive claims of the Bible to
 be the supreme revelation of God to men,
 and everything in it that constitutes the dyna-
 mic force of the religion of Jesus Christ.
 While the specific revelation of the Bible con-
 cerning both theology and morals is incompar-
 ably higher and purer than any other, the su-
 preme practical value of it, of Christianity
 especially, is its motive power. It is this which
 touches virtue with emotion, and transmutes
 religion into life. The ruling force of nature
 is heat, not light. Whether, therefore, the
 ethical, or even the theological revelations of
 Christianity be greater or less, it is not ex-
 pounded, nor in any way accounted for, until
 its dynamical force is estimated. As a compar-
 ative estimate of religions, therefore, Mr. Con-
 way's book is worthless. For other purposes
 it is very interesting. It sets before us some
 of the best moral thinking of all ages of the
 world, and exhibits the noble thoughts which,
 however derived, various religious teachers
 have attained. We regret to be unable to cull
 an anthology of the wise and beautiful things
 that it contains. We need scarcely add that
 Mr. Conway holds, and with the cool dogma-
 tism that is characteristic of his school bluntly
 affirms, the most rationalistic views of the He-
 brew Scriptures. Thus, the materials of the
 Pentateuch 'assumed their present shape in
 the eleventh century B.C.,' 'The Books of
 Chronicles cannot be much, if any earlier than
 B.C. 380,' 'The Books of Job and Ruth belong
 to the sixth century B.C.' A candid and mo-
 dest scholar would at any rate have intimated

that the great majority of scholars have reached other conclusions. Nothing is so characteristic of rationalism as 'hard swearing.' Only desperate assertion is neither argument nor evidence, and usually discredits with cautious scholars those who employ it. Materials such as Mr. Conway has selected, if dealt with in a critical and dispassionate spirit, would yield very interesting results.

Lectures on the Pentateuch and the Moabite Stone, with Appendices, containing—I. The Elohist Narrative; II. The Original Story of the Exodus; III. The Pre-Christian Cross. By the Right Rev. JOHN WILLIAM COLENZO, D.D., Bishop of Natal. Longmans.

It is satisfactory to have an opportunity of becoming easily acquainted with Bishop Colenso's entire theory, the ripe results of his ten years of labour bestowed upon the Pentateuch. The author of 'The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua,' has in more senses than one, popularized his tedious inquiry, and offered his 'critical examinations' to the public in a form in which young persons and ordinary Bible readers may appreciate his labours. The authors of the 'Biblical Commentary' come in for a large measure of contemptuous reference, and it is clear that however broad, and occasionally rationalistic, some of his right reverend brethren have shown themselves, Dr. Colenso has now, more emphatically than ever, absolutely broken with the traditional ideas touching the veracity, authenticity, genuineness, and inspiration, not only of the Pentateuch, but of the entire Bible. To put it mildly, there is not one word in the Old Testament which can be relied upon because it is there, either as the representation of a fact, the origin of an institution, or the character of a man. The special theory of Elohist and Jehovist, which Dr. Colenso approves, differs from that of many of his German *collaborateurs*; but it seems to us to involve entire revolution and confusion of the narrative, and to be complicated with speculations touching the origin of Jehovah-worship which are utterly revolting. The Elohist portions of Genesis are continued down to the 'revelation' of the name Jehovah, and are supposed to have been created by Samuel, or under his influence. The Jehovistic portions of Genesis and 'the original story of the Exodus,' which Dr. Colenso excerpts from the books of Exodus and Numbers, are supposed to contain the 'Book of the Covenant' with Israel, and to have been fashioned at a much later date. Jeremiah he conceives to have been the author of the book of Deuteronomy and of sundry additions to this 'original story,' while the greater part of Leviticus and Numbers he maintains to have been fashioned in a priestly spirit during or after the captivity of Babylon. The assurance with which these theories are advanced as accounting for trifling difficulties of the text is as amusing as it is reprehensible. After turning the text upside down and topsy-turvy, and striking out what is difficult in order to harmonize with other statements, he comes down upon some traditional Bible commentator with vehement

charges of 'invention,' when one of these gentlemen proposes to obviate apparent inconsistencies of the narrative of the relative provision made by an hypothesis of his own for Priests and Levites. When some perplexities arise from the mention of the tabernacle before the erection of the national sanctuary he scorns attempts at reconciliation, and gets over the trouble by relegating the whole account to the realms of fiction. The most persistent intention of the lectures is to make a startling inversion of history—viz., to refer the Jahveh worship to the Phœnician, rather than to Israel, and practically to identify Baal with Jehovah, and Chemosh worship with the worship of the Holy One of Israel. He does speak of the great prophetic men who endeavoured to root out from Israel its abominations, but he thinks that human sacrifice of the first-born was the religion of the people until the time of Josiah's reformation. The historical books are charged with every species of fiction, and one of the most considerable writers of the Canonical Books, Jeremiah, is taxed with the most egregious pious-fraud with the hope of effecting the reformation. The curious thing about this volume of lectures is, that the Bishop concludes each of his brief discourses with a page of devout meditation about the spirituality and preciousness of the gospel and teaching of Christ, and maintains, with obvious sincerity of feeling, that this wonderful book is still profitable for instruction and correction in righteousness. On the Bishop's showing, we have a compact series of falsehoods from Genesis to Malachi, designedly and cunningly manufactured documents, the aim of which is to exalt the character and honor of Jehovah and His wonderful providence over a special race; whereas the facts never happened, the deliverances never took place, and yet we are to value and revere the record.

The Alton Sermons. By AUGUSTUS W. HARE. Isbister and Co.

Westminster Sermons. By the Rev. CHARLES KINGSLEY, F.L.S., F.G.S. Canon of Westminster. Macmillan and Co.

These two volumes afford admirable examples of contrasted styles of preaching—both much wanted, and both very effective in these days. The first is a plain appeal to uncultured hearers, with such conscientious attention to all easily apprehensible illustration and analogy, that the intellect is never over-taxed in the effort to follow; while yet the tokens of large knowledge are so clear, and the art of homely figure so dignified and even half poetic in its simplicity, that the most cultivated cannot but read with delight. Mr. Augustus Hare derived much of his force in preaching from his intimate and half-instinctive knowledge of the poor people of Alton-Barnes, to whom he proved a true pastor during the few years that he was amongst them; and his 'Alton Sermons,' well deserve to be held up as models to all preachers who have to do with rustic and untutored audiences. We therefore warmly welcome them in this new one-volume form. They prove that loud common-

place is not the most effective; but rather the quiet simplicity that is derived from full knowledge, united with complete sympathy. How great a power the latter is we discover, in reading the 'Memorials of a Quiet Life,' where we find that Mr. Hare never began the composition of his sermons till Saturday, knowing that if he began on Monday they would claim his attention all the week—so fastidious and exacting was his taste. Yet these sermons, as literary exercises, are extremely finished, and have besides a freshness and spontaneity, which mere polish might have destroyed. They are models of their kind; those on 'The Gospel Heaven' and on 'Obedience' we regard as simple masterpieces, in their own peculiar line.

On the other hand, Canon Kingsley, preaching at Westminster, approaches his themes with the air of a man who though he has firmly satisfied himself about the main truth he proclaims, is not as yet satisfied with some of the theological and scientific reconciliations of it. One half the sermons are exercises somewhat in the line of Butler—developments, in fact, of his leading idea—the proof that the God of Nature must be the God of Revelation; though all this is, of course, in Canon Kingsley's own peculiar style. Hence the suitability, in one sense, of the preface, which really is an introduction, being a discussion of Darwinian and later theories of selection. It was originally given as a lecture at Sion College; and its whole drift is to show that, even admitting what the Darwinians say, the wisdom and the power of God are not a whit less wonderfully shown than under the old-fashioned ideas. 'If there be an evolution, there must be an Evolver;' that is the short summary of Canon Kingsley's argument; and he does make one or two very smart points several times, cleverly turning the weapons of the scientists against themselves, to prove that they themselves enthroned God above their own system, though they are unconscious of it, or else, that they leave wide openings for the *reductio ad absurdum*, as shown in reference to Professor Bain's explanation of a mother's love of her newborn babe, in his 'Emotions and the Will' (second edition, pp. 78, 79). The first sermon, 'The Mystery of the Cross,' is eloquent with high reason in the attempt to show that in the acceptance of that mystery our highest intelligence is exercised and satisfied; and it abounds with noble passages. The sermon on 'Prayer' carries the argument a step further, facing the philosophers bravely, and leading up to this result:—'If providence, prayer, and the living God be phantoms of man's imagination, then the cynical worldling at the one end of the social scale, and the brutal savage on the other, are wiser than apostles and prophets, and sages and divines.' In the sermon on 'The Deaf and Dumb,' which perhaps is the most original of all, we have a fine definition of Nature and Law; and throughout there are hints of deep thought, flashes of true poetry, and everywhere glimpses of real earnestness expressed in that luminous, clear, yet strongly-marked individual style, for which Canon Kingsley has so long been distinguished. We

could wish that our space would have allowed a fuller summary of these sermons, and an adequate signalling of their leading points; but we rest satisfied with sending our readers to the volume, which, as coming from a man of some repute in science, is we believe well fitted to aid and edify in the midst of the present scientific questionings and difficulties. Whatever scientific men may say, there is about Mr. Kingsley, and many such, a convincing force derived more from the moral than from the intellectual side of their nature, which the purely scientific position of others compels them to draw, so far, into the background; and thus they speak, and can after all speak only to a very narrow and sectional humanity; and therein lies the strength of Christianity against them, that it so readily enlists heart and imagination in its service.

The Pastoral Epistles. The Greek Text and Translation; with Introduction, Expository Notes, and Dissertation. By PATRICK FAIRBAIRN, D.D. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

We scarcely need say that Dr. Fairbairn's exposition is a very scholarly one. He adopts the Greek text of Tischendorf's eighth edition. His criticism of the text is careful and independent; but it is subordinate to the practical development and application to theological students of the apostle's teaching. The usual prolegomena concerning the authorship, time, place, purpose of writing, &c., are given. The Greek text is printed, and carefully translated. Expository notes are added, and appendices treating of special points, such as the 'Peculiar Testimony for Gospel Times' (1 Tim. ii. 6); 'The Meaning of the Expression Husband and Wife,' in 1 Tim. iii. 2; and the 'Treatment of Slavery, in New Testament Scripture.' Critical works on the Pastoral Epistles are comparatively few, and Dr. Fairbairn has done essential service by this very scholarly and able work, in which he deals vigorously with the critical questions of our own day.

Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ: His Life and Works; His Epistles and Teachings. A Contribution to a Critical History of Primitive Christianity. By Dr. FERDINAND CHRISTIAN BAUR. Second Edition. Issued after the Author's Death by Dr. E. ZELLER. Translated from the German. Vol. I. Williams and Norgate.

Of Dr. Baur's 'Paul' we must speak far less favourably than we did of Keim's 'Life of Jesus.' It is critical in the sense in which an Old Bailey advocate is critical. It analyzes the Acts of the Apostles as being the source of the Apostle's history with a preconceived and steady determination to depreciate its historical authority and to treat its author as an impostor. It lays hold of whatever points may be open to critical attack with subtle skill, and infuses, so to speak, a disintegrating spirit, so that the damage is done not so much by definite assault as by a mephitic atmosphere, which makes respiration difficult and life unpleasant. We are uneasy; we scarcely know why. The individual points that are questioned

do not seem much. We feel no difficulty in admitting the criticisms, but they are all resolved in the same way. The issue is uniformly adverse, and where verdict of guilty is not pronounced, 'non proven' is recorded. The whole spirit of the criticism is inimical and unfair, and produces, moreover, the impression of a deadly cunning in the critic. Ewald is not more dogmatic, nor Colenso more uniformly hostile. We do not mean that there is not room for criticism, but that the conclusions of the critic are polemical, not judicial. Dr. Baur starts with the assertion, 'I can find in the Acts of the Apostles no purely objective statement, but only one which is arranged on subjective grounds.' The subjective grounds being the determination of the writer, at all costs, to glorify the Apostles generally, and the Apostle Paul in particular. No doubt Dr. Baur has come to this conclusion by some sort of inductive process, but here it is propounded as an axiom, and every historical statement is subjected to its test. 'The Paul of the Acts,' he says, 'is manifestly quite a different person from the Paul of the Epistles. The historical character of the author can only be maintained at the cost of the moral character of the apostle.' 'In the statement (of the first persecution), as a whole, as well as in its individual features, a design is evident which it is impossible to consider as the natural historical result of the fact.' 'If it be asked how much special historical value can be found in the whole section (Acts iii.-v.), the actual results are very small.' The only answer possible to such a work is not the selection of particular points for refutation—although in some instances this is possible; for example, the statement, 'It must be concluded from the text that it was an established rule that every member should sell all that he possessed, and put the proceeds, as a contribution in money, into the common purse'—but the presentation of the entire history, in a different light, and the inspiration of it with a different spirit. We reserve the author's estimation of Paul until the appearance of the second volume. We restrict ourselves now to the point, that the book is not the work of an impartial judge, but of a man who sits down to write with a foregone conclusion strongly inimical to the miraculous element in the New Testament.

On a Fresh Revision of the English Old Testament. By SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D. Williams and Norgate.

The revision of the text and translation of the Old Testament is in process of being effected by distinguished scholars, and to them these pages may be supposed to be specifically addressed. Dr. Davidson justly condemns many alterations made by modern scholars in their revision of the authorized version, and is decidedly conservative in his estimate of the antiquity and value of the Masoretic text. This he is unwilling to disturb in deference to the authority of the Septuagint or of the Peschito version, even when these agree in suggesting an emendation of the existing text. He objects to any tampering with the exaggerated

'numbers' of the Books of Chronicles, and other portions of the historical books, believing that the exaggerations were intentional, and made by the author. 'Why,' he asks, 'should these be regarded as literally correct in documents impregnated with the legendary and marvellous elements attaching to the early records of all peoples?' It is the marvellous sobriety of these records, as compared with the religious and semi-biographical records of, say, the legends of Gautama Buddha, it is the self-reproach and scathing national condemnation with which these documents are interpenetrated, which, among other things, have impelled scholars to believe in their substantial and literal accuracy, if we could only light upon, or honestly conjecture what they were. While Dr. Davidson advises attention to all the critical marks in the Masoretic text, he says 'that the *ctib* is much oftener right than the *Eri* recommended by the Masoretes.' He allows that the text is corrupt in many places, and must be amended by conjecture, giving important illustrations. He repudiates the suspicion that the Jews tampered with certain texts, from the use to which they were put by Christians, and throws back the charge upon the New Testament writers, and then he calls for great caution and care in touching the ancient text. He is especially anxious that nothing should be done in an apologetic sense, and for the removal of grave difficulties or inconsistencies. A fear seems to haunt him lest the public mind should be deluded into any unjustifiable faith in the historic accuracy, or any new confidence in the Messianic quality of certain difficult passages. Many suggestions and most acute criticism are offered in the second part of the work, devoted to the translation—e.g., the difficult passage, Job xix. 25-27, is deprived of all reference to Christ or the resurrection, but is shown to express the faith of Job in immortality. Yet even this is said to be 'a momentary outburst and triumph of faith on the part of the inspired poet, not a settled or serious belief.' And the majority of the emendations suggested are charged with the strongest antagonism to the Messianic significance of any of the well-known and generally supposed anticipations of the coming or character of Christ. Dr. Davidson's great learning entitles them to serious attention.

The Companions of the Lord: Chapters on the Lives of the Apostles. By CHARLES E. B. REED, M.A., late Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. Religious Tract Society.

Mr. Reed has written a series of what may be called critical sketches of our Lord's apostles. They are admirable in their completeness, succinctness, and scholarly appreciation. Mr. Reed is apparently familiar with most of the literature of the discipleship, although hardly abreast of the criticism of our own day, and he skilfully uses such adjuncts of his pictures as modern books of travel afford; but with a judgment that is as strong, as it is sober, he maintains his independence, and avoids crotchet or arbitrary conclusions. We do not always agree with him; as, for instance, in his

adjustment of the chronology of John's writings, or in his recognition of a Hebrew original of Matthew's Gospel, which Dr. Roberts has so effectually disposed of, but he comes to no conclusion without intelligent and well-considered reasons. The well-balanced character of his mind, for example, preserves him from any fanciful conclusions. The sketches, which we presume were first delivered as pulpit lectures, seem somewhat to lack spiritual depth and penetration—they deal almost exclusively with the exegesis of events. It is, however, a work full of promise, and, as a rule, is written in a simple, chaste style. Occasionally a word offends us, as, for example, the word 'coronach,' as applied to the conversation at the Paschal feast. Nor do we think the conception and treatment of the deterioration and treason of Judas successful. Is not the key to be found in the effect of such spiritual teaching upon a carnal and sordid heart?

Prophecies and the Prophetic Spirit in the Christian Era: an Historical Essay. By JOHN J. IGN. VON DÖLLINGER. Translated, with Introduction, Notes, and Appendices, by ALFRED PLUMMER, Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford. Rivingtons.

The name of Dr. Döllinger is a guarantee for profound learning and thoroughness of investigation of whatever question he touches. These qualities are distinctly seen in the essay now before us. Intimately acquainted with the singular and varied literature of his subject, and fitted by the soundness of his judgment and his integrity to pronounce an honest, unbiassed opinion, he regards the prophecies of the post-apostolic Christian era as unworthy of acceptance. Coincidences and seeming verifications there were; but as a whole they were wanting in those tests which are necessary to substantiate their claim to a knowledge of the future. These prophecies were reflections of the past, not revelations of the future, or they were the offspring of the fears, wishes, and hopes of a benighted and fanatical age. Some, amid the degeneracy and wide-spread debasement of the times, sighing for the reform of the Church, in the spirit of fanaticism dreaming of the recovery of Jerusalem; and others from the prevailing wickedness, anticipating the destruction of Rome, and the end of the world, shaped their predictions accordingly. Some of them were pieces of imposture, framed after the events predicted had taken place, or the result of a far-seeing sagacity interpreting the tendency of the age. All this is made perfectly obvious by Dr. Döllinger's lucid investigation; and instead of impairing the claims of scriptural predictions to divine inspiration and foresight, it confirms them by striking contrast. The translator has done his work admirably. Not only is the translation faithful, and the style clear and flowing, but the value of the essay is greatly enhanced by his introduction, appendices, and notes. His translation of Dr. Döllinger's 'Papstfabeln' met with very general acceptance, and we have no doubt his present effort will be equally acceptable. We very cordially recommend the essay to

all who take any interest in the subject discussed.

The Fourth Gospel, the Heart of Christ. By EDMUND H. SEARS. Fourth Edition. Noyes, Holmes, and Co., Boston, U. S.

The earlier editions of this book have escaped our notice. It is chiefly remarkable as the work of a Unitarian who presents a view of Christ's person which he thinks may be accepted by the orthodox sects as well as by his own. He does not, however, state this as his aim, but after an introductory chapter on Nature and the Supernatural, commences the body of his work with an elaborate defence of the authenticity of John's Gospel. He then examines the relation which the synoptic Gospels bear to it in setting forth Christ's mission. Next he reproduces the picture of Christ's life and character as given in the fourth Gospel, and finally considers the Johannine theology in its relation to ancient and modern thought. He concludes 'the Divine Incarnation of the Lord Jesus Christ to be the distinguishing doctrine of the Johannine theology.' He regards this incarnation as commencing with the miraculous conception of our Lord, and assigns, somewhat arbitrarily, the Baptism as the epoch of its completion. John's doctrine of the Word he accepts as divinely-revealed truth, and shows how widely it differs from the logos in Plato's cosmology. He interprets it thus—'The Word is God in the act of self-revelation; God in so far forth as He is revealed. The logos doctrine affirms an essential distinction in the Divine nature of the Father and Son . . . timeless and eternal. God as the Father is the infinite deep of Divine being beyond apprehension. . . . But the Word is God speaking, the Divine Reason in self-revelation ever on the bosom of the infinite deeps, and bringing forth their treasures of truth and love.' Of Christ he says—'In His full Messianic consciousness the Divine Word so possessed Him that He could identify Himself with it and say, "I came down from heaven, I am the Word." There is, according to Mr. Sears, an 'immanence of God' in all humanity, a continual 'influx of the Divine life,' so that man in his highest consciousness has convictions, desires, and aspirations which he knows must come from God. But Mr. Sears must conceive of this immanence as something widely different from the Word made flesh; for while he expressly says of the former that it is not 'of the essence or substance of Deity,' he calls 'the essential divinity of Christ consubstantial with God,' one of 'the central doctrines of Christianity.' Our author entertains bright anticipations of the approaching union of the Unitarian with other denominations, which we might share with him if views like his own were widely entertained. But we suspect they would be disowned by the majority of Unitarians even more energetically than by the orthodox sects. His notion of two natures in Christ, of which the human 'retreats behind the Divine,' would fail to satisfy those who press for a conception of Christ's person which they can understand;

nor can he be said to have made clear how there is a continual 'immanence of God' in us, which is yet essentially different from the Incarnation of the Word in Christ. Still, such an effort as this from the Unitarian side is noteworthy, and the book abounds in passages of great eloquence and deep spiritual fervour, which space forbids us to transcribe. It would have been still better but for the writer's arbitrary method of deciding disputed points with an *ipse dixit*, and his free use of poetic figure in discussing questions which require the greatest precision of language.

Words of Hope and Comfort to those in Sorrow.

Dedicated by permission to the Queen.
Hurst and Blackett.

The writer of the tenderly conceived letters in this volume was Mrs. Julius Hare, a sister of Mr. Maurice. They are instinct with the devout submissiveness and fine sympathy which we associate with the name of Maurice; but in her there is added a winningness of tact, a delicacy of approach, and sometimes too a directness of language which we hardly find even in the brother. An idea which seems to have dwelt with her was the way in which God tempers His discipline with comforts—especially with *inward* comforts. The letters were privately printed and circulated, and were found to be the source of much comfort, which they cannot fail to afford now to a wide circle. A sweetly-conceived memorial poem, bearing the well-known initials, 'E. H. P.,' gives really a very faithful outline of the life.

The Sources of Standard English. By T. L. KINGTON OLIPHANT, M.A. Macmillan and Co.

Mr. Oliphant has wrought out a good idea in a very able way. He investigates the sources and influence of the different dialects that have made up our English speech, as also the earliest instances and latest forms of its corruption.

Regarding standard English architecturally, he marks its construction much as the changes in English Architecture for four hundred and fifty years may be traced by the man who visits in succession the Cathedrals of Durham, Lincoln, Exeter, and Winchester; or as the improvements in the English Constitution may be traced, from the woods of Germany to the Convention Parliament in 1689, by the documents printed in the small work of Professor Stubbs.

Mr. Oliphant finds the *fons et origo* of our English speech in an Aryan clan on the Oxus, from which English and Sanscrit are two of the many streams which have flowed. He traces each contributive rivulet, investigates and characterizes each dialect in its true chronological relation, and in short gives us what may be termed a natural history of the English tongue. He is mercilessly severe on modern writers of gaudy English, especially penny-a-liners and certain preachers, to whom he devotes a scarifying chapter; and he gives us a supplemental chapter containing a dozen well-selected chronological specimens of the English of the last twelve hundred years. Mr. Oliphant occasionally sacrifices dignity, and with it strength, but his work is a valuable

contribution to the philology of our English speech.

The Theological and Philosophical Library.
History of Modern Philosophy. Vol. II.
By Dr. UEBERWEG. Translated by G. E. MORRIS, M.A. Hodder and Stoughton.

We heartily welcome the second and closing volume of this epoch-making work, the first volume of which we introduced to our readers in terms of almost unqualified praise. Henceforth, the English student will possess one of the most accurate and complete compendiums of philosophy in existence. Here he will find compressed into brief compass, the results of long and laborious toil, and set forth in clear terms the pith and marrow of almost every system which has left a traceable impression upon the progress of human thought. It is no small advantage to find one reliable and scholarly work which furnishes a genetic account of the vicissitudes of philosophical thought throughout all its periods of growth, bloom, and decay, of the rise, fall, and revival of systems; in fact a chart of the advance of Western thought, from Thales of Miletus to our own Herbert Spencer. This will enable the student not only to ascertain with comparative ease the inner connection of single systems and the differentiae of rival schools, but also to compare with each other great periods in the progress of philosophy, e.g., from Socrates to Plato and Aristotle with its later advancement from Kant to Hegel, and to Mill and Bain. Hitherto the only work in the English language which professed to traverse the whole course throughout has been Lewes' 'Biographical History of Philosophy.' Ritter and Zeller treat only of ancient philosophy, and Morell only of modern, while Schwegler passes over the vast and important period between the two. On some of these periods Lewes' 'History' is little more than a pretence, and the best portion of it falls infinitely short of Ueberweg's 'Compendium,' not only in fairness of representation, but in breadth of scientific method and in completeness and accuracy of details. The history of philosophy can be satisfactorily handled only by those who understand what philosophy is, and who are so free from bias and blunders as to be able to state fairly the questions it has proposed to solve, and the conclusions it has reached at various epochs and by different men. Ueberweg did not, like Lewes, enter upon his task believing that he was going to write the record of a gigantic failure, if not of an unparalleled delusion. In his opinion, the history of philosophy, from Thales to Locke, though characterized by many errors and failures, is something more than the record of grave trifling and solemn folly. It is equally clear that he had faith in the progress of thought, believed that mind has not always been moving in a circle, wearing itself out in fruitless gyrations, and that every succeeding period contained something more than old problems in new forms. It is true that Lewes has a more vivacious mind, and a style which is more clear and sparkling; but his charac-

teristic presumption, sceptical tendency, and positive method vitiate very nearly all his conclusions. Every page is disfigured by a decided unphilosophical bias, and sometimes by an irreverent tone. We have often wondered why any one who held philosophy to be a delusive search after *noumena*, theology the product and proper study of weak morbid minds, and regarded great thinkers like Plato and Hegel in the light of frivolous triflers, should ever trouble himself with such vanities, except that he wanted something to write about. The history of earnest efforts devoted to the solution of the great problems of intelligence, of ethics, and social organization, of life and destiny, of freedom and immortality—problems that are involved in the unfolding of our mental and moral nature—deserve to be treated with fairness, sincerity, and respect. All these qualities are found in the work before us. Ueberweg sees clearly, and presents with vividness the various thoughts and influences which have told on the origin and development of philosophy—as, for example, religion, politics, and science—and out of which new problems have sprung up; and he gives to each its due weight in his estimate of the whole. He despises no fact which has helped to shape the history of thought. Of all facts the greatest is religion. From the time of Neoplatonism philosophy has always been essentially connected with religion. Still it may be fairly stated that in modern thought, as in the ancient philosophy of Greece, philosophical inquiry has been free and independent, in its investigations of nature and of the relations of man to nature and to God. It is from this freedom that Dr. Ueberweg dates 'modern philosophy,' that is from the time when it shook off the trammels of scholasticism, and became an independent science, having for its subject the essence and laws of mind and nature, as enriched and deepened by prior growths; and having an influence upon contemporaneous investigations in positive science, and upon social life, and being in turn reacted upon by these. The main divisions of the work are based on the chronological principle. (1) The transitional period, beginning with the renewal of Platonism; (2) The epoch of empiricism, dogmatism, and skepticism, from Bacon and Descartes to the Encyclopædists and Hume. (3) The epoch of the Kantian criticism and of the systems issuing from it, from Kant to the present time. In these divisions the author coincides altogether with Kuno Fischer, Stöckle, and Zeller, and is far less elaborate (and probably less philosophical) than the dialectic Erdmann, but will be found sufficiently minute and accurate for comprehending the logical relations of the different schools.

Dr. Ueberweg graphically describes the various influences which led to the overthrow of scholasticism, and the severance of the unhealthy connection between philosophy and religion. These were the introduction of Greek into Europe, the revival of classical learning, the wider diffusion of literature by the invention of printing, and the progress of Plato-

nism. The overthrow of Aristotelianism was followed by an attack upon the foundation of all religion. A healthier alliance and a new Aristotelianism was founded by Luther and Melancthon. This Protestant alliance exerted a considerable influence upon both the Continental and English schools of philosophy. The steps which led to the first disturbance of this Protestant union of faith and philosophy, brought about by the transformation of Cartesian Dualism into Pantheism, are described at great length, and with remarkable completeness. In fact the demonstrative method and the astounding conclusions of Spinoza, together with the arguments of his doughtiest antagonists, are so arranged and confronted as to give the reader a clear abstract of the whole controversy. With his treatment of English systems we do not feel the same entire satisfaction. Locke is treated with a fulness and comprehensiveness that leaves nothing to be desired; all the others are passed over with an unjustifiable brevity; and we regret to say that this is scarcely remedied by the supplementary sketch, contributed by Dr. Porter. The exposition of Reed, Brown, and Stewart is exceedingly brief, but the analyses of Hamilton, Mill, and Spencer are altogether inadequate. However much we may differ from the conclusions of these thinkers, there is no denying their importance. That the Moralists should receive but a scanty notice is not to be wondered at, in a work devoted to the history of philosophy; still we had expected that a larger space would have been devoted to Butler and Paley.

In rendering the work more perfect, by a more extensive account of English, American, and Italian philosophy, the editor is only carrying to completion the plan of the author; and has done no more than Ueberweg would probably have done, had his life been spared; for he had already sought the aid of Paul Janet for French philosophy, and of Professor Lasson for German mysticism. His great and life-object was to make the work complete; and we confidently hope that the last effort in that direction has not yet been made. Should this great undertaking be rewarded by the public approval it amply deserves, we trust the American editor will not fail to give the English department its most complete form. We feel sure the last touch has not been given to the German edition, and hope the English may not fall behind. We wish the work the same popularity in England that it enjoys on the Continent, and that it may be universally adopted as a text-book in our colleges and universities. We can scarcely conceive a work more perfect in plan, more thorough in execution, and more satisfactory in results. A copious index adds greatly to its completeness and value.

On Missions: a Lecture delivered in Westminster Abbey on December 3rd, 1873. By F. MAX MÜLLER. With an Introductory Sermon by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster. Longmans, Green, and Co.

Mr. Max Müller's lecture is in many respects most admirable. It is conceived in a broad

philosophical spirit, is very eloquent, and it breathes an intense and tender spirit of Christian love and spirituality. Its defect is that it does not sufficiently, nor indeed at all, emphasize the Divine revelation and transcendence of Christianity. It speaks as if it were merely one of the three great missionary religions, with no external authority that did not equally belong to the others. Dean Stanley's sermon is also a noble vindication of Christian charity and zeal.

The Relations of the Kingdom to the World.

By J. OSWALD DYKES, D.D. James Nisbet and Co.

This is the concluding volume of Dr. Dykes' expository discourses on the Sermon on the Mount. Beginning with the warning against covetousness, in the sixth chapter of Matthew, it discusses the warning against anxiety, in which, by simple exegesis, the preacher neutralizes the foolish objections to our Lord's doctrine of trust in Providence, which infidelity so ignorantly urges, and which even a scholar like Mr. Greg endorses. The volume then treats of the relations of the kingdom to the world as evil, as set forth in the seventh chapter—Correcting the world's evil; Escaping the world's evil; Detecting false teachers; and Judgment on evil within the kingdom. These little books are a model of spiritual discernment, vigorous grip, and succinct, practical application, in which the sentiment of religion is blended very beautifully with its precepts.

SERMONS.

Sermons preached in Manchester. By ALEXANDER MACLAREN. Third Series. (Macmillan and Co.) Mr. Maclaren's characteristics as a preacher are too well known for more to be necessary than the simple intimation of a new volume of sermons from him. He is emphatically a preacher—the whole man preaches—with a combination of nervous, intellectual, and spiritual earnestness that place him among the foremost pulpit orators of his generation. Much of his peculiar force is lost in the printed page. His sermons are neither strongly original nor surpassingly eloquent, but they are fresh, picturesque, and practical, and greatly interest even the reader. We do not think either this or the second series equal to the first, but it is a volume that all lovers of sermon literature will be glad to possess, and that will be valued for family or social services, at which sermons are read.—*Responsibility for the Gift of Eternal Life.* Compiled by permission of the late Rev. JOHN M'CLEOD CAMPBELL, D.D., from sermons preached chiefly at Row, in the years 1829–31. (Macmillan and Co.) These sermons have a somewhat ambiguous form. In 1832, just after Mr. Campbell's deposition, two volumes of sermons, 'taken in shorthand,' were published in elucidation of his opinions. In the preface to the present volume we read, 'By a reference to the two volumes of sermons "preached at Row," it will be easily seen that the original form and order of the thoughts which compose the volume have been greatly

changed. It has been deemed allowable, in bringing together all which could illustrate a particular line of thought, to omit whatever seemed superfluous, in some instances to re-arrange the matter, and to make many verbal changes.' Dr. Campbell, some two years ago, gave permission to his friends to publish selections from his sermons, but he did not live to see the result. On comparing this with the two previous volumes, a faint resemblance in the outline of thought is here and there traceable, but that is all. The book, therefore, is not a volume of sermons, nor yet of essays, but a volume of miscellaneous thoughts strung together by the editor. It is interesting simply as exhibiting Dr. Campbell's opinions. The thing surprising to readers of the present day is that heresy could have been found in them. Neither for thought nor expression are they in any way remarkable. They set forth against the harsher dogmas of Calvinism the fatherly love of God. We have lived much since the sermons at Row were preached.—*The Reign of Law; and other Sermons*, preached in the Chapel of Trinity College, Dublin. By GEORGE SALMON, D.D. (Macmillan and Co.) Dr. Salmon instinctively looks at Christian truths on their intellectual side, and his sermons are characteristically their intellectual exposition. He has a keen eye for difficulties, and is ever seeking to reconcile science and faith; that is, his sermons are not so much the preaching of the Gospel as they are the demonstration of the Gospel to be preached. This may be partly an academical habit, but chiefly, we think, it is a constitutional peculiarity. It limits the application and the immediate usefulness of his sermons, and it has the disadvantage of necessarily touching difficulties and arguments which it cannot exhaust. We are inclined to think that Christian apologetics may be increasingly left to the press, and the pulpit be more restricted to the practical religious applications of accepted theology. This, however, is a question of degree, and Dr. Salmon's sermons will be useful as expressing the apprehensions and convictions of an intelligent, scholarly, candid, and devout man, a firm and reverent believer in the orthodox doctrines, intelligently interpreted, which his Church professes.—*The Temptation of Our Lord.* By the late NORMAN MACLEOD, D.D. (Strahan and Co.) A series of papers contributed by Dr. Macleod immediately before his death to the pages of 'Good Words.' They add nothing material to the vast literature of the Temptation, but they reproduce in a broad, telling, and practical way, the ordinary interpretations and lessons of it. Dr. Macleod, however, is no mere copyist. He has looked at the narrative for himself, and unfolds its meanings with the rich, devout, and human sympathies which were so characteristic of him. So long as men preach, so long as the Gospel is read, this wonderfully suggestive and spiritual narrative of the Temptation will be among the lessons most frequently insisted upon.—*Sermons at a New School.* By the Rev. ARTHUR FABER, M.A., Head Master of Malvern College. (Macmillan and Co.) Forty short sermons addressed to the boys of a public school, admirably

bly realizing that combination of fresh vigorous thought and simple expression of wise parental counsel, with brotherly sympathy and respect, which are essential to the success of such sermons, and to which so few attain. The aspects of truth presented to Mr. Faber's mind by his texts are not always the most obvious, and sometimes are subordinate, to the neglect of others more cardinal; but he is a devout, earnest man, and reverently holds fast by the Gospel of Christ. The influence of such a preacher upon a public school must be very great and beneficial.—*A Day with Christ*. By the Rev. SAMUEL COX. (Cassell, Petter, and Co.) The day with Christ that Mr. Cox undertakes to comment upon was a day spent by our Lord in Capernaum shortly after his first Sabbath there, the narrative of which we have in the ninth chapter of the Gospel of Matthew, the second and fifth chapters of Mark, and the fifth and eighth of Luke. The continuity of the events here recited may, Mr. Cox thinks, be demonstrated; and a wonderful day's history it is—a day of home work—the healing of the palsied man, and the dispute with the Scribes; the call of Matthew; the feast in Levi's house, and the dispute with the Pharisees at the table; the application of Jairus, and the raising of his daughter; the healing of the woman who touched his garment on the way; the giving of sight to the blind man; and the casting out of the demon from the dumb man. We doubt, however, whether the feast given by Matthew would have been on the day that he was called. This, however, is of little importance. The charm of the book is the fresh unconventional way in which Mr. Cox apprehends the narratives, the artistic way in which he sets them, and the ingenious suggestions which he connects with them. No popular writer does better service in the exposition of the Scripture narratives than Mr. Cox.—*The Church of God and the Apostasy*. By the Rev. DONALD FRASER, D.D. (John F. Shaw and Co.) Dr. Fraser expounds the true unity of the Church, according to the sevenfold characterization of the Apostle Paul in his letter to the Ephesians, iv. 4-6. This he does according to the only true catholic and evangelical conception of unity, viz., that it comprehends all diversities of form, and is 'as large and comprehensive as the whole communion of saints.' To this exposition he adds a chapter on 'the Apostasy' spoken of in 2 Thessalonians ii. 3, which he distinguishes from the 'man of sin,' as the cause is distinguished from the effect. Rome, for instance, is clearly guilty of the Apostasy, but does not fully exemplify the 'man of sin.' Dr. Fraser's style is a little loose, but his expositions are well adapted for popular effect, and are commonly based upon intelligent and just exegesis.—*The Return to the Father*. Sermons on the Parable of the Prodigal Son. By the Rev. THOMAS HANCOCK. (J. T. Hayes.) These sermons, on a well hackneyed theme, are somewhat rough, but they are remarkably fresh, forcible, learned, and practical. They are by an 'assistant-priest' of the E-established Church.—*Coming Events and the Coming King*. By the Rev. C. J. GOODHART,

M.A., Rector of Wetherden. (John F. Shaw.) Mr. Goodhart is a millenarian, and anticipates the personal appearance of Christ to reign upon the earth, 'there being when He comes not merely a revival of principles, but a resurrection of His saints. He will then reign in Mount Zion, and before His ancients gloriously.' We can neither adopt these views, nor here justify our rejection of them, and of much of Mr. Goodhart's exegesis. We can only, therefore, record that this book is written piously and charitably in advocacy of them.—*Occupy till I Come; or, Christian Work*. By the Rev. AUBREY CHARLES PRICE, B.A., Vicar of St. James', Clapham. (John F. Shaw.) Mr. Price divides his excellent little book on Christian work into a dozen chapters on the manifold relations of work,—to God, to Christ, to the Holy Spirit, to the Bible, to the Worker, to Prayer, to the Church, to the World, &c. It is simple, practical, and earnest.—*Psalmic Views; or, Negative Aspects of Heaven*. By OCTAVIUS WINSLOW, D.D. (John F. Shaw.) Dr. Winslow's manner of writing on religious subjects is so well known that it is necessary only to state that this book is a series of sermons on the negations of the last two chapters of the Apocalypse, by which we are taught to conceive of heaven. Why is it that relaxed intellectual fibre and loose exegesis are so often associated with spiritual sentiment? Dr. Winslow's book is full of spongy, tumid rhetoric, which seems beyond his own power of restraint, and regardless of exegetical truth or fitness. Thus, the sermon on 'There shall be no more sea' is for fifteen pages filled with a descant on the sea as a symbol of God's power, God's love, and the Atonement of the Son of God! and then aims widely at something that may justify the negation, without once hitting the true idea. It is terrible to think what the Bible and evangelical truth have to endure.—*A Saviour for Children*, and other Sermons, for Little Folk. By JAMES DUNCKLY. (S. W. Partridge.) Some very admirable sermonettes for young children, made easy by simplicity and interesting by anecdote and illustration. Both parents and teachers will find them useful.—*Life: Its Friends and Foes*. Lent Lectures. By HENRY FOOTMAN, B.A., St. Peter's College, Cambridge. (Longmans, Green, and Co.) This is a very manly and able little volume, with sympathies far more human than churchy. Mr. Footman grapples with the moral problems and phenomena of life in the light of the Christian Revelation. Neither to the Church nor to any school of dogmatic interpretation is he in bondage. With a clear, independent, spiritual eye, he recognises things in their spiritual significance, and he skilfully touches them. Beginning with Christ's definition of eternal life as the true present life of the religious man, he assumes the Incarnation of the Christ as the manifest and source of life, and then treats of the Friends and Foes of it, e.g., God and the Devil, the Spirit and the Flesh, the Church and the World, Earnestness and Frivolity, Self Sacrifice and Selfishness. It is quite refreshing to come upon a little book of preachings so fresh and noble and stimula-

ting as this. If ministers would always preach so humanly, they would have no cause to complain of indifference to their preaching.—*Sermons preached in Hexam Abbey Church.* By J. WILLMORE HOOPER, Rector of Gateshead Fell. Second Edition, Revised. (Longmans, Green, and Co., 1872.) Evangelical, sensible, and forceful. There is a tone of confident faith undisturbed by, though not ignorant of, the fierce controversies that have raged around the citadel of truth. The sermon contrasting 'Christianity and Platonism,' is a delightful specimen of the blessed calm pervading some rectories. The defence of the damnable clauses of the Athanasian Creed on the ground of the condemnation of unbelief in Holy Scripture is not justifiable, but the breezes of healthy, vigorous confidence in the old Gospel, which pervade almost every sermon, are very refreshing.—*Disciple Life.* By the Rev. D. MACCOLL, Author of 'Work in the Wynds.' (Glasgow: Maclehose, 1873.) By *Disciple Life* is meant here that life of faith whose first necessity is continuous Divine teaching. 'While the whole Bible is competent to supply the needed stimulus to the life of faith,' the eternal, all-sufficient Word is at last embodied in our nature. 'The Master is come and calleth for us.' The Great Teacher and the methods of His teaching, from the time when He took up the inchoate instructions of the Baptist till He led His disciples out as far as to Bethany, are discoursed upon in this interesting volume with great originality, with much sweetness and freshness of delineation, and fine spiritual insight.—*Sermons by the Late Rev. Robert French, M.A.,* with a Biographical Sketch by the Rev. JOHN BROWN JOHNSTON, D.D., Govan, Glasgow. (Edinburgh: William Oliphant and Co.) Mr. French was a young Presbyterian minister who began his ministry in Dunfermline only in 1870, whence he removed to Brattle in 1872, as successor to Dr. Taylor now of New York Tabernacle. He died two months afterwards. These sermons are selected from his manuscripts. They are not remarkable for any depth of thought. They are simple, practical, earnest, and evangelical, giving indications of a preacher who would have matured into a very useful minister of Christ.—*Thought and Deed: Sermons on Faith and Duty.* By R. HAYES ROBINSON, Curate of Weston. (Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.) Some rather common-place sermons introduced by some sensible remarks on methods of preaching.—*The Eternal Life: Sermons preached during the last twelve years by JAMES NOBLE BENNIE, LL.D.,* Rector of Glenfield. (Henry S. King and Co.) There are much good sense and good feeling in Mr. Bennie's sermons. He is moderate in his views and catholic in his sympathies. Their defect is lack of penetrating power. They skim the surface of great questions rather than go down into their depth. The human mind demands more than is here presented to it, and more than the twenty minutes conventional sermons of the Episcopal Establishment can possibly give it.—*Works by the late J. Hamilton, D.D.* Vol. VI., *Sermons and Lectures.* (James Nisbet and Co.) This, the concluding volume of the uniform edition of Dr. Hamilton's works, pre-

sents him in his character as a pastoral preacher. The thirty-nine sermons which it contains are selected from his manuscripts by the judicious hand of a sympathizing and admiring friend and hearer, who was guided by the recollections of the impressions made by the sermons when delivered. Dr. Hamilton's own publications owe much of their excellency to the *labor limæ*. His best passages are highly wrought, and often grew, through many transformations, from unpretending forms. He had not the highest faculty of the orator—that of intense and spontaneous inspiration of the highest eloquence—so that the first form was the best. We are disposed to think, however, that for the pastoral ministry of religious life, these less finished sermons are far better adapted. If seldom great, they are unconventional and fresh. If seldom impassioned, they are suffused with sympathetic feeling; they are often ingenious in conception, and enriched with the unexpected illustrations of multifarious reading and scientific accomplishment, and come cogently down upon living follies and vices. Here is a very characteristic passage from the first sermon on Mercifulness:—'A lady orders a dress, which must be ready to-morrow evening; but this can only be accomplished by some pale dressmaker sitting up all night. No matter; it would be flagrant to go to such a fashionable gathering without the most modish robe. It must be made and rather than lose a customer the *modiste* agrees to make it. But how is it made? With silk and patent needles? With sighs and tears and broken health, and too often a broken heart. But you say it was extra work, and the milliner got extra pay. Alas! all London is at some seasons dressed in this extra work, but these poor workers never seem the richer of their extra pay. And no wonder. To catch cold for a shilling, to steel out one's eyes for half a crown, to bring on a consumption for a sovereign, is bad remuneration, but it is all the sum which many a refined and gentle lady allows those drudges who minister to her love of fashion, or make up by extra efforts for her own want of forethought. Or a few friends sit up till far after midnight, talking, or reading, or employed with their music, till the bell is rung, and the servant is bid in the same breath put out the candles, and do something or other at six in the morning. Or a carriage is ordered at a certain hour on a winter's night, and at that hour it punctually comes, but the party is pleasant, and though the poor coachman is soaked in sleet, or his feet are freezing to the board, unless the value of the horses be an argument, how seldom is the health of their driver one?' The sermons are full of quiet, genial, earnest, devout urgency. They differ from ordinary volumes of sermons, in being the spontaneous utterances of a richly cultured and highly imaginative man—a man of great catholicity and graciousness—who, in an unusual degree, combined firm adherence to orthodox truth with an intuitive and ardent love for goodness, wherever it was found.—*Sermons preached in Country Churches.* By the Rev. F. D. MAURICE. (Macmillan and Co.) Unlike Dr. Hamilton, Mr. Maurice nei-

ther elaborated nor published special sermons. His thought flowed from him as a stream from a fountain, and when emitted received no more care. The difference with Mr. Maurice between more important and less important occasions is in the thinking not in the literature. All his sermons have the same characteristics. They are thinkings aloud rather than conscious oratory. This is both their excellence and their defect. It secures perfect, unforced, unpolished, naturalness on all occasions, but it results in nebulous, imperfectly articulated thought on others. The mysticism of many passages in Mr. Maurice's writings would have disappeared had he brought to bear upon them the ordinary resources of literary art. These sermons as a rule, are beautifully simple; they are so entirely uncritical that the preacher assumes the canonicity of the marginal gloss about the angel troubling the waters in the pool of Bethesda, and in a characteristic manner spiritualizes about it. Prepared for country congregations, the thought is simple and practical—full, however, of the spiritual discernment which was so characteristic of Mr. Maurice, and which, never contented with the letter, always sought beneath it some spiritual significance. The passion for this sometimes betrayed him into fanciful meanings. He found what no one else ever surmised, but it kept him and his hearers near the heart of spiritual things. Mr. Maurice, we are told, frequently took duty in some quiet village during his summer vacation. 'He found more rest in ministering to the poor, and in speaking to them, than in visits to English watering-places or in foreign travel.' We do not wonder that the poor 'heard him gladly.' The sermons are full of exquisite simplicity and of penetrating spiritual power. They will be a surprise to those who think of Mr. Maurice as only or mainly a mystagogue. They exhibit him as a skilful and tender preacher to the poor and uneducated.—*Sermons preached at Hailebury.* By E. H. BRADBY, M.A., Master. (Macmillan and Co.) Neither preface nor note informs us concerning either Hailebury or its master, nor is there so much as a table of contents to the volume. We infer that Mr. Bradby is a clergyman of the Established Church, and that these sermons were preached in the College Chapel to the boys of a high class grammar school. We can only say that, Nonconformists as we are, we should only be too thankful to be assured that our own boys at school would be favoured with a ministry so manly, so earnest, so religious in its best and highest sense, and so nobly catholic as that of Mr. Bradby. Clear spiritual perception, firm intellectual grip, and practical earnest religious common sense mark these sermons in no ordinary degree. Theologically, they are of the best type of liberal orthodoxy. A little more of rhetorical passion would improve them; but, taking them as a whole, we have nothing but good to say of them. They almost realize our ideal of what sermons to boys should be. They are inspired with an almost instinctive apprehension of their adolescent manliness and their practical necessities. They treat them with intellectual respect, which

shrinks from neither thought nor difficulty, but these are put in a frank, simple, devout way, which must have been edifying to all who heard them, whether boys or their sires. Mr. Bradby stands in an illustrious succession of preachers to schoolboys—Dr. Arnold, Dr. Temple, Dr. Vaughan, Dr. Barry, Dr. Butler, Mr. Farrar, and others. He is not a whit behind the very chiefest of them; in simplicity, force, and spiritual penetration he surpasses most of them.—*The Life of Temptation: a Course of Lectures.* By the Rev. GEORGE BODY, B.A. (Rivingtons) Mr. Body has attained some repute as a fervent and popular High Church preacher at special Lent and other missions. It is creditable to those who hear him that so large a degree of intellectual strength does not prevent this popularity; for although the sermons are highly rhetorical in form, and somewhat wordy in their progress, they are underlain by distinct and vigorous thinking. Whatever Mr. Body's distinctive theology or ecclesiasticism, neither appears very prominently here. Earnest and fervent he aims at spiritual results, especially at the conversion of men, in the sense in which Whitfield and Wesley sought it. This development of the ritualistic school, which has in some instances extended to revival prayer meetings and penitent benches, will save their souls, and will go far to atone for their tawdrling folly about church, priests, and sacraments. Like Mr. Liddon's, Mr. Body's sermons are inordinately long.—*Pulpit Discourses, Expository and Practical, and College Addresses, &c.* By MICHAEL WILLS, D.D., LL.D. (Nisbet and Co.) Dr. Wills was formerly minister of Renfield Church, Glasgow, and latterly Professor of Divinity and Principal of Knox's College, Toronto. His volume is a memorial of fifty years of ministerial labour. Its sermons are its main feature. The appended addresses are not important. The chief of them is a speech in the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland in May, 1845, on the case of Mr. Scott, of Free St. Mark's, Glasgow. Dr. Wills is a Calvinist of the old-fashioned sort, devoutly accepting the Westminster Assembly's Confessions. He does not shrink from preaching on 'The Sovereignty of God in Revivals,' and 'Eternal Elections no discouragement to Faith—no excuse for inaction.' His conservative feeling is intimated by his deliberate adoption of Acts viii. 37 as canonical, and founding upon it an argument for the Godhead of Christ. The sermons, however, are moderate in tone and practical in character; they incline to the old method of textual preaching, and are scarcely as free as preachers nowadays are in modifications of Scriptural form to modern modes of thought and life. They indicate, however, a faithful and elevated life and ministry.—*Pulpit Notes; with an Introductory Essay on the Preaching of Jesus Christ.* By JOSEPH PARKER, D.D. (Strahan and Co.) In the Introductory Essay Dr. Parker insists upon certain characteristics of our Lord's preaching as the secret of His power. It was *compassionate*—full of human sympathy. It was *theological*—concerned deeply and eternally with God. It was *pictorial* and *spiritual*. It was *domestic*,

&c. The essay is characterised by Dr. Parker's mental vigour, and is full of wise and suggestive things. The notes are mere topics and skeletons of sermons—some fifty-four being contained in this small volume. We should have preferred a literary form to these naked thoughts. The thoughts, however, are well worth preserving; they are strong and suggestive, original, sometimes even to fancifulness, more frequently in the soberest and best sense of the term. Only a vigorous, fruitful, and independent mind could have produced them. They indicate, by their sheer force, one main secret of Dr. Parker's success as a preacher. They will by many be valued as 'Pulpit Helps,' and rudimentary as they are, none can read them without interest.—*The Silence and the Voices of God, with other Sermons.* By FREDERIC W. FARRAR, D.D. (Macmillan and Co.) A fresh volume of Dr. Farrar's sermons is always welcome. It is sure to be thoughtful, earnest, and eloquent. The title of this volume is derived from the first three of the sermons, preached before the University of Cambridge, which set forth the reality and forms of the voices with which God speaks to men. They traverse the ordinary round of thought, but are made fresh and powerful by their wealth of learned and literary illustrations, from Sophocles and Tacitus to Ruskin and George Eliot. Dr. Farrar, indeed, somewhat quenches the fire of his eloquence by the fuel that he heaps upon it. We could well spare some of his quotations; and if he will forgive us for saying so, even in a university pulpit some of the scraps of Latin and Greek are a little superfluous and pedantic. The rhetoric, too, is a little too glittering and fervid for our taste; but the best tribute that we can pay to his high-toned and eloquent volume is to say that we have read it, and have not contented ourselves with the taste here and there which is sufficient to enable criticism.—*Sermons by the late Robert S. Candlish, D.D., with a Biographical Preface.* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black.) In striking contrast with the elegant rhetoric of Dr. Farrar is the vigorous glowing theological argumentation of Dr. Candlish. Where Dr. Farrar only touches and tests, Dr. Candlish penetrates and analyzes. The predominant feeling produced is, that you are in the grasp of a clear, subtle, radical thinker, determined to get to the bottom of the theme in hand, to vindicate it by arguments, and surround it with defences. The tender interest of a memorial volume pertains to these sermons; and to the writer of this notice the association of pleasant intercourse with the preacher during the latter weeks of his life. The sermons range from his induction sermon in St. George's, Edinburgh, in 1834, to his latest sermons in the spring of 1873. This is not the place to speak of Dr. Candlish's great place and power in the Free Church of Scotland. Another opportunity for doing that will be afforded when his biography appears. He had a place also among the great preachers of his day. In broad contrast with Dr. Guthrie, very different from Dr. Chalmers, and indeed with idiosyncrasies distinctly his own, his preaching was full of

force and fire; argumentative, passionate and cogent, it often produced great effects. We are glad to possess this memorial of it.—*The Stewardship of Life; or, Studies on the Parable of the Talents.* By the Rev. JAMES STIRLING, Minister of City-road Congregational Church. (Hodder and Stoughton.) This is a singularly thoughtful and penetrating book. The great spiritual principles of trust, responsibility, and result involved in the parable of the talents are grasped with very great vigour, and expounded in their broad human aspects. We have not latterly met with an abler series of expositions. A man who can preach thus ought to be heard of.—*Fifty Sermons.* By Rev. T. DE WITT TALMAGE, D.D. Second Series. (R. D. Dickenson.) Perhaps the besetting sin of preachers is dull propriety, and in our thankfulness for any revolt from it, we are disposed to be very lenient towards sensationalism, especially when it bears marks of genuineness. But Dr. Talmage is almost too much for us. His extravagance is so incessant, and so often verges upon profanity or buffoonery, that even his manifest earnestness does not redeem it. He seems to be always casting about for something that may shock by its violence—the extravagances of men like Latimer are his ordinary mood. He gives his hearers no rest—every sentence is 'above proof.' What can we think, for instance, of a sermon on 'The White Hair of Jesus,' in which his appearance, as described in Rev. i. 14 is made to suggest the sorrow, the beauty, and the antiquity of Jesus. It is neither exegesis, nor reverence, nor common sense. Nothing can excuse such travesties of the most sublime and reverent representations of Scripture, nor can any degree of cleverness or earnestness prevent such preaching from turning religion into contempt. If our American brethren like it, all the worse for them. We cannot think it of the fellow-townsmen of Henry Ward Beecher and Richard Storrs. There are, however, in the book better things than this. It is earnest, even passionate in its appeals against sin and for Christ, but even the utmost earnestness and fidelity need not have recourse to such flagrant violations of both taste and reverent feeling.—*Sermons for the Times, Preached in St. Paul's Cathedral and elsewhere.* By THOMAS GRIFFITH, A.M., Prebendary of St. Paul's. (Longmans, Green, and Co.) Mr. Griffith will be known to some of our readers by his thoughtful and vigorous work on 'Fundamentals, or Bases of Belief.' He is evangelical in his theology, and apparently free from the taint of sacerdotalism. These sermons transcend the ordinary productions that are published under this term. They are very vigorous, not to say original, in thought. A cultured scholarship pervades them, but is nowhere protruded in them. They are full of devout and earnest religious feeling, and have enough of rhetorical eloquence in their cast to be very effective sermons. They deal with vital questions of the day, the soul, Christ, the Spirit, conscience, moral freedom, prayer, Christ crucified, &c., not, however, controversially, but affirmatively, and yet both philo-

sophically and scientifically. Mr. Griffith is fully alive to the necessities of modern life and perplexities of modern thought. Far shorter, less scholastic, and elaborate, the volume is worthy of standing by the side of Canon Liddon's.—*The Mystery of the Burning Bush, and other Sermons.* By T. M. MORRIS; Ipswich. (Elliot Stock.) Without any very salient points, Mr. Morris's sermons may be characterized as those of a vigorous and sensible mind, sufficiently independent of traditional and conventional methods of sermonizing to be fresh and forcible in its ways of putting things. The mechanism of division is a little too prominent, and the lines of thought under each hardly receive adequate treatment; sometimes, as in the first sermon, the lessons derived are a little fanciful, but the volume is a favourable specimen of the pastoral teaching of the Non-conformist pulpit.—*The Word of Life; being Selections from the Work of a Minister.* By CHARLES J. BROWN, D.D. Edinburgh (James Nesbit and Co.) These sermons are selected from the preachings of thirty-six years. They are very simple in form, but have running through them an element of deeper doctrinal teaching than commonly characterizes the sermons of English preachers. In this they are superior. Great wrong is done our English congregations by the milky pabulum so commonly ministered to them under pretence of popular attractiveness. Let ministers deal fairly and, strongly with the great truths of God, and they will find them fully as attractive as puling sentiment. Dr. Brown does not fail in rhetorical adaptations, but every sermon is a teaching as well as an appeal. He is mildly orthodox, according to Presbyterian standards, and his sermons have considerable freshness and vigour. They are not very remarkable for either originality of thought or elegance of composition, but they are good, solid, sturdy, practical teachings, under which a congregation would be both well instructed and interested.—*Types and Emblems: being a Collection of Sermons Preached on Sunday and Thursday Evenings at the Metropolitan Tabernacle.* By C. H. SPURGEON. (Passmore and Alabaster.) The publishers state that this volume is called for: 'not a few of Mr. Spurgeon's friends think that none of his words should fall to the ground. They are hardly content with the weekly issue of his Sunday morning sermons, which have already accumulated to eighteen volumes of the Metropolitan Tabernacle Pulpit, but they want the evening sermons also. To meet this demand, we propose to publish a series of which "Types and Emblems" is the first volume.' The spiritual, evangelical and practical elements of Mr. Spurgeon's preaching so far overpower the element of crude and fatalistic Calvinistic theology which is intruded into them, and his burning earnestness and godly simplicity are so great, that all who love the Gospel and Kingdom of Christ must rejoice in the wide circulation of his sermons. The sermons of this volume have all his ordinary characteristics. They are neither intellectually great nor theologically profound, but they are racy, practical, colloquial, and cogent, and

will go home to many hearts.—*Words of Hope from the Pulpit of the Temple Church.* By C. J. VAUGHAN, D.D. (Henry S. King and Co.) It is as impossible to diversify our commendations of the multitudinous volumes of Dr. Vaughan's sermons as of those of Mr. Spurgeon. Inferior to Mr. Spurgeon's in oratorical force, Dr. Vaughan's sermons equally sustain the tests of popularity; quiet, scholarly, ingenious, natural, spiritual, evangelical, and earnest—they have but little diversity, and yet the charm of their pleasantness and goodness does not weary. They are not wrought up. They are the natural products of a cultured, industrious, vigorous mind. There is no reason why in Dr. Vaughan's case also every sermon that he preaches should not be published. That people do not tire of so many sermons from men like Dr. Vaughan and Mr. Spurgeon is a remarkable indication of the extent and strength of the religious sentiment of our day, for which we can only be thankful.—*Sermons Preached in Several Synagogues.* By the Rev. BENJAMIN ARTOM, Chief Rabbi of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of England. (Trübner and Co.) This volume has an almost unique interest, inasmuch as it furnishes us with a type of religious Jewish preaching, and sets forth the relation of Jewish ideas to modern times. The type of doctrine embodied is, of course, purely Theistic, and is very largely presented in connection with the institutions and feasts of the Jewish people. The religious teaching is almost exclusively moral. Spiritual elements enter very little into it. The moral urgencies to righteousness, purity, and brotherliness are very earnest, and seem to imply great moral laxity. The sermon on the Messiah intimates that one section of the Jews have come to regard the expected Messiah as only a figurative personification of a millennium period. Rabbi Artom avows his belief and expectation of a supernatural person, but he connects him with exalted ideas, and implies that he cannot come until there is a moral preparation for him of a very marked character, and of which his hope does not seem very sanguine. No allusion is made to Jesus of Nazareth. The sermons are eloquent and earnest, and are enriched by abundant rabbinical lore, but they sorely lack motive power. They do not touch virtue with emotion—the great moral forces of love and gratitude which in Christianity are so potent are but little appealed to. Nothing can produce a greater impression of the transcendent religious force of Christian ideas than the perusal of such a volume of theistic and ethical addresses as this.—*Sermons Preached at King's Lynn.* By the late Rev. E. L. HULL, B.A. Third Series. (James Nisbet and Co.) The posthumous publication a few years ago of a selection from the manuscripts of this then unknown young minister revealed a highly gifted preacher and prophet that men recognized with a gladness and eagerness tempered only by regret that he was made known to them only when he could be no longer heard. In this he somewhat resembled Frederick Robertson, who was made known to the world

as one of the greatest of English preachers only after his death; only Brighton is a more prominent position than King's Lynn, and it has always been to us a mystery that before his death Robertson had not achieved a wider fame. It is quite safe to say, that with many points of difference, and it may be admitted of inferiority, Mr. Hull's sermons reveal a preacher second only to Robertson in the intrinsic qualities of his sermons. He is less incisive and vigorous, owing, probably, to constitutional debility, but he is as instinctively a preacher of sermons, independent and fresh in his thinking, sympathetic and devout in his feeling, and in the best sense of the terms, imaginative and rhetorical in his method. His sermons, in quiet spiritual insight and power, carry one to the very feet and heart of Christ. They are not pre-eminently original, but they combine an easy strength, with a gentle sympathy and a true and delicate religious insight, which make them very precious ministries to all that is truest and best in us. The present volume seems to us to be equal to its predecessors; indeed, the condition of the MSS. from which the sermons published have been selected, almost precluded that kind of general perusal from which choice could be determined. Some of these sermons, however, seem less complete, and to have left more for amplification in the pulpit. One of the most striking is that on the death of Moses, the moralizations of which were to have a striking illustration in the preacher's unfulfilled purpose of life. These three volumes are a precious addition to our selectest shelf of choice English sermons.—*Christ Given, Received, and Used: or Gratuitous Redemption. How we have it, and how to live upon it.* By the Rev. NEEDHAM CHARLESWORTH, M.A. (Nisbet and Co.) Mr. Charlesworth's preface does not predispose us in favour of his sermons. It is weakly egotistical to the last degree; he is 'certain that the very truth of Christ's Gospel is contained in the following pages.' He wishes to 'protect himself from any unduly adverse criticism which may imperil the circulation of the light.' He does 'not publish for fame,' which will save him from disappointment. Mr. Charlesworth seems to be an aged clergyman, and no doubt a very excellent one religiously. His years should have kept him from writing so foolishly. The sermons are evangelical, of a narrow type of doctrine, and they are earnest, but they are not stronger than the preface to them.—*Dark Sayings of Old. Being an Attempt to elucidate certain Difficult Passages of Holy Scripture, in a Series of Ten Lectures.* With a Preliminary Essay upon the Pretensions of Modern Unitarianism, &c. By the Rev. JOSEPH B. M'CAUL. (Nisbet and Co.) Mr. M'Cauley possesses considerable Hebrew learning, and his theological orthodoxy is unimpeachable; but in the interests of the latter we, who are in general sympathy with it, could very earnestly wish that he were a less offensive disputant. He is fussy, loquacious, and truculent, which is not the way to advance truth. Men so mistake gentle ways for luke-

warmness, that it is difficult to convince them that impetuous denunciation is not so strong as calm loving statement of truth. Mr. M'Cauley has, we think, a strong position against Dr. Vance Smith's theology, but he weakens it by expressions of a personal character. And argument is not strengthened by labelling an opponent a fool.—*Forget Thine Own People; an Appeal to the Home Church for Foreign Missions. Three Lectures delivered in the Temple Church in the Season of Advent, 1873.* By C. J. VAUGHAN, D.D. (Henry S. King and Co.) The title of these lectures is derived from the text Ps. xlv. 10-11, upon which they are founded. They are after Dr. Vaughan's usual manner, a faithful, earnest, eloquent, tender, and large-hearted plea for self-denial, that heathen nations may have the gospel of Christ preached to them. Dr. Vaughan does not hesitate to use great plainness of speech in urging missionary bishops to forget their own people, and beware of home-sickness.—*Sermons on the Epistle to the Galatians. Old Thoughts for New Times.* By SAMUEL PEARSON, M.A. (James Clarke and Co.) The appositeness of the Epistle to the Galatians to the Sacramentarian and Ritualistic developments of our times is so great as to be almost startling. Mr. Pearson has wisely made it the subject of three months' pastoral preaching. The sermons are sensible and cogent. They aim at usefulness, and they are admirably adapted to achieve it. We earnestly commend Mr. Pearson's example to ministers who come into contact with the pernicious heresies which the epistle denounces.—*The Philosophy of the Cross.* By the Rev. ROBERT M'CHEYNE EDGAR, M.A., Dublin. (Hodder and Stoughton.) It appears that Mr. Edgar was led to the careful study of the great question he has so ably discussed in this volume by a passage in one of Mr. Ruskin's 'Lectures on Art.' And, whilst to a certain extent accepting his views, he 'tries to show what the spiritual contemplation of Christ crucified can produce in the human heart.' This throughout his two-and-twenty sermons he has very efficiently done. The Cross, or Passion of Christ is presented in a variety of aspects, and is traced in all its moral and spiritual power. It is exhibited as the great power of God, at once revealing His Fatherhood, and giving birth to all fruits of righteousness. Nor is there anything narrow in the manner in which this is done. Mr. Edgar has thoroughly looked into all the bearings of his great subject, and whilst holding and defending his own views, he does so with the breadth and catholicity of enlightened Christian thought.

* * In our last Number, page 94, the 'Life of Henry Thoreau, Poet-Naturalist,' was by a slip of the pen attributed to W. E. Channing instead of to W. E. Channing. ed by Google

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THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW,

FOR JULY, 1874.

ART. I.—*The Depths of the Sea.*

- (1.) *The Depths of the Sea.* An Account of the General Results of the Dredging Cruises of H.M.S.S. *Porcupine* and *Lightning* during the Summers of 1868, 1869, and 1870, under the Scientific Direction of Dr. Carpenter, F.R.S., J. Gwyn Jeffreys, F.R.S., and Dr. Wyville Thomson. By C. WYVILLE THOMSON, LL.D., D. Sc., F.R.S.S. L. and E., F.L.S., F.G.S., &c., Regius Professor of Natural History in the University of Edinburgh, and Director of the Civilian Scientific Staff of the *Challenger* Exploring Expedition. With numerous Illustrations and Maps. London.
- (2.) *Reports of Deep Sea Explorations carried on in H.M.S.S. Lightning, Porcupine, and Shearwater, in the years 1868, 1869, 1870, and 1871.* 'Proceedings of the Royal Society,' Nos. 107, 121, 125, and 138.
- (3.) *H.M.S. Challenger: Reports of Captain G. J. Nares, R.N., with Abstracts of Soundings and Diagrams of Ocean Temperature in the North and South Atlantic Oceans.* Published by the Admiralty: 1873.
- (4.) *Lecture on 'The Temperature of the Atlantic,' delivered at the Royal Institution on March 20th, 1874.* By WILLIAM B. CARPENTER, M.D., LL.D.

THE results of the Deep-Sea explorations recently carried out by Dr. Carpenter, Mr. J. Gwyn Jeffreys, and Professor Wyville Thomson have excited so much interest, not only among men of science, but also among the general public—and this not less in other countries than in our own—that we feel sure

of our readers' welcome to an endeavour to place before them a general account of the most important of them; chiefly directing their attention to those new *ideas* which these researches have introduced into science, since without such any mere accumulation of *facts* remains a *rudis indigestaque moles*, not animated and quickened by any vital force. On two of these ideas we shall especially dwell—viz., the doctrine advocated by Dr. Carpenter, of a General Oceanic Circulation sustained by Thermal agency alone, characterized by Sir Roderick Murchison* as one, which, 'if borne out by experiment,' would 'rank amongst the discoveries in physical geography, on a par with the discovery of the circulation of the blood in physiology;' and Professor Wyville Thomson's doctrine of the Continuity of the Chalk-formation on the bed of the Atlantic, from the Cretaceous epoch to the present time, of which Mr. Kingsley has spoken as a 'splendid generalization, to have added which to the sum of human knowledge is a glorious distinction.'

No stronger testimony could have been given to the opinion entertained by the most competent judges, as to the great value of the work already done, and the probability that a far richer harvest would be gathered by the prosecution of similar researches on a more extended scale, than the fact that our late Government, certainly not unduly liberal in its encouragement of Science, unhesitatingly adopted the proposal for a scientific circumnavigation expedition submitted to the Admiralty by Dr. Carpen-

* 'Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society,' January, 1871.

ter on the part of himself and his colleagues, fitted out the *Challenger* with every appliance asked for by the committee of the Royal Society to which the scientific direction of the expedition was entrusted, and sent her forth fully equipped for her work, under the command of one of the ablest surveying officers in the naval service, together with a complete civilian scientific staff, under the experienced direction of the distinguished Naturalist by whom the inquiry was initiated, and who had taken an active share in the earlier prosecution of it.

Professor Wyville Thomson's beautifully illustrated volume, entitled 'The Depths of the Sea,' which made its appearance on the eve of the departure of the *Challenger* expedition, gives a highly interesting account of the explorations carried on by Dr. Carpenter and himself in the tentative *Lightning* cruise of 1868, and by the same gentlemen, with the co-operation of Mr. J. Gwyn Jeffreys, in the *Porcupine* exploration which extended over the four summer months of 1869. In the work of the following year, which extended into the Mediterranean, Professor Wyville Thomson was prevented by illness from participating, and its results are but slightly noticed in his volume. And of the results of Dr. Carpenter's second visit to the Mediterranean in 1871, no mention whatever is made, as they had not long been published when 'The Depths of the Sea' made its appearance. They constitute, however, the subject of two very elaborate reports in the 'Proceedings of the Royal Society,' in which Dr. Carpenter fully develops his doctrine in regard to Oceanic Circulation, meets the objections which had been raised to it, and discusses the question of the Gulf Stream (necessarily mixed up with it) on the basis of the most recent information. And, as his views have received very striking confirmation from the observations made during the survey of the North and South Atlantic Oceans by the *Challenger*, of which the results have been recently published by the Admiralty as the first fruits of the circumnavigation Expedition, we shall treat this portion of the subject in accordance with Dr. Carpenter's doctrine rather than with that of Professor Wyville Thomson. The latter, while devoting a special chapter of his work to 'The Gulf Stream,' seems to have proceeded on a foregone conclusion in regard to the extent of its agency, which weakens the value of his argument; and hence, while cordially commending every other portion of Professor Wyville Thomson's book to the attention of our readers, we would ask them in perusing this chapter to suspend their judgment, until they have ac-

quainted themselves with the arguments which may be advanced on the other side.

We propose, in the following sketch of the results of these inquiries, to dwell on the generalizations to which they point, rather than on any of the multitudinous details which they have added to our Physical and Biological knowledge. A very interesting selection of these has been made by Professor Wyville Thomson; and there is not one of his admirable figures and descriptions, which will not be deeply interesting to every one who is possessed of but an elementary knowledge of Zoology, as showing what manner of creatures they are which dwell in those depths which were previously deemed uninhabitable.

The state of our previous knowledge, or rather of our ignorance, in regard to the condition of the Deep Sea, is thus graphically described by Professor Wyville Thomson:—

'The sea covers nearly three-fourths of the surface of the earth, and, until within the last few years, very little was known with anything like certainty about its depths, whether in their physical or their biological relations. The popular notion was, that after arriving at a certain depth the conditions became so peculiar, so entirely different from those of any portion of the earth to which we have access, as to preclude any other idea than that of a waste of utter darkness, subjected to such stupendous pressure as to make life of any kind impossible, and to throw insuperable difficulties in the way of any attempt at investigation. Even men of science seemed to share this idea, for they gave little heed to the apparently well-authenticated instances of animals, comparatively high in the scale of life, having been brought up on sounding lines from great depths, and welcomed any suggestion of the animal having got entangled when swimming on the surface, or of carelessness on the part of the observers. And this was strange, for every other question in physical geography had been investigated by scientific men with consummate patience and energy. Every gap in the noble little army of martyrs striving to extend the boundaries of knowledge in the wilds of Australia, on the Zambesi, or towards the North or South Pole, was struggled for by earnest volunteers; and still the great ocean slumbering beneath the moon covered a region apparently as inaccessible to man as the *Mare Serenitatis*.' (p. 2.)

Thanks, however, to the enterprise of the scientific men who commenced the inquiry, to the support which they received from the Royal Society, and to the efficient means placed at their disposal year after year by the Admiralty, it has been shown that with sufficient power and skill, an ocean of three miles' depth may be explored with as much certainty, if not with as much ease, as what may now be considered the shallows around

our shores, lying within 100 fathoms of the surface.

'The bed of the deep sea, the 140,000,000 of square miles which we have now added to the legitimate field of natural history research, is not a barren waste. It is inhabited by a fauna more rich and varied on account of the enormous extent of the area; and with the organisms in many cases apparently even more elaborately and delicately formed, and more exquisitely beautiful in their soft shades of colouring and in the rainbow tints of their wonderful phosphorescence, than the fauna of the well-known belt of shallow water teeming with innumerable invertebrate forms, which fringes the land. And the forms of these hitherto unknown living beings, and their mode of life, and their relations to other organisms, whether living or extinct, and the phenomena and laws of their geographical distribution, must be worked out.' (p. 4.)

The first point to be determined in the exploration of what are often called the 'fathomless abysses' of the ocean, is their actual depth. This, it might be supposed, would be very easily ascertained by letting down (as in ordinary 'sounding') a heavy weight attached to a line strong enough to draw it up again, until the weight touches the bottom; the length of line carried out giving the measure of the depth. But this method is liable to very great error. Although a mass of lead or iron thrown freely into the sea would continue to descend at an increasing rate (at least until the augmented friction of its passage through the water should neutralize the accelerating force of gravity), the case is quite altered when this mass is attached to the end of a thick rope, of which the immersed length increases as the weight descends. For the friction of such a rope comes to be so great, when a mile or two has run out, as seriously to reduce the rate of descent of the weight, and at last almost to stop it; and since the upper part of the rope will continue to descend by its own gravity (which, when the rope has been wetted throughout, so as to hold no air between its fibres, considerably exceeds that of water), any quantity of it may be drawn down, without the bottom being reached by the weight at its extremity. Further, if there should be a movement, however slow, of any stratum of the water through which it passes, this movement, acting continuously against the extended surface presented by the rope, will carry it out horizontally into a loop or 'bight,' the length of which will depend upon the rate of the flow and the time during which the line is being acted on by it. Under such circumstances it is impossible that the impact of the weight upon the bottom, even if it really strikes the ground,

should be perceptible above; and thus the quantity of rope which runs out, may afford no indication of the actual depth of the seabed. Hence all these older 'soundings' which were supposed to justify the statement that the bottom of the ocean lies in some places at not less than six or eight miles depth,—still more, those which represented it as absolutely unfathomable,—are utterly untrustworthy.

Various methods have been devised for obtaining more correct measurements, of several of which illustrated descriptions will be found in Professor Wyville Thomson's pages. One principle may be said to be common to them all; namely, that regard should be had, not so much to the recovery of the plummet or 'sinker,' as to securing the vertical direction of the line to which it is attached, so that the measurement of the amount run out may give as nearly as possible the actual depth of water through which the sinkers have descended. Now, as it is by the friction of the line through the water that the rate of descent of the plummet is increasingly retarded, it is obvious that the size of the line should be reduced to a minimum; but since, for the purposes of scientific exploration, it is requisite to send down and bring up again thermometers and water-bottles, as well as to obtain samples of the bottom, it is now found desirable to employ, not the fine twine or silk thread of the earlier instruments constructed on this plan, but a line about the thickness of a quill, which, if made of the best hemp, will bear a strain of more than half a ton. The plummet being disengaged by a simple mechanical contrivance, and being left on the seabed, the instruments only are drawn up by the line.

The trustworthiness of the modern method of sounding is shown by the coincidence of the results obtained by different marine surveyors. Thus the *Porcupine* soundings taken about 200 miles to the west of Ushant, which reached to a depth of 2,435 fathoms, correspond very closely with the soundings previously taken in the same locality for the French Atlantic cable; and the soundings taken by the *Porcupine* and the *Shearwater* in the Strait of Gibraltar, bear an equally exact correspondence with those previously laid down in the Admiralty charts, on the authority partly of our own and partly of French surveyors; though the deeper and narrower part of this Strait, in which the current runs the strongest, had been formerly pronounced 'unfathomable.' Hence it may be said that the ocean depths, on areas that have been carefully examined, are known with almost the same exactness

as the heights of mountain ranges. Until very recently there was reason to believe that the depth of the North Atlantic nowhere exceeds about 2,800 fathoms (16,800 feet); but the *Challenger* has recently met with the extraordinary depth of 3,800 fathoms (more than four miles), a little to the north of St. Thomas's; and that this result did not proceed from an accidental error is shown by the fact that two thermometers, protected in the manner to be hereafter described, which had been tested under a hydrostatic pressure of three tons and a half (corresponding to a column of 2,800 fathoms) were crushed by the excess.

Before proceeding to inquire into the relation which the Depth of the Ocean bears to its temperature, and to the distribution of animal life on the sea-bed, we may stop to point out how important is a knowledge of the exact depth of the sea bottom to the geologist. It is only by such knowledge that he can judge what departures from the present distribution of land and sea would have been produced by those changes of level, of which he has evidence in the upheaval and submergence of the stratified deposits that formed the ocean-bed of successive geological periods; or that he can obtain the clue to the distribution of the animal and vegetable forms, by which he finds those periods to have been respectively characterized. For example, a knowledge of the comparative shallowness of the seas that surround the British Islands, enables us readily to understand the former connection of our islands, not merely with each other, but with the Continent of Europe. For they stand upon a sort of platform, of which the depth is nowhere greater than 100 fathoms; so that an elevation of 600 feet (only half as much again as the height of St. Paul's) would not only unite Ireland to Great Britain, and extend the northern boundary of Scotland so as to include the Orkney and Shetland Islands, but would obliterate a large part of the North Sea, which (with the exception of a narrow channel along the coast of Norway and Sweden) would become a continuous plain, connecting our present eastern coast with Denmark, Holland, and Belgium; would in like manner wipe out the British Channel, and unite our southern coast with the present northern shores of France; and would carry the coast line of Ireland a long distance to the west and south-west, so as to add a large area of what is now sea-bottom to its land-surface. Even an elevation not greater than the height of St. Paul's would establish a free land communication between England and the Continent, as well as between Eng-

land and Ireland. And thus we see how trifling a change of level, by comparison, would have sufficed to produce those successive interruptions and restorations of continuity, of which we have evidence in the immigrations of the Continental mammalia, on each emergence that followed those successive submergences of which we have evidence in our series of Tertiary deposits.*

Many of our readers, we doubt not, have been in the habit—as we formerly were ourselves—of looking at the Mediterranean as only a sort of British Channel on a larger scale; whereas it is a basin of quite another character. For whilst the separation between Great Britain and the Continent may be pretty certainly attributed to the removal, by denudation, of portions of stratified deposits that were originally continuous, the extraordinary depth of the Mediterranean basin can scarcely be accounted for on any other hypothesis than that of the subsidence of its bottom; which was, perhaps, a part of that 'crumpling' of the Earth's crust, which occasioned the elevation of the high mountain chains in its neighbourhood. This great inland sea may be said to consist of two basins; the western extending from the Strait of Gibraltar to the 'Adventure' and 'Skerki' banks, which lie between Sicily and the Tunisian shore; while the eastern extends from the Adventure bank to the coast of Syria. Now, over a large part of the former area, the depth ranges to between 1,000 and 1,500 fathoms, being often several hundred fathoms within sight of land; and over a large part of the latter, it ranges from 1,500 to 2,000 fathoms, the descent being so rapid that a depth of upwards of 2,000 fathoms (above 12,000 feet) is met with at not more than fifty miles to the east of Malta. But the ridge between Capes Spartel and Trafalgar, which constitutes the 'marine watershed' between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic basins, is nowhere more than 200 fathoms in depth; and as the Adventure and Skerki banks, which lie between Sicily and the Tunisian coast, are within that depth (some of their ridges being not more than fifty fathoms from the surface), it is obvious that an elevation of 1,200 feet, by closing the Strait of Gibraltar, and uniting Sicily with Africa, would convert the Mediterranean into two great salt-water lakes, still of enormous depth, and of but slightly reduced area,—as is shown, in regard to the Western basin, in Plate v. of 'The Depths of the Sea.' That such a partition did at one time exist, is evident from the

* See Professor Ramsay's 'Physical Geology and Geography of Great Britain,' chap. xii.

number and variety of the remains of large African mammalia entombed in the caves of Sicily and in the tertiary deposits of Malta. Thus in caverns of the hippurite limestone, not far from Palermo, there is a vast collection of bones of the hippopotamus, associated with those not only of *Elephas antiquus*, but of the living African elephant. And in Malta there have been found remains of several species of elephants; amongst them a *pigmy* of about the size of a small ass. It is not a little curious that there is distinct evidence of considerable local changes of level, in various parts of the Mediterranean area, within the human period. Thus Captain Spratt has shown that the Island of Crete has been raised about twenty-five feet at its western extremity, so that ancient ports are now high and dry above the sea; while at its eastern end it has sunk so much, that the ruins of old towns are seen under water. And on the southern coast of Sardinia, near Cagliari, there is an old sea-bed at the height of nearly 300 feet above the present level of the Mediterranean, which contains not merely a great accumulation of marine shells, but numerous fragments of antique pottery—among them a flattened ball with a hole through its axis, which seems to have been used for weighting a fishing-net.

It is doubtful, however, whether the western basin of the Mediterranean was ever cut off from the Atlantic; for though there is pretty clear evidence of former continuity between the two 'Pillars of Hercules,' the evidence is equally clear of a depression of the south-western portion of France at no remote geological period; so that a wide communication would have existed between the Bay of Biscay and the Gulf of Lyons, along the course of the present canal of Languedoc. And certain very curious conformities between the marine fauna of the Mediterranean and that of the Arctic province, are considered by Mr. Gwyn Jeffreys as indicating that Arctic species which migrated southwards in the cold depths congenial to them, found their way into the Mediterranean through this channel. We shall presently see what very important modifications in the condition of this great Inland Sea, affecting its power of sustaining animal life, would result from any considerable increase in the depth of its channel of communication with the great Oceanic basin, from which all but its superficial stratum is now cut off.

Another most interesting example of the importance of the information supplied by exact knowledge of the Depth of the sea, is furnished by the inquiries of Mr. A. R.

Wallace in regard to the geographical distribution of the fauna of the Eastern Archipelago. For while Java, Sumatra, and Borneo clearly belong to the Indian province, Celebes, the Moluccas, and New Guinea no less clearly belong to the Australian; the boundary-line between them passing through the Strait of Lombok—a channel which, though no more than fifteen miles in width, separates Faunæ not less differing from each other than those of the Old and the New Worlds. The explanation of these facts becomes obvious, when we know that an elevation of no more than fifty fathoms would unite Borneo, Sumatra, and Java with each other, and with the peninsula of Malacca and Siam; while an elevation of 100 fathoms (800 feet) would convert nearly the whole of the bed of the Yellow Sea into dry land, and would reunite the Philippine Islands to the south-eastern part of the continent of Asia. But even the latter elevation would not connect the upraised area with the Australian province, the depth of the narrow dividing strait being greater than that of any part of the large Asiatic area now submerged. In some parts of the Australian portion of the Eastern Archipelago, indeed, there are some very extraordinary and sudden depressions, showing the activity of the changes which have taken place in the crust of this portion of the earth within a very recent geological period. Thus, whilst every geologist knows that the Himalayas are not only the highest but among the newest of great mountain ranges—even the later Tertiary deposits lying in slopes high up on their flanks—it is not a little curious to find the almost land-locked Celebes Sea going down to the enormous depth of 2,800 fathoms, or three miles. That this remarkable depression is in some way connected with the volcanic activity of the region, may be surmised from the fact that the similar hollow, *nearly a thousand fathoms deeper*, lately found by the *Challenger* a little to the north of St. Thomas's (p. 6), lies at what may be regarded as the northern termination of that 'line of fire,' which has elevated the chain of islands that separate the Caribbean Sea from the Atlantic Ocean.

In the general uniformity of depth of the present area of the North Atlantic, however, and in the conformation of its boundaries on either side, we have evidence that this vast basin was a deep sea at least as far back as the Cretaceous epoch. From the edge of the 100-fathom platform on which the British Isles are based, and which extends about fifty miles to the westward of the coast of France, between Brest and Bayonne,

the bottom rapidly descends to 1,500 fathoms, and generally to more than 2,000; so that, with the exception of the modern volcanic plateau of the Azores, the sea-bed of the North Atlantic undulates gently from the European to the American coast, at an average depth of at least 2,000 fathoms, or 12,000 feet.* Now, as Professor Wyville Thomson remarks, all the principal axes of elevation in the North of Europe and in North America have a date long anterior to the deposition of the Tertiary, or even of the newer Secondary strata; though some of them, such as those of the Alps and Pyrenees, have received great accessions to their height in later times. All these newer beds have, therefore, been deposited with a distinct relation of position to certain important features of contour, which, dating back to more remote periods, are maintained to the present day:—

‘Many oscillations have doubtless taken place, and every spot on the European plateau may have probably alternated many times between sea and land; but it is difficult to show that these oscillations have occurred in the North of Europe to a greater extent than from 4,000 to 5,000 feet, the extreme vertical distance between the base of the tertiaries and the highest point at which tertiary or post-tertiary shells are found on the slopes and ridges of mountains. A subsidence of even 1,000 feet would, however, be sufficient to produce over most of the northern land a sea 100 fathoms deep—deeper than the German Ocean; while an elevation of a like amount would connect the British Isles with Denmark, Holland, and France, leaving only a long deep fjord separating a British peninsula from Scandinavia.’ (p. 473.)

There is abundant evidence that these minor oscillations, with a maximum range of 4,000 or 5000 feet, have occurred over and over again all over the world within comparatively recent periods, alternately uniting lands, and separating them by shallow seas, *the position of the deep waters remaining the same.* And though mountain-ridges have been elevated from time to time, to heights equalling or exceeding the average depth of the Atlantic, there is no reason

whatever to believe that any area at all comparable to that of the North Atlantic has ever changed its level to the extent of 10,000 feet. As Sir Charles Lyell has remarked (‘Principles of Geology,’ 1872, p. 269):—

‘The effect of vertical movements equally 1,000 feet in both directions, upwards and downwards, is to cause a vast transposition of land and sea in those areas which are now continental, and adjoining to which there is much sea not exceeding 1,000 feet in depth. But movements of equal amount would have no tendency to produce a sensible alteration in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, or to cause the oceanic and continental areas to change places. Depressions of 1,000 feet would submerge large areas of existing land; but *fifteen times as much movement* would be required to convert such land into an ocean of average depth, or to cause an ocean three miles deep to replace any one of the existing continents.’

Thus, then, whilst the wide extent of Tertiary strata in Europe and the North of Africa sufficiently proves that much dry land has been gained in tertiary and post-tertiary times along the European border of the Atlantic, while the great mountain-masses of Southern Europe give evidence of much local disturbance, it is extremely improbable that any such contemporaneous depression could have taken place, as would have sufficed to produce the vast basin of the Atlantic. For as Professor Wyville Thomson justly remarks:—

‘Although the Alps and the Pyrenees are of sufficient magnitude to make a deep impression upon the senses of men, taking them together these mountains would, if spread out, only cover the surface of the North Atlantic to the depth of six feet; and it would take at least 2,000 times as much to fill up its bed. It would seem by no means improbable that while the edges of what we call the great Atlantic depression have been gradually raised, the central portion may have acquired an equivalent increase in depth; but it seems most unlikely that while the main features of the contour of the northern hemisphere remain the same, an area of so vast an extent should have been depressed by more than the height of Mont Blanc.’ (p. 477.)

We quite agree with him, therefore, in the belief that a considerable portion of this area must have been constantly under water during the whole of the Tertiary period; and looking to the relation of this area to that of the old Cretaceous sea which formerly occupied the place of a large part of what is now the continent of Europe, we feel justified in concurring with Mr. Prestwich* in the conclusion that this sea extended continuously from Asia to America. It may well

* The Bermuda group has been shown by the *Challenger* soundings to rise like a vast column from a small base lying at a depth of more than three miles; and since there is no submarine ridge of which it could be supposed to be an outlier, and the islands are themselves entirely composed of Coral, it seems likely that we have here a typical exemplification of Mr. Darwin's remarkable doctrine, that though the reef-building coral animals cannot live and grow at a greater depth than twenty fathoms, yet that by the slow progressive subsidence of the bottom, and the contemporaneous addition of new coral to the summit, a pile of coral limestone may be built up (or rather may grow up) to any height.

* Presidential Address to the Geological Society, 1871.

have been that when the European portion of that sea-bottom underwent elevation into the chalk cliffs of Dover, a corresponding subsidence took place in the Atlantic area. But this subsidence would have only added a little to the depth of what must have previously been an enormously deep basin, without altering its condition in any essential degree; and thus on *physical* grounds alone, we seem justified in concluding that an essential continuity must have existed in the deposits progressively formed on this sea-bottom, from the Cretaceous epoch to the present time. How strikingly this conclusion harmonizes with the results obtained by the *biological* exploration of the 'Depths of the Sea,' will be shown hereafter.

The *pressure* exerted by the waters of the ocean, either upon its bed, or upon anything resting upon it, may be readily calculated from its depth; for the weight of a column of one inch square is almost exactly a ton for every 800 fathoms of its height; and consequently the pressure at 2,400 fathoms depth is *three tons upon every square inch*, while at 3,800 fathoms it is *nearly five tons*. How life can be sustained under this enormous pressure is a question to be considered hereafter; at present we shall speak only of its effects on the instruments employed to determine the *temperature* of the deep sea,—a part of the inquiry which is second to none in interest and importance. For while it is from accurate observations of the temperature of the ocean-bottom, that we derive our knowledge of those differences of submarine climate, on which the distribution of animal life mainly depends, it is from observation of the temperature of successive strata that we derive our chief information as to that great system of *oceanic circulation*, which, altogether independent of those superficial currents that have their origin in winds, has a most powerful influence upon terrestrial climate—modifying alike the extremes of equatorial heat and of polar cold,—and also, by bringing every drop of ocean water at some time or other to the surface, gives to it the power of sustaining animal life on its return to the sea-bed over which it flows, at depths it may be, of thousands of fathoms.

It was in consequence of the remarkable character of the Temperature-observations made in the Channel between the North of Scotland and the Faroe Islands, in the tentative *Lightning* cruise of 1868, that the importance of obtaining thoroughly trustworthy observations of ocean-temperature was first brought prominently into notice. At that time the doctrine of a uniform deep-sea temperature of 39° was generally accept-

ed among Physical Geographers, chiefly on the basis of the Temperature-observations made in Sir James Ross's Antarctic Expedition; which were considered by Sir John Herschel as justifying the assumption that the temperature of the sea *ris*es with increase of depth in the two Polar areas, while it *sinks* with increase of depth in the Equatorial zone,—there being an intermediate line of division between these regions, corresponding with the annual isotherm of 39° , on which the temperature of the sea is uniform from the surface to the bottom. It is true that lower bottom-temperatures than 39° had been occasionally observed, even in the intertropical zone; but these were considered as proceeding from special "polar currents." Thus the United States coast surveyors had met with a temperature of 35° in the very channel of the Gulf Stream, the surface-temperature of which was 80° ; and Captain Maury regarded this as a cold current coming down from the north beneath the Gulf Stream, to replace the warm water which is carried by that great surface-current to moderate the cold of Spitzbergen. And Captain Shortland, of H.M.S. *Hydra*, who had surveyed the line between Aden and Bombay, along which a telegraph cable has since been carried, found a temperature of $36\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, at depths of from 1,800 to 2,000 fathoms in the bed of the Arabian Gulf, at about 12° north of the equator.

Now the *Lightning* Temperature-soundings, carried on in different parts of the above-mentioned channel, which has an average depth of between 500 and 600 fathoms, showed a difference of from 13° to 15° , at depths almost identical, between points which were sometimes not many miles apart; the bottom temperature, which, according to Sir John Herschel's doctrine, ought to have been everywhere 39° , being as high as 45° on some spots, and as low as 32° on others. With this marked difference of temperature, there was an equally well-marked difference alike in the Mineral characters of the two bottoms, and in the types of Animal life they respectively yielded. For whilst the 'warm area,' as Dr. Carpenter named it, was covered by the whitish globigerina-mud, which may be considered as Chalk in process of formation, and supported an abundant and varied Fauna, of which the *facies* was that of a more southerly clime, the 'cold area' was entirely destitute of globigerina-mud, and was covered with gravel and sand containing volcanic detritus, on which lay a fauna by no means scanty, but of a most characteristically boreal type.

Here, then, whatever might be the error in the determination of the *actual* tempera-

tures, occasioned by the pressure of about three-fourths of a ton per square inch on the bulbs of the thermometers employed, it became obvious that there could be no such error in regard to the striking *differences* which showed themselves between Temperature-observations taken at similar depths; and the importance of this phenomenon became so apparent to all who were interested in the inquiry, that as soon as the further prosecution of these researches had been decided on, arrangements were made for testing the effect of pressure upon the thermometers used for deep-sea observations, which are maximum and minimum self-registering instruments of the ordinary (Six's) construction, made with special care to prevent the displacement of the indices by accidental jerks. These instruments being placed under water-pressure in the interior of a hydrostatic press, the very best of them were found to rise 8° , or even 10° , when the pressure-gauge indicated three and a quarter tons on the square inch; whilst inferior instruments rose 20° , 30° , 40° , or even 50° under the same pressure. Thus it became obvious that no reliance could be placed on most of the older Temperature-observations taken at great depths; those only being at all to be trusted, which had been taken with instruments whose probable error could be ascertained. Thus the Temperature-soundings taken not long previously in various parts of the North Atlantic by Commander Chimmo, R.N., and Lieutenant Johnson, R.N., gave 44° at depths exceeding 2,000 fathoms; but these, when corrected by an allowance of 8° for the known influence of pressure on thermometers of the Admiralty pattern, would give an *actual* temperature of 36° ; and this agrees very closely with the results of the soundings recently taken by the *Challenger* with trustworthy instruments.

The existence of this most important error having been thus determined, the next question was how to get rid of it; and a very simple plan was devised by the late Professor W. A. Miller, which, carried into practice by Mr. Casella, was found to answer perfectly. It is due to Mr. Negretti, however, to state that this plan had been previously devised and adopted by him; and that he had supplied his 'protected' thermometers to Captain Shortland, by whom they were used in the observations mentioned in the preceding page, which, therefore, may be regarded as not far from the truth. The 'protection' consists in the enclosure of the ordinary bulb of the thermometer by an outer bulb sealed round its neck; the space left between the two being partly filled with spirit or mercury, for the transmission of heat or cold between

the medium surrounding the outer bulb and the liquid occupying the inner, but a vacuum being left, which serves to take off pressure entirely from the inner bulb. It is obvious that if the whole intermediate space were occupied by liquid, any diminution of the capacity of the outer bulb would equally compress the inner; but that the vacuum acts as a sort of buffer-spring, entirely taking off pressure from the inner bulb,—the only effect of a reduction of the capacity of the outer bulb, by external pressure, being to diminish the unfilled part of the intermediate space.

All the Temperature-observations since made under authority of the British Admiralty have been taken with these 'protected' thermometers; which were first used in the *Porcupine* expeditions of 1869 and 1870, with the most satisfactory results. Every instrument sent out by the maker is tested to a pressure exceeding three tons, and is rejected if it shows more than the slight elevation of something less than a degree, which is attributable to the increase of the temperature of the water of the interior of the press, occasioned by its rapid compression. And the *Challenger* is furnished with a press of similar power, by which the thermometers in use may be tested from time to time, so as to make sure that they have undergone no deterioration. Two thermometers are used in every observation; and their ordinarily close accordance serves to give to their indications a high degree of trustworthiness; whilst, when they disagree, there is generally but little difficulty in determining, by collateral evidence, which of the two is likely to be wrong. Before proceeding to give a general summary of the Temperature-observations carried out in the *Porcupine* expeditions of 1869 and 1870, with those collected in the North and South Atlantic during the first year of the *Challenger's* work—the results of which, so far as regards this subject, are now before us—we shall correct a prevalent misconception as to the temperature at which sea-water attains its maximum density.

Everyone knows that fresh water *contracts* (and thus increases in density) as it cools from any higher temperature down to about $39^{\circ}2$ Fahr.; and that it then *expands* again (thereby undergoing a diminution of density) as its temperature is reduced to 32° Fahr.; so that, when just about to freeze, it has the same density that it had at the temperature of about $46\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. And thus it happens that before a pond or a lake is frozen, the surface-layers, whose temperature has been reduced by atmospheric cold, successively sink, and are replaced by warmer layers rising up from below, until the temperature

of the deeper layers has been reduced to $39^{\circ}2$; but that, when this stage has been reached, the further chilling of the surface-layer makes it lighter instead of heavier, so that it continues to float upon the warmer water beneath, which retains its temperature of $39^{\circ}2$ though covered with a layer of ice or of ice-cold water. This, however, is not the case with Sea water, which, as was long ago ascertained by Despretz, differs from fresh water in continuing to contract (thus *augmenting* in density) down to its freezing point at about 27° Fahr.; and thus, when its surface is exposed to extreme atmospheric cold, each layer as it is chilled will descend, and will be replaced by a warmer layer either from beneath or from around; the coldest water always gravitating to the bottom, unless the effect of temperature be modified by some difference in salinity, or by movement of one stratum independently of another. Of the former condition we have an example in the fact that, in the neighbourhood of melting ice, the water of which is either fresh (as in the case of icebergs, which are land glaciers that have floated out to sea), or of low salinity (as in the case of field-ice), the surface-layer is often colder than the more saline water beneath, on which it floats in virtue of its lower salinity. And the latter case constantly presents itself when some movement of translation slants upwards a deeper and colder stratum; which we shall presently find to be a general fact along the *eastern* coasts of our continents, and to be attributable to the earth's rotation on its axis (p. 17.)

Under ordinary circumstances, then, the *minimum* temperature recorded by self-registering thermometers sent down with the sounding apparatus, may be expected to be the *bottom* temperature; and this expectation has been fully verified by the results of the *serial* Temperature-observations made in the *Porcupine* and *Challenger* expeditions; which have shown that the temperature of the Atlantic undergoes a progressive reduction from above downwards, but at a rate by no means uniform; and have clearly proved the fallacy of those older observations in which the temperature seemed to *rise* in the deepest stratum—the elevation of the ‘unprotected’ thermometers having been really due to increase of pressure, not to increment of heat.

In order to render the scientific *rationale* of these observations more intelligible, we shall first state the results of the Temperature-soundings taken by Dr. Carpenter in his two visits (1870 and 1871) to the Medi-

terranean, the peculiar conditions of whose basin have been already adverted to (p. 4.)

We have here a great Inland Sea, of which the depth ranges downwards almost to that of the North Atlantic, and exceeds that of many other large Oceanic areas; whilst its channel of communication with the great Atlantic basin is so shallow on the line of the ‘ridge,’ or ‘marine watershed’ (as Dr. Carpenter terms it), between Capes Sparte and Trafalgar, that all but the most superficial strata of the two basins are completely cut off from each. Both the summer and the winter surface-temperatures are very nearly the same in the two seas, with a slight excess on the side of the Mediterranean, which shows that its warmth is not dependent—as some of the extravagant advocates of the heating power of the Gulf Stream have supposed—on an influx of water from that source. And the rapid reduction of temperature which shows itself in the summer from the surface downwards, alike in the Mediterranean and in the Atlantic under the same parallels, clearly proceeds from the *superheating* of the superficial stratum under the influence of direct solar radiation. The surface-temperature of the Mediterranean during the months of August and September ranges between 70° and 80° ; but the thermometer descends rapidly in the first fifty fathoms, the temperature at that depth being about 58° ; and a slight further decrease shows itself between fifty and a hundred fathoms, at which depth the temperature is 54° near the western extremity of the basin, 55° nearer its middle, and 56° in its eastern part. Now from the hundred fathoms’ plane to the bottom, even where it lies at a depth of 2,000 fathoms, *the temperature of the Mediterranean is uniform*, the difference never exceeding a degree. In the winter months, on the other hand, the temperature, alike of the surface, and of the superficial 100 fathoms’ stratum, is brought down, by the reduction of the temperature of the superjacent atmosphere, to that of the uniform stratum beneath; so that *the entire column* of Mediterranean water has then a like uniform temperature from its surface to its greatest depths.

Now, we hold these observations to be of fundamental importance in two ways. For, in the first place, they show us the limit of the direct heating power of the solar rays that fall on the surface of the sea. There are few parts of the open ocean of which the surface-temperature is ever much higher than that of the Mediterranean; the most notable excess being seen in the Red Sea,

the enclosure of which between two coast lines, nowhere more than 100 miles apart, while a large portion of it lies within the hottest land-area we know, causes its surface-temperature occasionally to rise even above 90° . The direct heating power of the solar rays at Aden, as measured by a thermometer with a blackened bulb, exposed on a blackened board, has been seen (in the experience of Colonel Playfair, our former consul at that station) to be above 212° ; but that heat is mainly used up in converting the surface-film of the sea into vapour. All experiment shows that solar heat directly penetrates to so small a depth, and that the conducting power of water is so very slight, that some other means must exist for the extension of its influence even to the depth of twenty or thirty fathoms. This extension is attributed by Dr. Carpenter (who is supported in this and other Physical doctrines by the most eminent authorities in that department of Science) to a downward *convection*, taking place in the following mode:—Each surface-film, as it loses part of its water by evaporation, becomes more saline, and, therefore, specifically heavier, notwithstanding the increase of its temperature; and will thus sink, carrying down an excess of heat, until it loses its excess of salt by diffusion. It is, of course, replaced by a fresh film from below; and this will sink in its turn, to be again replaced by a less saline stratum; and the process will go on so long as the superheating action continues. Now, in the Mediterranean the depth of this 'superheating' is limited by the periodical alternation of the seasons; but it might be expected that under the Equator, where even the winter temperature of the ocean-surface does not fall much below 80° (save under the local influence of cold currents), it would extend further downwards. The *Challenger* observations, however, have shown that this is not the case, the thickness of the superheated stratum being no greater under the Equator than it is anywhere else—a fact of which the significance will presently become apparent.

These Mediterranean observations, when taken in connection with others made elsewhere on the constant temperature of deep lakes, show, in the second place, that the temperature of any enclosed body of water which is sufficiently deep to be but little influenced either by direct solar radiation, or by admixture of water flowing into it from without, will be the *isothermal*, or lowest mean winter temperature, of the locality. We notice that in Dr. Carpenter's report of his first Mediterranean cruise, he

connected it with the temperature of the solid crust of the earth, which there is reason to fix at between 50° and 54° in Central and Southern Europe; this being the constant temperature shown in deep caves, and at depths in the soil at which seasonal variations cease to show themselves, while there is as yet no such increment of mean temperature as shows itself at greater depths. But the observations taken during his second Mediterranean cruise, having proved that the temperature of the uniform substratum is higher in the eastern basin than in the western, in accordance with the higher *isothermal* of the former, whilst those subsequently taken by Captain Nares, in the Gulf of Suez, gave a bottom-temperature of 71° at 400 fathoms, even in February, Dr. Carpenter has been led to abandon his first impression, and to regard the constant uniform temperature as determined by the *isothermal*. And this conclusion, we have reason to believe, will be found to accord well with the results of observations made elsewhere. Thus it has been ascertained by Mr. Buchan, the able Secretary of the Scottish Meteorological Society, that in the deeper parts of Loch Lomond there is a permanent temperature of about 41° , and that this is exactly the mean of the temperature of the air during the winter months in that locality.

Hence, if it were possible for a body of Ocean-water to remain unaffected by any other thermal agencies than those to which it is itself subjected, it seems clear that all below that superficial stratum of which the temperature varies with the season, would have a constant uniform temperature corresponding to the *isothermal* of the locality. For whilst *cold* readily extends *downwards*, just as *heat* extends *upwards*, by convection, the extension of *heat* in a *downward* direction is very limited; the power of the sun being mainly expended in surface-evaporation.

As a corollary from the foregoing, it follows that when any stratum of ocean-water has a temperature *below* the *isothermal* of the locality, it may be presumed to have flowed thither from a *colder* region; whilst, if the temperature of any stratum beneath 100 fathoms be *above* the *isothermal*, it may be presumed to have flowed thither from a *warmer* region. This is simply to put upon differences of ocean temperature the interpretation we constantly give to variations in the temperature of the Atmosphere; which every one knows to be mainly dependent upon the direction in which the wind is moving. The comparative permanence of

the great movements of the Ocean is simply due to that of the antagonistic forces constantly operating to produce them.

A sort of epitome of the general Oceanic Circulation is presented, as Dr. Carpenter has pointed out, in that deep channel between the North of Scotland and the Faroe islands, which was first explored by Professor Wyville Thomson and himself in the *Lightning* (p. 7), and which was next year examined more particularly by *serial* temperature-soundings taken with 'protected' thermometers at every fifty fathoms' depth. In the north-eastern part of this channel, there was found to be a distinct horizontal division of its water into two strata; the upper one warmer than the normal, and the deeper one far colder than the normal, with a 'stratum of intermixture' between the two. The deeper stratum, whose thickness is nearly two thousand feet, has a temperature ranging downwards from 32° to 29° ; and it obviously constitutes a vast body of glacial water moving slowly from the Polar Sea to the south-west, to discharge itself into the North Atlantic basin. Traced onwards in this direction, it was found to be diverted by a bank rising in the middle of the channel, so as to be narrowed and at the same time increased in velocity; as was indicated by the rounding of the pebbles which covered the bottom, and also by the nearer approach of the cold stratum to the surface, consequent upon the shallowing of the bottom off the edge of the Faroe Banks. The other part of the channel was there occupied to its bottom by the warm flow slowly setting from the Mid-Atlantic to the north-east; and thus was formed that division of the bottom at the same depths into 'cold' and 'warm areas,' which was noticed in the *Lightning* cruise (p. 7), and which was found to exert so important an influence on the distribution of animal life; whilst, when difference of depth also came in as an element, a difference of bottom-temperature amounting to fifteen degrees sometimes showed itself within a distance of three or four miles.

On applying the same test to the deep Temperature-soundings taken in the *Porcupine*, off the western coast of Portugal, in the same parallel as the middle of the western basin of the Mediterranean, we find that they plainly indicate the derivation of a large part of the deeper water of the Atlantic basin from a Polar source. For while the temperature of its superficial stratum varies with the season, being rather below that of the Mediterranean in the summer, and about the same in winter, there is beneath this a stratum of several hundred

fathoms, which shows so slow a reduction down to about 700 fathoms that the thermometer only falls to 49° . But between 700 and 900 fathoms there is a distinct 'stratum of intermixture,' comparable to that encountered in the 'Lightning Channel,' in which the thermometer falls nine or ten degrees; and beneath this is a vast body of water, ranging downwards from 900 fathoms to 2,000 or more, of which the temperature shows a progressive reduction to 36° or $35^{\circ}5$.

There is here no distinct evidence of the presence of water warmer than the normal; but such evidence is very clearly afforded by the *Porcupine* temperature-soundings taken at various points between the latitude of Lisbon and that of the Faroe Islands, extending northwards through a range of twenty-five degrees of latitude. For while these show a considerable progressive reduction of temperature alike at the surface and in the first 100 fathoms, they also show that in the thick stratum between 100 and 700 fathoms, the reduction is so slight as we proceed northwards, that the temperature of the whole of this stratum presents a greater and greater elevation above the isothermal of the locality,—thus clearly indicating its derivation from a southern source.

On these facts Dr. Carpenter has based a doctrine of a General Oceanic Circulation, sustained by the *opposition of temperature* between the Polar and Equatorial areas; which produces a disturbance of hydrostatic equilibrium sufficient to produce a *creeping flow* of a deep stratum of water from the polar to the equatorial area, while the superficial stratum is slowly draughted from the equatorial towards the polar areas. This *vertical* circulation he considers to be altogether independent of the *horizontal* circulation produced by Winds, which shows itself in definite currents, of which the most notable are the Gulf Stream of the North Atlantic, and the Kuro Siwo of the North Pacific—which owe their origin to the action of the trade winds on the equatorial portions of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans respectively,—and the monsoon currents of the Indian Ocean. Dr. Carpenter's doctrine has thus scarcely any resemblance to that of Captain Maury, who attributed the Gulf Stream to the *elevation of level* in the intertropical area, produced by the elevation of temperature; a notion which was effectually disposed of by Sir John Herschel, who showed that no elevation of level that could be thus occasioned could possibly produce so rapid and powerful a current. And the only feature common to the two, is the existence of an under-flow from the Pole towards the Equator;

which Captain Maury advocated without any definite conception of the conditions under which it would be produced; while, according to Dr. Carpenter, a *vera causa* for this under-flow (as also of the complementary upper-flow in the opposite direction) is supplied by the action of Polar Cold, of which the following is an experimental illustration:—

'Let a long narrow trough, with glass sides, be filled with water having a temperature of 50° , and let cold be applied to the surface of the water at one end, whilst heat is similarly applied at the other. By the introduction of a colouring liquid, mixed with gum of sufficient viscosity to prevent its too rapid diffusion, it will be seen that a *vertical circulation* will be set up in the liquid; for that portion of it which has been acted on by the surface-cold, becoming thereby increased in density, falls to the bottom, and is replaced by a surface-flow, which, when cooled in its turn, descends like the preceding; and the denser water, in virtue of its excess of *lateral* pressure, creeps along the bottom of the trough towards the other end, where it gradually moves upwards to replace that which has been draughted off. As it approaches the surface, it comes under the influence of the heat applied to it; and being warmed by this, it carries along its excess of temperature in a creeping-flow towards the cold extremity, where it is again made to descend by the reduction of its temperature; and thus a circulation is kept up, as long as this antagonism of temperature at the two ends of the trough is maintained. The case, in fact, only differs from that of the hot water apparatus used for heating buildings in this,—that whilst the *primum mobile* in the latter is heat applied below, which causes the water to rise in it by the diminution of its specific gravity, the *primum mobile* of the circulation in the trough is cold applied at the surface, which causes the water to descend through the increase of its specific gravity. The application of surface-heat at the other end of the trough would have scarcely any effect *per se* in giving motion to the water; but it serves to maintain the disturbance of equilibrium, which, if cold alone were in operation, would gradually decrease with the reduction of temperature of the entire body of water in the trough, which would cease to circulate as soon as its temperature should be brought to one uniform degree of depression.'

It is maintained by Dr. Carpenter, that 'between a column of Polar water, of which the average temperature will be below 30° , and a column of Equatorial water of an average temperature of (say) 40° , such a difference of *downward*, and therefore of *lateral*, pressure *must* exist, as will suffice to maintain a slow circulation in the great Ocean-basins, corresponding to that in the trough; the heavier polar water moving along the floor of the basin towards the equator, and gradually rising there towards the surface,

as each new arrival pushes up that which preceded it; whilst an upper stratum of lighter equatorial water will be continually moving towards each pole, in virtue of the indraught produced by the downward movement of the polar column.—In this doctrine he is supported by the authority of Sir John Herschel (who addressed to him on this subject one of his last scientific letters), of Sir William Thomson, and of Sir George Airy, who all concur in sanctioning his proposition as dynamically correct.* But as his colleague, Professor Wyville Thomson, has expressed his dissent—so far, at least, as regards the cause of the amelioration of the climate of North-Western Europe—it is but fair to Dr. Carpenter to point out that his doctrine has received from the results of the *Challenger* investigations in the Atlantic, that strong confirmation which is afforded by the precise verification of a prediction. For in his later reports Dr. Carpenter gave expression to the following conclusions from the data at that time before him:—

1. That the whole mass of water in the North Atlantic below about 900 fathoms depth, will have a temperature of from 40° to 36° , this reduction depending on an inflow of Arctic water into its basin, which brings down, as in the case already cited (p. 11), a temperature which may be even below 30° ; but that the limitation of the supply of this Arctic water will prevent as great a reduction in the bottom-temperature of the Mid-Atlantic, as is seen elsewhere. For, putting aside what may possibly come down from Baffin's Bay, which is not likely to be much, there can be no southward underflow of Arctic water, except through the channel between Greenland and Iceland, which is not a very wide one, and the still narrower channel between the North of Scotland and the Faroe Islands; the bank which extends between the Faroe Islands and Iceland, and the shallowness of the bed of the North Sea, presenting an effectual barrier to the exit of the glacial water of the Arctic basin through those passages.

2. That, on the other hand, the unrestricted communication between the Antarctic basin and that of the South Atlantic, by allowing the free flow of polar water over the bed of the latter, would reduce its bot-

* It is further noteworthy that Pouillet, one of the greatest authorities of his time in Thermotics, had long ago (1847) expressed the opinion that a surface-movement from the Equator towards the Poles, and a deep movement from the Poles towards the Equator, would best express the facts of ocean-temperature then known: though that opinion was afterwards pushed aside for a time, by the prevalence of the erroneous doctrine of a uniform deep-sea temperature of 39° .

tom-temperature below that of the North Atlantic; and that the influence of this predominant Antarctic underflow might perhaps extend to the north of the Equator.

3. That in the Equatorial region, from which the upper warm stratum is being continually draughted off towards each pole, whilst the two Polar streams, which meet on the bottom, are as continually rising towards the surface, water below 40° would lie at a less depth beneath the surface, than it does in the temperate regions of the North and South Atlantic.

Now the *Challenger* soundings taken in various parts of the Mid-Atlantic show (1) that the general temperature of the North Atlantic sea-bed, between the latitude of Lisbon and the Azores, and the tropic of Cancer, ranges from 40° Fahr. at the depth of about 900 fathoms, to $35^{\circ}5$ at a depth of 3,150; so that this sea-bed is overlaid by a stratum of almost ice-cold water, having an average thickness of *ten thousand feet*, which, if it has not *all* come from one or other of the Polar areas, must contain a large admixture of water that has brought with it a glacial temperature. But (2) as the *Challenger* approached the Equator, the bottom-temperature, instead of rising, was found to sink yet lower; $34^{\circ}4$ being reached at 3,025 fathoms in the neighbourhood of St. Thomas's (lat. $18^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$ N.), and $32^{\circ}4$ at 2,475 fathoms, half-way between St. Paul's Rocks in lat. 1° N., and Fernando Noronha in lat. 5° S. Further, the temperature-section taken by the *Challenger* in crossing from Brazil to the Cape of Good Hope, shows the South Atlantic to be altogether considerably colder than the North Atlantic under the same parallels; not only the surface-temperature being lower, but the bottom being colder by from 2° to 3° . And (3) it was found, as the *Challenger* proceeded southward from the Azores, past Madeira, to the Equator, that the line of 40° progressively approached the surface, from the depth of 900 fathoms at which it lay at the Azores, to only 300 fathoms at the Equator, where the descent of the thermometer from the surface-temperature of 78° was *more rapid than in any other locality*, more than a degree being lost for every ten fathoms. That in the South Atlantic the line of 40° rises much nearer the surface than it does in the North Atlantic,—lying in the former ocean, at an average depth of only about 400 fathoms,—seems attributable in part to the general depression of its temperature, which is due to a variety of causes; the loss of heat from the surface to the 40° line, between lat. 35° S. and lat. 38° S., being only about 15° , or at the rate of one degree

for every twenty-six fathoms. But it seems not improbable that the comparative warmth of the upper stratum of the North Atlantic is due to the transport of a large body of Equatorial water as far north as the parallel of 40° ; not so much, however, by the *true* Gulf Stream or Florida current, as through the northward deflection, by the chain of West India Islands and the Peninsula of Florida, of that large portion of the Equatorial Current which strikes against them without entering the Caribbean Sea at all.

We are thus led to the question which is very fully discussed both in Dr. Carpenter's last report, and in Chapter VIII. of Professor Wyville Thomson's book, as to the influence of the Gulf Stream upon the climate of North-Western Europe; and this is a subject of such general interest, that, as there is a decided difference of opinion between these two authorities, our readers will naturally desire to know the precise nature of the doctrine advocated by each, and the principal arguments on which it rests.

It is admitted on both sides that the climate of the western shores of the British Islands, still more that of the Shetlands and the Faroes, and yet more again that of the northern part of the Norwegian coast, of the north coast of Russia, at least as far as the entrance of the White Sea, and even of Iceland and Spitzbergen, is ameliorated by a north-east flow of surface water, bringing with it the warmth of a lower latitude. For although Mr. Findlay in this country and Dr. Hayes (the Arctic explorer) in the United States, have attributed this amelioration to the prevalence of south-west Winds alone, yet the recent correlation of a large body of comparative observations on the winter temperature of the Sea and of the Air has clearly shown that the former—as we proceed north—has so much higher an average than the latter, as to be clearly independent of it. Now Professor Wyville Thomson accepts the current doctrine that this north-east flow is an extension of the Gulf Stream, using that term, however, to include, with the *true* Gulf Stream or Florida current, the portion of the Equatorial current which never enters the Gulf of Mexico; and he considers that the whole of that vast body of water, extending downwards to at least 600 fathoms, which the temperature-soundings of the *Porcupine* have shown to be slowly creeping northwards (p. 11), is impelled by the *vis a tergo*, or propulsive force imparted to the Equatorial Current by the Trade-winds. That this propulsive force here extends itself downwards to a depth far greater than that of either the Equatorial or the Gulf Stream

current, he attributes to the re-collection of its waters in the *cul de sac* formed by the north-eastern corner of the Atlantic, and the gradual narrowing of the channel through which it is impelled. But this is entirely inconsistent with the fact, shown in his own chart of Dr. Petermann's isothermal lines, that the northward movement extends *all across the Atlantic*, from the coast of Ireland to Newfoundland; the isotherms there turning sharply round the corner, and running to the north, and even to the north-west, in a manner that cannot possibly be accounted for by the propulsive force which is carrying the *real* Gulf stream nearly due east. In fact, Professor Wyville Thomson seems to us to have fallen into the error of his leader Dr. Petermann and other physical geographers, in assuming that the proved excess of temperature in the Arctic area can be due to nothing else than 'the Gulf Stream.' If, by this term, they avowedly mean nothing else than a northward movement of warm water from the Mid-Atlantic, we are entirely at one with them; only deprecating the application of the term 'Gulf Stream' to that movement as leading to a misconception. But if they distinctly attribute it, with Professor Wyville Thomson, to the action of the trade-winds, we ask them for some intelligible *rationale* of the manner in which the Trade-wind circulation drives northwards into the Polar area a body of water more than 2,000 miles wide and 700 fathoms deep.

Dr. Carpenter, on the other hand, who finds a definite *vera causa* for this movement in the indraught of the whole *upper* stratum of the North Atlantic into the Polar area, as complementary to the outflow of its *deeper* stratum,—has been led by a careful investigation of all accessible data as to the volume, temperature, and rate of movement of the *true* Gulf Stream in various parts of its course, to adopt the view previously advocated by Mr. Findlay, and accepted by Sir John Herschel and Admiral Irminger (of the Danish navy), that the Florida Current—which gradually spreads itself out like a fan, diminishing in depth as it increases in extent—is practically broken up and dispersed in the Mid-Atlantic, not long after passing the banks of Newfoundland; so that if any of its extensions really reach our shores, they bring with them little or no warmth. Even at its deepest and strongest, this powerful current loses 15° of surface-temperature during its winter passage to the longitude of Nova Scotia, which occupies from forty to fifty days. And when it reaches the banks of Newfoundland, it encounters the Labrador current, with its fleet

of icebergs, by which its temperature is still further greatly reduced; and as its superficial area increases, its depth diminishes, so that it becomes less and less able to maintain its temperature against the cooling influence of the air above it. As its rate of movement, where it is last recognisable as a current, is so reduced, that at least 100 days must be occupied in its passage from the banks of Newfoundland to the Land's End, it is scarcely to be conceived that a thinned-out surface layer of only fifty fathoms' depth, should do otherwise than *follow* the temperature of the atmosphere above it, as the thin superheated layer of the Mediterranean most certainly does. The continuance of its north-east movement as a surface-drift, bearing with it trunks of tropical trees, fruits, floating shells, &c., is fully accounted for by the prevalence of south-west winds over that portion of the Atlantic, which land these products on the shores it washes. Further, of that *outside* reflection of the Equatorial current which is included by Professor Wyville Thomson under the term Gulf Stream, the main body appears to cross the Atlantic near the parallel of the Azores, and to turn southwards when it has passed them, being drawn back as a 'supply-current' towards the sources of the Equatorial; and this seems to be the final destination of the greater part of the Florida current itself; only one small branch of it being occasionally recognisable in the Bay of Biscay as Rennel's current, while two other narrow bands can be distinguished by their somewhat higher temperature, one between the Shetland and the Faroe Isles, and the other between the Faroes and Iceland.

The real *heater* of North-western Europe, according to Dr. Carpenter, is the stratum of 600 or 700 fathoms depth, which, as already mentioned (p. 11), he has traced northwards by continuity of temperature from the coast of Portugal to the Faroe banks, and the movement of which he attributes to a *vis a fronte*, or indraught, resulting from the continual descent, in the Polar area, of the water whose temperature has been brought down by surface-cold,—as in the experimental illustration, of which his account has been already cited (p. 12). The surface-temperature of this stratum, in the summer months, follows that of the air, which is generally warmer than itself; but in the winter, when the temperature of the air falls below that of the sub-surface stratum, each surface-film, as it is cooled and descends, will be replaced by warmer water from below; and thus, as Dr. Carpenter points out, a deep moderately-warm stratum becomes a much more potent heat-carrier

than a mere surface-layer of superheated water. Hence it is the 700 fathoms' depth, in the North Atlantic, of the stratum having a temperature above 45° , which gives to this slow-moving mass its special calorific power. In corresponding latitudes of the South Atlantic, on the other hand, the stratum exceeding 45° of temperature is not more than 300 fathoms deep; so that if this stratum be moving towards the South Pole, its power of ameliorating the Antarctic climate will be much inferior. To whatever extent, therefore, the greater depth of the stratum above 45° in the North Atlantic is due to the prolongation into it of the Equatorial current (a matter still open to investigation), to that extent Dr. Carpenter admits our obligation to it; but he argues that a cause for its northward flow must be sought somewhere else than in the original *vis a tergo* of the horizontal circulation, which will tend, if not exhausted, to bring it back to its source; and that this cause is to be found in the *vis a fronte* of the vertical circulation, of which the *primum mobile* is Polar Cold.

The decision of this question will ultimately rest mainly on the temperature-phenomena of high southern latitudes, to which no Gulf Stream brings warm water from an Equatorial source; and as the *Challenger* was ordered (at Dr. Carpenter's special instance) to run due south from Kerguelen's Land, so as to approach the great ice-barrier of the Antarctic as nearly as may be deemed expedient, and as we have already heard from Melbourne that she has done, we shall learn ere long whether the upper stratum of the Southern Ocean is really travelling Polewards, as on Dr. Carpenter's theory it ought to do, and as the slow southerly 'set' noticed by several Antarctic navigators would seem to indicate that it does. In the mean time, however, we may notice that a remarkable confirmation of Dr. Carpenter's doctrine of a continual upward movement of water in the Equatorial zone, from the bottom towards the surface, is afforded by the *Challenger* observations. For this ascent is indicated, not only by the remarkable approach of the isotherm of 40° to within 300 fathoms at the Equator, but also by the marked reduction of the salinity of the surface-water, which is there encountered. For the *Challenger* observations, confirming others previously made, show that the specific gravity of surface-water (allowance for temperature being duly made) falls within the Tropics from an average of 1027.3 to an average of 1026.3; and that this reduced salinity corresponds exactly with that of the low salinity of the Polar

water which is traceable over the sea-bed even into the Equatorial area.

It is obvious that such a continual ascent of glacial water towards the surface, must have a moderating effect upon the surface-temperature of the Equatorial zone; and it seems to us that this doctrine of a vertical oceanic circulation affords an adequate *rationale* of the fact, that the surface-temperature of the deep ocean seems never to rise much above 80° , even where (as under the Equator) it is constantly exposed to the most powerful insolation. In the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, in which there is, *ex hypothesi*, no such upward movement, the surface-temperature is proportionately much higher; that of the Mediterranean in Lat. 35° being nearly equal in September to that of the Equatorial Atlantic in the same month, and that of the Red Sea rising to 92° . So also, along the Guinea Coast, where the depth is not great enough to admit the glacial underflow, the surface-temperature sometimes rises as high as 90° . Thus it appears that this general Oceanic Circulation exerts as important an influence in moderating Tropical heat, as in tempering Polar cold.

That the constantly-renewed disturbance of Equilibrium produced by difference of Temperature, is adequate to maintain such a slow vertical oceanic circulation as Dr. Carpenter contends for, seems now established by the proved existence of decided undercurrents in the Gibraltar and Black Sea Straits, which are pretty clearly maintained by slight differences of downward and therefore lateral pressure between equal columns at the two extremities of each strait. In the case of the Gibraltar currents, the superficial indraught of Atlantic water into the Mediterranean serves to keep up the level of that great inland sea, which would otherwise be lowered by excessive evaporation.* But this indraught, which replaces by salt water what has passed off as fresh, would produce a progressive accumulation of salt in the Mediterranean basin, if it were not compensated by an under-current in the opposite direction, which carries out as much salt as the surface-current brings in; and the maintaining power of this under-current, which sometimes runs at the rate of a mile and a half per hour, is the excess of the average specific gravity of Mediterranean water, which may be taken as 1029, over that of Atlantic water, which may be taken as 1027.3.—The case is still more striking, however, in regard to the currents of the

* See Dr. Carpenter's Paper 'On the Physical Conditions of Inland Seas,' in *The Contemporary Review*, vol. xxii., p. 886.

Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, where the conditions are reversed, and the difference in density between the columns is greater. For in consequence of the excess of fresh water brought down by the great rivers which discharge themselves into the Black Sea, above the loss by evaporation from its surface, there is generally an *outward* upper-current,—which, however, owes part of its force to wind,—setting first into the sea of Marmora, and thence into the *Ægean*. Now the salinity of Black Sea water is reduced by the excessive influx of fresh water, to less than half that of the Mediterranean; its specific gravity usually varying between 1012 and 1014, according to the season. And it was argued by Dr. Carpenter that, alike on *a priori* and *a posteriori* grounds, there *must* be a powerful inward under-current:—since the great excess of lateral pressure at the outer end of each Strait would necessarily drive inwards the lower stratum of its water; while the salt, if not thus continually returned, would be gradually altogether washed out of the Black Sea basin. To this it was replied by Captain Spratt, who had surveyed these Straits some years ago, and who strongly opposed the whole under-current doctrine, *first*, that he had ascertained their bottom-water to be stationary, and *second*, that the salt which passes *outwards* during a large proportion of the year, is carried *inwards* again during the winter months, when the Black Sea rivers are low, and the wind sets to the north-east, instead of *from* it as at other times. Having reason, however, to distrust the accuracy of Captain Spratt's conclusion, as well from an examination of his own record of his experiments, as from local information which was strongly corroborative of the existence of an under-current, Dr. Carpenter requested the Hydrographer to the Admiralty to direct that a re-examination of this question should be made by the surveying staff of the *Shearwater*, which was about to proceed to that station; and the result was, that most unequivocal evidence was obtained of the existence of an inward under-current, of which the strength is proportional to that of the outward upper-current; being greatest when the latter is impelled by a north-east wind, which, by lowering the interior and raising the exterior level, will increase the preponderance of the outer column over the inner. When the *outward* surface-current was running at the rate of from three to four knots an hour, the buoy from which the current-drag was suspended in the deeper stratum was carried *inwards* by its movement, at a rate greater than that at which any row-

boat could keep up with it; so that the apparatus would have been lost, if the steam-launch of the *Shearwater* had not been able to follow it.

This very striking confirmation of Dr. Carpenter's prediction will probably increase our readers' confidence in the soundness of the general Physical Theory he propounds; which is to the effect that wherever two bodies of water are in connection with each other, constantly differing in downward pressure,—whether in consequence of difference of temperature, excess of evaporation, or inflow of fresh water,—there will be an under-flow from the heavier towards the lighter, which, by lowering the level of the former, will produce a return upper-flow from the lighter towards the heavier. This, as Sir John Herschel remarked, seems the common-sense of the matter; and it is only because the Gulf Stream has a body of staunch advocates, like Dr. Petermann, Professor Wyville Thomson, and Mr. Croll, who strenuously uphold the exclusive agency of the Trade-winds, that any opposition has been raised to Dr. Carpenter's views. Professor Möhn of Christiania, who wrote a very important Memoir in 1872 to prove the dependence of the peculiar climate of Norway upon the Gulf Stream,—his facts *really* proving its dependence upon the flow of *warm water* to the Norwegian shores,—has since expressed to Dr. Carpenter his conversion to Dr. C.'s doctrine of the cause of that flow. And by Dr. Meyer, who has been for some years engaged in the investigation of the currents of the Baltic (the condition of which, as regards excess of river-supply over evaporation, corresponds with that of the Black Sea), they are unhesitatingly accepted as entirely accounting for the phenomena he has there observed.

In another very important particular do the results of the *Challenger* observations confirm Dr. Carpenter's previously expressed views,—namely, that the *cold band* which intervenes between the Gulf Stream and the Atlantic seaboard of the United States, and which is traceable even along the northern side of the Florida Channel itself, is really produced by the surging-upwards of the polar-equatorial flow which underlies the Gulf Stream, and which, as the temperature-soundings of the United States coast surveyors have shown, even enters the Gulf of Mexico as an under-current flowing inwards beneath the warm outflowing stream. This surging-upwards of the deeper cold strata along the western slope of the Atlantic basin is easily accounted for on dynamical principles, and does, in fact, afford very cogent evidence that the great body of North Atlan-

tic water below (say) 800 fathoms is really moving southwards. It was first pointed out, we believe, by Captain Maury, that the *eastward* tendency of the Gulf Stream, which shows itself more and more as it advances into higher latitudes, is due in great part to the *excess* of easterly momentum which it brings from the intertropical zone, where the earth's rotatory movement is much more rapid than it is half way towards the pole; and this view of the case was fully accepted by Sir John Herschel. For this same reason, any body of water moving from either Pole towards the Equator will bring from higher to lower latitudes a *deficiency* of easterly momentum, that is to say, it will tend *westwards*; and this tendency will carry it towards the surface, when it meets the slope of the United States seaboard. The correctness of this view has been further confirmed (1) by the fact recently communicated to Dr. Carpenter by Captain St. John, who has lately returned from the survey of the Japan Sea, that a similar cold band intervenes between the Kuro Siwo (p. 11) and the eastern coast of Japan; and (2) by the results of the inquiries prosecuted in the Baltic and North Sea by Dr. Meyer, who has found distinct evidence of the surging-up of the southward-moving deeper and colder layer on the western slopes of those basins; the temperature of the eastern face of the Dogger Bank being from 10° to 15° lower than that of its western, and a difference of 15° sometimes showing itself within five fathoms of depth.

We come lastly to the Biological results of these explorations, and the bearings of these on several most important points of biogeological doctrine,—as, for example, the existing distribution of marine animal life in its relation to depth, temperature, and supply of food and oxygen; its connection with anterior changes in the relations of sea and land, and in the depth and temperature of the seabed; the continuity of life in some localities, whilst interruptions occurred in others; and the question how far a gradual change in external conditions may modify the characters of species, so as to sanction that idea of 'descent with modification' which seems increasingly to find favour among unprejudiced Palæontologists. On each of these points we shall briefly touch.

Previously to the commencement of the recent series of researches, our knowledge of the Animal life of the Deep Sea was limited to that which could be derived from the examination of the small samples of bottom brought up by the sounding apparatus; the use of the dredge having been restricted to

depths of about 400 fathoms. These samples indicated the very extensive diffusion of low and simple forms of animal life, belonging for the most part to the group of Foraminifera. Only a few specimens of any higher type had been obtained, and the opinion was very generally entertained that the existence of such was impossible under the enormous pressure to which they would be subjected at great depths, and that the specimens brought up by the sounding-line (as in the case of the star-fishes which Dr. Wallich found clustering around it) had been entangled by it in its passage through the upper stratum. It seems to have been forgotten, however, that this pressure, being equal in all directions, can have but a very trifling influence on the condition of animals composed entirely of solid and liquid parts; neither altering their shape, interfering with their movements, nor obstructing any of their functions. A drop of water (as Dr. Carpenter pointed out in his first report) enclosed in a globular membranous capsule of extreme tenuity, would undergo no other change beneath a fluid pressure of three tons on the square inch, than a very slight reduction of its bulk; and if an aperture existed in the capsule, its contents would not escape, since, while the external pressure would tend to force them out, an inward pressure of exactly equivalent amount would tend to keep them in.

The dredgings carried on in the *Porcupine*, in the summer of 1869, on the eastern slope of the North Atlantic Basin, between the latitudes of 48° and 60° north, clearly showed that the supposed limitation of higher forms of animal life to a depth not much exceeding 300 fathoms (an inference deduced by Edward Forbes from his dredgings in the *Ægean*) has no real existence—at least so far as relates to the Oceanic area; a varied and abundant Fauna having been met with in successive explorations, progressively carried down to 600, 800, 1000, 1,200, 1,500, 1,700 fathoms; and when at last the dredge was sent down to a depth of 2,435 fathoms, it came up loaded with a hundredweight and a half of 'globigerina-mud'—a large part of which was a mass of life, having imbedded in it representatives of nearly all the principal types of Marine Invertebrata. And we understand that many of the dredge-hauls taken in the *Challenger* expedition, at yet greater depths, have been less not productive. Hence it appears that no zero of depth can be specified, at which Animal life must cease. The distribution of that life, however, is obviously much influenced by Temperature; as was most strikingly proved by the marked differ-

rence between the Faunæ of the warm and the cold areas, already pointed out (p. 13), and by the fact that boreal forms were traced far southwards, on the deep cold sea-bed, although not found in shallower waters. Not less striking was the *dwarfing* of some of our common British starfishes that presented themselves in the cold area; and it seems probable, therefore, that the small size of most of the abyssal forms is due as much to reduction of temperature, as to any other condition. Of the extent of the addition to zoological knowledge which it may be expected that the exploration of the Deep Sea will afford, some idea may be derived from the fact that the four months' dredgings of the *Porcupine*, in what may be accounted British seas, added 117 species of testaceous mollusca (about one-fourth of the previous total) to our Fauna; 56 of these being new to science, besides 7 known only as tertiary fossils.

But to this downward extension of animal life, a most remarkable exception has been found to exist in the case of the Mediterranean. While the *Porcupine* dredgings of 1870, off the coast of Portugal, were attended with remarkable success,—in one instance as many as 186 species of shells, of which 71 were previously undescribed, and 24 known only as fossils, coming up in one haul—those taken soon afterwards in the deep water of the Mediterranean were singularly barren. Dredge after dredge came up loaded with a tenacious mud, the most careful sifting of which gave no organic forms whatever, not even minute Foraminiferal shells. Within the depth of 300 fathoms, however, both along the African coast, and on the Adventure and Skerki Banks dividing the eastern from the western basin (p. 4) there was no paucity of animal life. A similar result was obtained about the same time in the Adriatic, by Oscar Schmidt; and the statement of Edward Forbes, in regard to the *zero* he met with in the *Ægean*, was thus unexpectedly confirmed. Thus the nearly *azoic* condition of the deeper part of the Mediterranean and its two extensions, as compared with the abundance of animal life met with at similar depths in the open Ocean, obviously points to some peculiarity in the physical condition of the former sea, which differentiates it from the latter.

The question as to the nature of this peculiarity is one of great interest; for the existence of vast thicknesses of sedimentary strata almost or altogether destitute of organic remains, has been one of the standing puzzles of Geology, which Edward Forbes's limitation of animal life to 300 fathoms, was supposed to have solved, by relegating these

deposits to seas too deep to allow of the existence of animals on their bottom. But this explanation having been found untenable, a new solution had to be sought; and this is offered by Dr. Carpenter as a corollary from his general proposition as to the sustentation of a vertical oceanic circulation by Thermal agency alone. For if this proposition be accepted, it follows that every drop of oceanic water is brought to the surface in its turn and is thus exposed to the vivifying influence of prolonged contact with the atmosphere. But from participating in the Oceanic circulation the Mediterranean is excluded, by the shallowness of the ridge which separates it from the Atlantic; and the uniformity of its temperature from 100 fathoms downwards precludes the existence of any thermal circulation of its own, which would have the effect of bringing its abyssal water to the surface. That water being shut in by walls which rise 10,000 feet from its bottom, it is difficult to conceive of any agency that can disturb its stillness; and thus it comes to pass that the very fine sedimentary particles brought down by the Nile and the Rhone, being diffused by superficial currents—before they have time to subside—over the entire area, slowly gravitate to the bottom, giving such a turbidity to the lowest stratum, as must be very unfavourable to the existence of most forms of marine animals. But this is by no means all. This sediment includes a large proportion of organic matter, the slow decomposition of which will use up the oxygen, and replace it by carbonic acid; while the absence of any vertical circulation will prevent that aerating process, which, in the open ocean, furnishes the corrective. In his second visit to the Mediterranean, Dr. Carpenter tested the correctness of this surmise by an analysis of the gases boiled off from the bottom-water; and he found that, using the method which had been previously employed in the examination of the gases of the bottom-water of the Atlantic, the reduction of oxygen and the excess of carbonic acid were most unmistakeable. This result is of peculiar interest, now that Professor Ramsay is advocating the doctrine that the Red Sandstones, alike of the old and of the new series, were deposited in inland seas. Every geologist knows that while there are certain beds of these which are rich in fossils, their general character is barrenness. And it may well be, as Dr. Carpenter points out in regard to the Tertiaries of Malta, that the former were the shallow-water formations, whilst the latter, composed of a finer sediment, were deposited at the bottom of a deep basin.

Furthermore, the doctrine of a vertical

Oceanic Circulation helps us to account for the universal diffusion of food-supply, without which abyssal life could not be supported. Vegetation, which requires light for its power of generating organic compounds, and thereby providing nutriment for animals, cannot exist where light is not; and even the stony pink Nullipores are not found below about 300 fathoms, whilst the foliaceous sea-weeds are for the most part limited to half that depth. Now the cod which our fishermen catch on the Faroe Banks, resort thither to feed upon the star-fish and other marine animals which abound there; and these animals, in their turn, feed upon the globigerinæ which cover the sea-bed; so that we may be said really to live indirectly upon globigerinæ. But on what do the globigerinæ themselves live? The question is thus answered—we believe correctly—by Professor Wyville Thomson:—

‘All sea-water contains a certain quantity of organic matter, in solution and in suspension. Its sources are obvious. All rivers contain a considerable quantity. Every shore is surrounded by a fringe which averages a mile in width, of olive and red sea-weed. In the middle of the Atlantic there is a marine prairie, the “Sargasso Sea,” extending over 3,000,000 square miles. The sea is full of animals, which are constantly dying and decaying. The amount of organic matter derived from these and other sources by the water of the ocean is very appreciable. Careful analyses of the water were made during the several cruises of the *Porcupine*, to detect it, and to determine its amount; and the quantity everywhere was capable of being rendered manifest and estimated; and the proportion was found to be very uniform in all localities and at all depths. Nearly all the animals at extreme depths—practically all the animals, for the small number of higher forms feed upon these—belong to one sub-kingdom, the Protozoa; whose distinctive character is that they have no special organs of nutrition, but absorb nourishment through the whole surface of their jelly-like bodies. Most of these animals secrete exquisitely formed skeletons, some of silica, some of carbonate of lime. There is no doubt that they extract both these substances from the sea-water; and it seems more than probable that the organic matter which forms their soft parts is derived from the same source. It is thus quite intelligible that a world of animals may live in these dark abysses, but it is a necessary condition that they must chiefly belong to a class capable of being supported by absorption through the surface of their bodies of matter in solution, developing but little heat, and incurring a very small amount of waste by any manifestation of vital activity. According to this view it seems probable that at all periods of the Earth’s history some form of the Protozoa—rhizopoda, sponges, or both—predominated greatly over all other

forms of animal life in the depths of the warmer regions of the sea. The rhizopoda, like the corals of a shallower zone, form huge accumulations of carbonate of lime; and it is probably to their agency that we must refer most of those great bands of limestone which have resisted time and change, and come in here and there with their rich imbedded lettering to mark like milestones the progress of the passing ages.’ (p. 48.)

It is obvious, therefore, that, as was long since pointed out by Edward Forbes, who is justly lauded by Professor Wyville Thomson (‘Depths of the Sea,’ p. 6) as the pioneer in this inquiry—‘the only means of acquiring a true knowledge of the *rationale* of the distribution of our present Fauna is to make ourselves acquainted with its history, to connect the present with the past.’ Of this our author gives us a most striking illustration in the comparison instituted by Mr. Alexander Agassiz between the *Echinidea* or sea-urchins on the Pacific and Atlantic sides of the Isthmus of Panama. For while the *species* found on these two sides respectively are distinct, they belong almost universally to the same *genera*; and in most cases each genus is represented by species on each side, which resemble one another so closely in habit and appearance as to be at first sight hardly distinguishable.

‘Supposing species to be constant, this singular chain of resemblances would indicate simply the special creation on the two sides of the Isthmus of two groups of species closely resembling one another, because the circumstances under which they were placed were so similar; but admitting “descent with modification,” while gladly availing ourselves of the convenient term “representation,” we at once come to the conclusion that these nearly allied “representative species” must have descended from a common stock, and we look for the cause of their divergence. Now, on examining the Isthmus of Panama, we find that a portion of it consists of cretaceous beds, containing fossils undistinguishable from fossils from the cretaceous beds of Europe; the Isthmus must therefore have been raised into dry land in tertiary or post-tertiary times. It is difficult to doubt that the rising of this natural barrier isolated two portions of a shallow-water fauna which have since slightly diverged under rather different conditions. I quote Alexander Agassiz: “The question naturally arises, have we not in the different faunæ on both sides of the Isthmus a standard by which to measure the changes which these species have undergone since the raising of the Isthmus of Panama and the isolation of the two faunæ?”’ (p. 14.)

Few Zoologists, we apprehend, will now dissent from this conclusion; for it is a principle accepted by all philosophical naturalists, that the more extensive the range of

comparison, the wider is found to be the range of variation of specific types; so that forms which might be supposed to have had an originally distinct parentage, if only their most differentiated types be compared, are found, by the gradational character which shows itself when the comparison is instituted among a large number of intermediate types, to be genetically identical. Numerous instances of this kind have presented themselves in the study of the *Porcupine* dredgings. Thus certain sea-urchins of the Northern seas and of the Mediterranean, which have been accounted as belonging to distinct species, were found by Professor Wyville Thomson to be so gradationally connected with each other by the intermediate forms dredged along the West of Ireland, the Bay of Biscay, and the coast of Portugal, that the specific distinction altogether breaks down. And Professor Duncan, who has examined the Corals, has found not only reputed *species*, but reputed *genera*, to be specifically identical; the two forms growing as branches from the same stem. Now, as was long since laid down by Edward Forbes, species which have a wide area of *space*-distribution, have a similarly prolonged distribution in *time*; their capacity of adaptation to change of conditions operating equally in both cases. And it is just where this capacity of adaptation is the greatest, that departures from the primitive type show themselves most strongly; such departures (which often come to be so fixed and constant that they might well be accounted specific characters) being simply the results of the *pliancy* of the organism, which can adapt itself to changes of external conditions, instead of succumbing to them.

Keeping this principle in view, we now proceed to those yet more remarkable cases, in which types of animal life, which were characteristic of former geological periods, and which, from not occurring in shallow waters, were supposed to have altogether died out, have been discovered to be still holding their ground in the Deep Sea. Mention has been already made of this in the case of certain Tertiary shells; but there are other cases even more striking. The deep-sea explorations of our own countrymen may, indeed, be said to have originated in the discovery, by M. Sars junior (son of the late eminent Professor of Zoology at Christiania, and himself Inspector of Fisheries to the Swedish Government), at a depth of nearly 400 fathoms, off the Loffoden Islands, of a small Crinoid, differing in the most marked manner from any crinoid known to exist at the present time, but clearly belonging to the *Apiocrinite* family, which flourished in

the Oolitic period,—the large pear-encrinite of the Bradford Clay being its most characteristic representative, while the *Bourguetocrinus* of the Chalk seemed to be its latest. To Professor Wyville Thomson and Dr. Carpenter, who had been conjointly making a special study of this group, it was clear that the little *Rhizocrinus* of Professor Sars was a dwarfed and deformed representative of the *Apiocrinite* type, which might be fairly regarded as a degenerate descendant of the old pear-encrinite; and this encouraged them in the belief, on which they based their application for Government aid, that a large number of such ancient types might probably be found, by carrying down the exploration of the bottom by the dredge to a depth not previously thus examined. This expectation was fully justified by the result. For in their first (*Lightning*) cruise they not only found that the layer of globigerina-mud, previously brought up by the sounding-line from the surface of the sea-bed, has a thickness to which no limit can be assigned, and that in every particular the whole mass resembles chalk in process of formation, as had been previously stated by Bailey (U.S.), Huxley, Wallich, and others, in regard to the small samples they examined; but they further discovered that this bears on its surface a number of types of animals whose *facies* is essentially that of the Cretaceous period. The most remarkable of these was a beautiful siliceous Sponge, so closely corresponding in general structure with the *ventriculites* of the chalk, that no doubt could be entertained of the intimacy of their relationship. The interest excited among zoologists and palæontologists by this discovery, powerfully reinforced that which had been called forth among physicists and physical geographers by the temperature-observations taken during the same cruise; and this was fully sustained by the discoveries of the next year. For the number of Echinidan forms, peculiarly characteristic of the old Chalk, that were met with in the *Porcupine* cruises of 1869—several of which are described and beautifully figured in Professor Wyville Thomson's pages—surpassed all expectation; and some of these, as the singular 'chain-mail' urchin *Caltreria hystrix*, perpetuate special cretaceous types, which were supposed to have long since died out. The results of the dredgings simultaneously carried on by Count Pourtales in the Florida Channel, have proved singularly accordant in this particular with those obtained by our British explorers; the general character of the Echinoderm fauna there met with, bearing a singular resemblance to that of the old Chalk, although without any

identity of species; and the *Ananchytes*, one of the commonest of the Cretaceous urchins, whose type had been regarded as altogether extinct, being distinctly represented by the newly-discovered form (also included in the *Porcupine* collection) which Mr. Alexander Agassiz has described under the name *Pourtalesia*.

These facts afford a most remarkable confirmation to the doctrine of Professor Wyville Thomson, propounded in Dr. Carpenter's first report,—that the formation now going on upon the North Atlantic sea-bed is not a *repetition*, but an absolute *continuation*, of the Cretaceous; the deposit of globigerina-mud over that area having never been interrupted during the whole of the Tertiary period. The physical grounds for the belief that there has been no such change in the Atlantic basin during the whole of that period, as would have converted its bottom into dry land, have been already pointed out (p. 6); and if it has remained a deep-ocean basin during that time, it is obvious that while an interrupted succession of Tertiary deposits, imbedding terrestrial, fresh-water, estuarine, and shallow-water marine faunæ, was formed on the borders of that basin, where slight differences of level would alter the whole distribution of land and sea, an unbroken series of layers of a substance resembling the old Chalk in every essential particular, would have been formed by the continued activity of protozoic life over the newest beds of what we are accustomed to call the 'cretaceous formation,' entombing a *deep-sea* fauna, which would preserve the general *facies* of the Cretaceous, whilst differing from it in detail, as that of the upper beds of our Chalk formation differs from that of the lower. By Sir Charles Lyell it is maintained that we must regard the Cretaceous period as having come to an end with the elevation of the Chalk of Europe, and with the disappearance of the *higher* types of the cretaceous fauna, such as its characteristic Fishes and chambered Cephalopods. But Mr. Prestwich has supplied an adequate *vera causa* for this extinction, in the establishment at this period of a free communication between the polar area and the cretaceous sea, which he regards (on quite independent grounds) as having been previously cut off from it by an intervening continent. The reduction of temperature thus produced would have killed off all the inhabitants of the upper waters which were dependent on a warmth approaching the tropical; whilst those which could adapt themselves to the change would have maintained their ground (with more or less of

modification in structure), and would in turn leave their remains to be entombed in the ever-accumulating mass of globigerina-mud. That scarcely any of the molluscs, echinoderms, or corals of the present deposit can be *specifically* identified with those of the old Chalk, is exactly (as is justly remarked by Professor Wyville Thomson) what might be fairly expected, in consideration of the various changes which must have occurred since the commencement of the Tertiary epoch, in the various conditions of their existence. 'The utmost which can be expected is the persistence of some of the old generic types, with such a resemblance between the two faunæ as to justify the opinion that, making due allowance for emigration, immigration, and extermination, the later fauna bears to the earlier the relation of descent with extreme modification.'

We must content ourselves with indicating another very important bearing which these Deep-Sea researches must have upon Geological theory—the modification they necessitate of the *glacial* doctrine. For it now becomes obvious, as Dr. Carpenter pointed out in his second report, that as the climate of the sea-bottom has no relation whatever to that of the land (a glacial temperature now prevailing over the Equatorial sea-bed), the presence of Arctic types in any marine formation can no longer be accepted as furnishing evidence *per se* of the general extension of glacial action into temperate or tropical regions. If, as Dr. Carpenter maintains, the underflow of Polar water towards the Equator is sustained by the disturbance of equilibrium produced by thermal agency alone, then such an underflow must have taken place in all geological periods, provided that there existed a free and deep communication between the polar and the equatorial areas. By Professor Wyville Thomson, on the other hand, it is maintained that the polar underflow is the result of the deflection of the equatorial current, by the opposition of land, northwards and southwards, so as to occasion an indraught which this underflow tends to fill; and on this hypothesis, if there were a free passage for the equatorial current through Central America into the Pacific, as there would be no Gulf Stream, there would be no polar underflow; so that in any former geological period in which any such conditions may have existed, the temperature of the equatorial seabottom would not have been depressed, however free may have been its communication with the polar areas. This is tantamount to saying that an enormous disturbance of fluid equilibrium must have been

constantly in existence, without producing any movement—a proposition which no Mechanical philosopher can accept.

We cannot more appropriately conclude this exposition, than by the following citation from the lecture at the Royal Institution (April 9, 1869), in which Dr. Carpenter presented to the public the results of the tentative *Lightning* cruise of the previous year:—

‘The *facts* I have now brought before you, still more the *speculations* which I have ventured to connect with them, may seem to unsettle much that has been generally accredited in Geological science, and thus to diminish rather than to augment our stock of positive knowledge; but this is the necessary result of the introduction of a *new idea* into any department of scientific inquiry. Like the flood which tests the security of every foundation that stands in the way of its onward rush, overthrowing the house built only on the sand, but leaving unharmed the edifice which rests secure on the solid rock, so does a new method of research, a new series of facts, or a new application of facts previously known, come to bear with impetuous force on a whole fabric of doctrine, and subject it to an undermining power which nothing can resist, save that which rests on the solid rock of truth. And it is here that the moral value of scientific study, pursued in a spirit worthy of its elevated aims, pre-eminently shows itself. For, as was grandly said by Schiller in his admirable contrast between the “trader in science” and the “true philosopher,”—“New discoveries in the field of his activity which depress the one enrapture the other. Perhaps they fill a chasm which the growth of his ideas had rendered more wide and unseemly; or they place the last stone, the only one wanting to the completion of the structure of his ideas. But even should they shiver it into ruins, should a new series of ideas, a new aspect of nature, a newly discovered law in the physical world, overthrow the whole fabric of his knowledge, *he has always loved truth better than his system*, and gladly will he exchange her old and defective form for a new and fairer one.”’

ART. II.—David Friedrich Strauss.

In the last letter of John Sterling, or the last that has been made public, to his ‘guide, philosopher, and friend,’ written as the shadows of approaching death were darkening around him, he said—‘I tread the common road into the great darkness without any thought of fear, and with very much of hope. Certainty, indeed, I have none.’

Much more cheerless were the last hours of Strauss. The ‘hope’ to which Sterling clung after all his doubts found no place in the breast of the German sceptic. Long years before he had torn it up by the roots, and although the deep human instinct may sometimes have asserted its influence in spite of him, he gave it no conscious welcome, but looked steadily into the ‘great darkness,’ and saw only a blank void. Scepticism had hardened into dogmatic disbelief; and boldly asserting that he had faithfully done his work on earth, and fulfilled the part to which he was called in the economy of the universe, Strauss calmly awaited for the death which to him was the end of all. That he always maintained the same stolid attitude, untroubled by either fears or hopes as to the future, may be doubted, just because he was a man, and had the human nature in which ‘conscience doth make cowards of us all.’ But the self-possession of Strauss, in view of the end he had contemplated for years, and the gradual approach of which he had observed, without to all outward seeming flinching or alarm, was notable. The German novelist, Auerbach, who was an intimate friend of the author of the ‘Life of Jesus,’ has published an account of his last interview with him a few months before his death. Strauss had suffered for years from a painful and incurable malady. When Auerbach visited him last October at Ludwigsburg—his native place, to which he had returned to die—he found him lying on the sofa with Dietrich’s picture of the death of Socrates hanging over him. ‘He spoke with great composure about his certain early death. He had made the doctors promise to tell him the whole truth regarding his condition.’ He talked with cheerfulness of his family, of whom he was very fond, and about the arrangements for the publication of an edition of his works after his death. His worst privation was that he had no opportunities, now he was confined to his room, of hearing good music, in which he greatly delighted.

‘When I left Strauss that day in October (says Auerbach) he accompanied me through the ante-room. We were both overcome by the thought of parting, for we knew we had seen each other for the last time. On the 21st of December he wrote me—“My strength is slowly but surely ebbing away. As you know, I am content. *Satis est!* as used to be said, when the masters had heard enough of a trial sermon” (referring to the theological classes at Tübingen). On his last birthday, the 27th January, I sent him an engraving of a portrait of Spinoza. Afterwards I received the following acknowledgment written on a visiting card, the last message I was to have

from him:—"Carissimo Syspinozistæ et amico suo B. Auerbach pro egregia communis magistri imagine gratias breves quidem sed ingenuas agit Symmysta et amicus ægrotus, L. 29 Jan., 74. "D. F. Strauss."

He died ten days after, firm apparently in the no-faith of the 'common master,' Spinoza, believing that with death was the end of conscious life, and that spirit with body returned to the dust, of the cunning combinations of which it was but the transient chemical function. Admiring friends pronounced laudatory orations over his grave, and spoke of him in terms not only of respect, but evidently of deep and sincere affection.

Strauss is not the first, and will not probably be the last, great unbeliever who has died the death of a Stoic after a life spent in combating the truths of both natural and revealed religion. There is something inexpressibly sad in the picture of the solitary old man living out his last days in the hired lodgings of his native place, and beating down all approaches of remorseful thought by the proud consciousness that he had been and done all that could be required of him. In the introduction to 'The Old Faith and the New' he wrote:—

'I have now for nearly forty years followed the same line of literary activity. I have constantly fought for that which seemed to me to be true, and yet more, perhaps, against that which I deemed false, and I am now on the threshold of old age. At such a time every earnest-minded man hears the inward monition, "Give account of thy stewardship, for thou mayest be no longer steward." I do not think I have been an unfaithful steward—an unskilful and even negligent one, Heaven knows; but on the whole I have done what the strength and impulses within me enabled me to do, without looking to the right hand or the left, without seeking any man's favour or fearing any man's frown.'

These haughty words were echoed over his tomb by one of the speakers, who closed his funeral oration with them as the epitaph which best befitted the author of 'The Life of Jesus,' and 'The Old Faith and the New.'

That the self-satisfaction on which Strauss thus nursed his pride was not rooted in pure stoicism, but was also fostered by vanity, cannot be doubted by those who have read the author's defence of his last work, when he found it was severely attacked in both Germany and England. The petulance of wounded self-love was never more clearly revealed than in the lamentations of Strauss over the assaults of his critics. He contrasts the eulogy that formerly delighted him, when he was proclaimed the first prose writ-

er of his time, and when his letters to Renan during the war with France made him a national hero, with the changed tone and attitude of his countrymen since he had declared himself the champion of materialism. He cannot understand why assaults on all that is dearest to humanity should have repelled their sympathy, and seeks explanation by attributing discreditable motives to his opponents. Such effeminate sensitiveness ill accords with the lofty scorn of all things mean and base usually associated with stoicism. We have no wish to detract from the seeming nobility of Strauss's attitude when face to face with the great enemy, but his impassivity was too deeply tinged with personal vanity to permit us to see in it even the calm unconcern which we witness in Spinoza.

It is nearly forty years since Strauss first startled the world with his 'Life of Jesus.' He was then in his twenty-eighth year, and occupied the office of assistant professor (Repetent) in the theological seminary of Tübingen, at the university of which place he also lectured on philosophy. As was natural with a work which aimed at proving that the supernatural element in the Gospel narrative was purely mythical, the result of legends that had gradually taken shape among the early Christians, growing up around the idea of the Messiah as presented in the Old Testament, it excited much opposition and called forth numerous criticisms and refutations. Strauss was then unknown to fame, though he had written some articles of a philosophical and critical character. Chief of these were two printed in the 'Berlin Jahrbücher,' in which he anticipated the leading ideas of the later work. One of the two, in criticising Rosenkranz's 'Encyclopædie,' developed the thought that as Nature was only the external appearance of the 'idea,' the conception of creation was unphilosophical. As miracles are interruptions of the ordinary course of Nature through the direct action of the Creator, the same objection was applied to them. Here was the philosophical radicle of the 'Leben Jesu.' Its critical roots are to be found in the other of the two articles, in which Strauss strove to show that the Scripture story is self-contradictory, and sought to lay the foundations of his myth doctrine regarding the miracles and life of Jesus. At this time Strauss still spoke of Jesus as the greatest religious genius the world had known. While contesting the historical reality of miracles, which were pronounced physically and psychologically impossible, Strauss nevertheless attributed to them an ideal value and truth. The infinite was rea-

lized in the finite, though only in humanity, not in the person of Jesus.

It was as a disciple of Hegel that Strauss wrote his 'Life of Jesus,' and its publication precipitated the crisis which shattered the Hegelian school, and paved the way to the overthrow of that philosophy. But if the admirers of Strauss cannot claim philosophical originality for their master, neither can they fairly assert originality for him in regard to his theory of myths. More than forty years before his 'Life of Jesus' appeared, Schelling, while a mere youth, applied the doctrine of myths to the historical explanation of the early period of the life of Jesus, according to Luke and Matthew, though after a much less destructive fashion. Schelling afterwards maintained that myths and legends could only gather round a life already remarkable and distinguished, and even in youth, he held the historical reality of Our Lord's Resurrection. Only if the Person of Christ were what Christians believe (he maintained), could the narratives have originated which are called myths. That is to say, we should have to accept the exalted nature of the Person of Jesus, in order to explain the origin of such legends. It is not so much they that are necessary in order to establish Christ's nobility, as that is essential in order to account for the Gospels. The great difference between this view and that of Strauss is that the latter rejected the reality which required explanation, according to his fundamental principle—more and more extended as the years went on—that religion is subjective, and that there is no external reality corresponding to the inward disposition. From the positions of the 'Leben Jesu' to those of 'The Old Faith and the New,' was a long step, but the path which was to lead to the materialism and atheism of the latter work was entered upon in the former. That was to be the end of the forty years of literary activity, begun with the principle of accounting for the realities of religion by the play of man's imagination. It may be of use to trace more closely the character of the process, and in order to do that we must first look at the earlier period of Dr. Strauss's life.

Born 27th January, 1808, at Ludwigsburg, in Württemberg—the Fatherland of Kepler, and of Schelling and Hegel—David Frederick Strauss received his early education at the school of his native town. His father was a merchant; but the boy was more moulded and impressed, through the influence of his mother, a woman of quick sensibility and readiness, for whom he has left on record his hearty love and admiration. From the first the young Strauss was

of a weakly nature physically, and of quiet and rather retiring disposition; more given to his books than to take part in the rougher sports of his young companions. After receiving such intellectual training as his native place could supply, and having at an early age exhibited a decided preference for the clerical profession, Strauss in the autumn of 1821 was sent to the Evangelical Theological Seminary of Blaubeuren, whence in due course he passed to the theological school and University of Tübingen. The seminary at Blaubeuren, in which he was installed in his fourteenth year, had at one time been a Benedictine convent, for which purpose it was founded towards the close of the eleventh century. At the Reformation it was transformed into a preparatory institution for the training of future clergymen of the Evangelical Church, and, with only brief interruptions, had maintained that character since. It was managed by a president, called an Ephorus; and besides the two professors who taught theology, there were two assistants, or overseers of studies, named 'Repetenten.' The building contained four large rooms and as many sleeping apartments, each furnished for ten pupils, and between each two was the room of a 'Repetent,' the doors of which, leading to the rooms of the students, remained open during the hours of work, to allow opportunity for observing the studies of the young men. The following was the usual order of the day's proceedings. The bell of the establishment was sounded at half-past five in winter and at five in summer mornings, as the signal for rising. After a quarter of an hour for prayers, at which all must be present, there was an interval for private study till breakfast time, at seven. Then came the college exercises, lasting above four hours in the forenoon, two hours for private instruction in the afternoon, an interval for private study till supper, evening prayers at nine; and the pupils might then either retire to bed or further continue study till ten o'clock. From this regular course Wednesday afternoon and Thursday mornings, were exceptions; during which a Latin, or a Greek or Hebrew exercise (called a *Hettnadar*), with Latin verses, must be prepared. On Sundays a couple of hours were devoted to religious instruction, and the rest of the day, so far as not occupied with attending at church, was devoted to visiting.

At this time the two Professors at Blaubeuren were Baur and Kern—the former of whom afterwards won great reputation as an academic teacher and theological writer at Tübingen. Kern was also well known afterwards in the same place, the

never so celebrated as his colleague. He was (Strauss says) an excellent teacher at Blaubeuren. The work of the two professors was so apportioned that Baur selected the Greek and Roman prose writers, and Kern the poets; while the latter also added logic and psychology, and the former ancient history and mythology. 'It would be difficult to say' (wrote Strauss, long afterwards) 'to which of them we owed most instruction and enjoyment—whether to Baur, in reading Herodotus, Livy, or Tacitus; or to Kern, in studying Homer, Virgil, and Sophocles.' Baur's expositions were the more critical and philosophical, through Herodotus introducing the students to the higher mythology, and through Livy to the problems of Niebuhr's historical criticism. Kern, on the other hand, through his treatment of the classical poets, and afterwards of the Psalms and prophets, elevated and inspired with fresh enthusiasm the minds of his hearers. In the former he was Heyne's, and in the latter Herder's pupil. The influence of both was great, and they were both held in profound admiration by the students. At the head of the institution as Ephorus was Reuss, whose rule was of a genial and indulgent character. He was fond of sending the students on excursions in the country, under the care of a 'Repetent,' which were of use to their bodily health. In intellectual gifts he was not to be compared with the professors. There were frequent changes among the 'Repetenten,' of whom only two—Eipper and Bührer—were afterwards remembered by Strauss as having contributed to his intellectual progress. Among the forty seminarists were several besides Strauss who were destined to win some measure of distinction, as William Zimmermann, subsequently known both by his historical and poetical works, and a member of the Parliaments at Frankfort and Stuttgart, and Fr. Vischer, who has written about Strauss. The most intimate of Strauss's companions was Christian Märklin, inasmuch as there was not only a personal friendship but close sympathy in study, and in the results of their inquiries, between the two. Although Blaubeuren is a small and unattractive town, and the inhabitants at that time were not remarkable for their culture, a few families among them were given to hospitality; and through them the young seminarists tasted the pleasures of social intercourse. The period of residence in the cloister was four years, and the strictness of its discipline was such that none of the inmates were allowed, under penalties, to enter a public-house, to take a glass of beer, or to smoke, though neither of these rules

could always be strictly enforced upon the youths of seventeen and eighteen years of age who were there. Altogether the four years Strauss spent at Blaubeuren were a happy period for him, and the source of many pleasant memories in after life. When the time came for leaving it, to go to the 'Stift' at Tübingen, it was not without many keen regrets that he parted from the professors he had learned to esteem, and whose equals he was doubtful of finding at the University, as well as from the pleasant society and walks of the neighbourhood.

The attractive situation and surroundings of Tübingen are well known. Here of course Strauss was introduced to a freer life than was allowed to the Blaubeuren seminarists, the supervision exercised over the students being less strict. In 1825, when he went to the Tübingen 'Stift,' the term of theological study was five years; the two first of which were devoted to philosophical, and the three last to theological studies. Under the former were included philology and history; but Strauss soon saw cause to lament that he found no guides like Baur and Kern in philosophy. In philology, mere grammar and criticism of the text was everything, no attempt being made to penetrate to the spirit and essence of the authors studied. Long afterwards the remembrance of Tafel's (one of the professors) 'Pindar' was a memory of horror to Strauss. In philosophy proper, Schott, Eschenmayer, and Sigwart were the teachers; and of the three the last alone was held in much esteem; but though a man of cultivated powers and much knowledge he was of too indolent a disposition to inspire enthusiasm. Eschenmayer's 'mysticism' was even at that time repugnant to Strauss, Märklin, and their companions. The deficiencies of the professors were not compensated for by the 'Repetenten,' who seem to have been poorly equipped for their work, and the result was that the students with philosophical aptitudes were driven to rely upon private study. Kant was read, but was found dry and hard. Jacobi was more attractive to the young philosophers, but Schelling produced the deepest impression on Strauss. The mystical pantheism of that thinker was then uncorrected by his later powerful historical 'construction' of Christianity. His influence upon Strauss was evidently great; and it is curious, in view of what was to be afterwards, to find the author of 'The Old Faith and the New,' so late as 1851, attributing to Schelling that he had been preserved from the arid wastes of materialism and rationalism!

In theology, when Strauss went to the

university, Ernest Bengel, grandson of the well-known Johann Albrecht Bengel, was in the ascendant, and though not free from the taint of rationalism, the influence of Storr saved him from some of its worst excesses. Storr's influence, however, was checked by the philosophy of Kant, which led Bengel to seek a theology within the limits of the pure reason. It is not wonderful, therefore, if he exhibited leanings to Socinianism. It was probably from him that Strauss received his first impulse towards rationalism. He died suddenly early in Strauss's university career; and in the autumn of 1826 Baur and Kern were brought to Tübingen, where they originated a new theological and philosophical epoch, by unfurling the banner of the Schleiermacher theology. From this time the old Tübingen school of Storr visibly dwindled, and disappeared later with Steudel, while the new scientific school of Baur and his disciples began to flourish. Strauss and his fellow-students were of course overjoyed to welcome their old Blaubeuren teachers to Tübingen. The only lecturer from whom they heard the old orthodox views was Steudel, in his lectures on apologetics and Old Testament theology. After Steudel's death the rationalizing spirit had free course at Tübingen. Both Strauss and Märklin now stood on the ground of the pantheism of Schelling. The personality of God was incredible to them. Self-consciousness (as Märklin has written) was only the expression of the life of the spirit, as developing in time, while God must be thought of as out of time. The personification of Deity was the result of human weakness, since man must conceive everything under the finite forms of the understanding. It is true both Strauss and Märklin still dreamt of the possibility of reconciling their Pantheism with Christianity; but what is Christianity without a personal God and a self-conscious immortality? For Strauss had early cherished doubts, first, regarding the Resurrection of our Lord, and then as to immortality. Gradually the whole attitude of his nature became one of hostility to the old doctrines on which formerly he had been nourished. With the abandonment of the historical reality of the Resurrection everything was really given up, though it required time to develop his scepticism to its final issues. The influence of Schleiermacher temporarily arrested him in his headlong career; and while counteracting the tendency to philosophical pantheism he inspired Strauss with the hope of restoring to him the God he had lost, and giving him again the Christ against whom he had rebelled. What attracted Strauss to Schleier-

ermacher was the fact that the latter did not require him to accept the principle of authority in revelation, but referred him to the self-consciousness of man. The pious self-consciousness from which Schleiermacher started, and from which he promised to deduce all Christian doctrines, was no doubt different from the philosophical consciousness; but the latter, it was alleged, would control the former; and it was asserted that these two activities of the free human spirit could never contradict each other—a position which Strauss deemed preferable to acceptance of a supernatural revelation. The principle of Schleiermacher that the doctrines of the Christian faith were only determinations of pious feeling, was in fact the root from which all the heresies and errors of Strauss himself might have grown forth. While this theological tendency was fostered by Schleiermacher's influence, on the other hand, Baur's lectures encouraged a negative criticism, by which might be got rid of all that was supernatural in the historical element of revelation. But another influence had yet to be added to complete the revolution of thought in Strauss, and that was supplied by the philosophy of Hegel. Hegel's 'Phänomenologie' was recommended to Strauss and Märklin by Zimmermann, their old Blaubeuren comrade, who coming to Tübingen from Berlin, spoke with scorn of their idols, Schelling and Schleiermacher. Accordingly the friends set themselves to study the incomprehensible work. 'In the "Phänomenologie," (said Strauss) 'Hegel's genius is at its best;—his "Logic," "Philosophies of Right, Religion, and History," his "Æsthetics," and his "History of Philosophy" all are but blocks cut from the quarry of the "Phänomenologie."' The enthusiastic students who devoted themselves to unravel the intricacies of the Hegelian thought read over at their own homes the extracts to be studied, and then met, re-read, and talked about them on Sunday forenoons. Any remnants of Christianity soon disappeared; for it came to be regarded by Strauss as the creation of human thought. Miracles and all supernatural elements were of course to be got rid of by historical and philosophical criticism; and what remained would be but a chapter in the history of thought. Thus he was prepared by his Tübingen studies for his 'Leben Jesu.'

Strauss passed his theological examinations at Tübingen with much distinction, and immediately afterwards (in 1830) we find him a 'Pfarr-Vicar,' and in 1831 a 'Repetent' at the seminary at Maulbronn. He returned from thence in the following year

to his old quarters at Tübingen, where he was appointed 'Repetent.' Before going back to Tübingen he went to Berlin to study at its source the philosophy of Hegel, who had been suddenly cut off by cholera, and to hear the lectures of Schleiermacher, whom he came to know personally. Full of the fresh impulses thus communicated, he delivered lectures on philosophy and worked at his 'Life of Jesus.' The storm aroused by the publication of that work—which in another sense than is meant by Strauss's admirers created an epoch in Germany's religious thought—in the year 1835 compelled Strauss to leave Tübingen. He was appointed teacher in the Lyceum of his native town, but resigned the office in 1836, and devoted himself to private teaching in Stuttgart and to preparing literary works. While here he brought out his 'Streitschriften,' in three parts, in reply to his numerous critics. He also devoted himself to the study of dogmatics, though the result of his labours did not appear till 1840, when he published 'Die Christliche Glaubenslehre in ihrer geschichtlicher Entwicklung' and in ihrer Kämpfe mit der modernen Wissenschaft,' in two volumes. Previous to this he had been called to Zürich to be professor of Dogmatics and Church History; but so keen was the antagonism evoked by the appointment, that not only had Strauss to retire, but the overthrow of the Government, who were his patrons, was the consequence. The hope of a life of academic activity to which he had looked forward was thus again blasted, a fact which did not fail to excite in him bitterness against his energetic opponents. The year 1840 was noteworthy in the life of Strauss as that in which he married Agnes Schebest, of Vienna, a once celebrated vocalist and actress, who made a favourable impression at some of the chief theatres of Germany, and who was, besides, a woman of some intellectual capacity. The marriage was an unhappy one and soon resulted in a separation. Two children, a son and a daughter, the consolation of Strauss's later life, were the fruits of the union.

From this time, except for a brief appearance in the political arena, in the narrow sphere of his native State, Strauss lived in retirement, occupied with literary work, residing at Heilbronn, or Heidelberg, Munich or Darmstadt, Bonn or Berlin, as he had occasion. After a silence of some years he published, in 1847, 'The Romanticist on the throne of the Cæsars; or, Julian the Apostate,' in which an attempted parallel between the latter and King Frederick William IV. of Prussia excited no little attention. The fol-

lowing year saw him a candidate for the German Parliament, on which occasion he published his 'Six theologico-political addresses to the people.' Being stoutly opposed by the clerical party he was defeated; but was afterwards elected member of the Württemberg Landtag for his native place. To the surprise and disappointment of his political supporters, who took him for a Democrat, he came out as a strong Conservative, and he found it desirable to resign his mandate into the hands of the electors in December, 1848. From this time forward Strauss's life was an uneventful one, of quiet and even tenour, the only incidents in which were his numerous works. The best known of these out of Germany is the edition of his 'Life of Jesus,' re-edited for the German people, which he brought out in 1864. Its issue was prompted by the appearance of Renan's 'Life of Jesus.' The same year he printed an attack on Hengstenberg and Schenkel under the title of 'Die Halben und Ganzen.' His letters to Renan during the Franco-German war are fresh in the public memory. In purely literary respects, his essays on Ulrich von Hutten and Voltaire deserve all the praise that has been so liberally bestowed on them, and it would not be easy to surpass the clearness and point of his biographical sketches, as seen for instance in his life of his friend Märklin. In 1865 appeared 'The Christ of Faith and the Jesus of History,' in answer to Schleiermacher's 'Life of Jesus.' But extreme as were his anti-Christian views, as seen from this and others of his theological and critical works, neither in England nor Germany were the public prepared for the rapid descent from the pantheistic idealism of his early years to the blank atheism and materialism expounded in 'The Old Faith and the New.' Yet a little consideration will show that it was not unnatural or improbable. We have seen that at Tübingen Strauss was deeply influenced in philosophy by Hegel, in theology by Schleiermacher, and in criticism by Baur. The 'Leben Jesu' was the result. But the fundamental idea of that book, which his admirers regard as founding a new era in thought, is that Christianity is the result of natural forces. This is the inevitable corollary from the position that all things have become what we see them through a process of natural development. In such a scheme of thought man is a rational animal, the result of mechanical forces in operation through immense periods of time. Whether viewed from the ideal or from the material side the result will be substantially the same. The philosophy of Hegel and the philosophy of Herbert Spencer here agree.

Physical science has come to the help of metaphysical, and both rejoice in eliminating the supernatural.

A blank atheism and a cheerless materialism, all the more mischievous because less dogmatic than the older materialism, is the issue to which we are thus brought. The only difference between Germany and England is that in the former the logical result has been expounded with more plainness of speech than in the latter. Strauss came forward in his last work as the preacher of a 'new faith' which—as the result of modern science and inquiry—he opposed to the 'old faith.' Under the 'new faith' we are called upon to adore the Universum, or World-all, which, though a mere mighty machine, without consciousness and will, we are told we ought to worship. This is but the pantheism of the earlier writers from a material side. It is indeed remarkable with what exceeding swiftness sceptical thought has advanced in recent years to these extreme positions. Doubt as to the authority of Holy Scriptures soon ripened into denial of the claims of the Bible, as a revelation from God. From the attitude of critics capable of separating between the substance and the 'dross' sceptics advanced to an absolute rejection of its authority. Rationalism emptied it of its supernatural contents, leaving behind only the ethics of the New Testament. The Old Testament was first declared to be a record of Oriental history and ideas only—a 'bundle of Hebrew old clothes,' as it has been irreverently put. Then came discrimination between the different parts of the New. The comments of St. Paul and other apostles on the work of Christ were found to be Jewish; the Gospels alone were said to contain the essence of Christianity. The Person of Jesus was exalted, and attempts were made to reconcile His teachings with philosophy. In time, having got rid of the Old Testament miracles, those of the New were attacked in turn. The essence of Christianity was said to be in the words of Jesus, who was the perfect man. But if the miracles of Jesus were myths, might not He Himself be the same? Could the union of the Divine and human natures be anything but man's ideal perfection? Was not Humanity the real Son of God, in whom finite and infinite are one? The historical reality of Christ as the Son of God was no longer thought necessary; the myth of man's ideal perfection had originated the idea. Thus was the Gospel emptied of reality. But the last step was not taken, Modern science came to the help of metaphysics. If all things were explicable as the development of the system of things we

know and see, why keep the idea of the supernatural at all? And if that be swept away, if all that God has left as a witness of Himself be obliterated, why retain the name of God, which only hides our ignorance? Is He not the mere creation of our own thought Whom our imagination has endowed with ideal attributes? When Christ as the Revealer of God is denied, why should it seem strange if afterwards God himself be rejected? The elimination of the supernatural leaves only the natural. And as science happened to be making progress in unfolding to us the course and processes of the natural order, men have betaken themselves to it and leave humanity Christ-less and God-less.

It was inevitable that to this issue matters should at length come. Once part with the revelation of God in Christ, and abjure the authority of the Word which testifies of Christ, and there is no logical halting-place short of a negative atheism, or an equally Godless pantheism. There is nothing new in such a course of things. More than two centuries ago Spinoza was brought from similar premises to the same conclusion. He preceded our modern rationalists in eliminating the supernatural from God's revelation of himself. And he anticipated those who deny a Personal God and the champions of pantheism by a doctrine of evolution more massive and comprehensive than any our present-day physicists have offered us. The influence of Spinoza, after long lying dormant, was revived towards the end of last century in Germany. The whole course of German thought has been largely affected by that philosopher. The Hegelianism which is the last word of German metaphysics, is an idealized Spinozism. Strauss started as a Hegelian, and has ended in a futile effort to reconcile idealism and materialism, which results in materialism pure and simple.

We have said that the root of Strauss's errors, so far as their intellectual causes may be traced, lay in his rejection of the objective reality of religion, and the attempt to reduce all doctrines and dogmas of the Christian faith to the level of expressions of pious feeling. It is the acceptance or rejection of the historical which will determine man's attitude towards Christianity. It is by reading the past by help of the present, by applying to the explanation of experience in history the light flashed in upon the spirit of man under the leading of God's Spirit, that we can alone solve the enigmas of both past and present. Those who ignore man's spiritual nature, and apply the teachings of external experience alone to explain

the facts and laws of human life, must go astray. God's revelation of Himself is a revelation in history. The Word made flesh showed forth the Father, and the written Word testifies of Him. Christianity is not a system of doctrines or a code of ethics alone. Christ was not merely an example and a teacher. Christianity is a system of facts and a bringing to light of the deepest laws of the spiritual world. Christ as the God Man is the centre of history, because he was the door of Creation. Christianity was prepared from before the foundation of the world; and in it we have the manifestation of the mystery of Creation. We are not the denizens of an abstract or universal world, which we may represent as what we please. 'We cannot,' says Schelling, 'sublate (or take away) an infinite past on which the present rests.' The order in which we are has been made what it is through the past. Christ unfolded the principles of that order, and the revelation, like all God's revelations of Himself, was not given in words alone, but in deeds. The written Word harmonizes with the Word made flesh, for it is a record of acts, of God's dealing with His people. There is an organic completeness in the Word which testifies of Christ parallel with the completeness of the work of Him who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

But is it not enough, it may be asked, if we know and worship God in the Spirit? Doubtless, but that can only be done in truth, as Christ has taught us, when we worship the true God; that is, God as He has revealed Himself by His acts and not an abstract idol, an ideal of our own creation. In the Church of Christ there has been too much a tendency to sink the economy in the theology, and to exalt abstract dogma at the expense of historical facts. We are now admonished by the signs of the times to look more to the reality of God's revelation of Himself in His Son, which the Holy Spirit has made plain for us in the Scriptures, than to theories and doctrines about the revelation. Christ and Christianity are not isolated and mysterious phenomena. They alone give the key by which it is possible to explain human life and experience. They do so because Christ is the sure foundation on which the true order of human life can alone be built. Christianity is the series of acts, of events, of which the Person of Christ is the living centre. This being so, the value of the historical as the sphere in which God has revealed himself, the field in which He has chosen to unfold His nature and character, becomes apparent. And it thus also becomes evident how all at-

tempts to read the riddle of the universe apart from the revelation of God in history must prove abortive.

In Strauss we have a prominent instance of the results to which it is natural to come if the one-sided method of interpretation which ignores man's spiritual experience be adopted. If it can be shown that he does not, and cannot, from his point of view, account for the facts which that presents, the fundamental unreasonableness of his views will be evident. Of course Strauss got rid of the Bible as an inspired and authoritative record of God's will long ago. By his myth theory he also got rid of Christ as the one Mediator between God and man. The denial of the supernatural was implied in his principles, and from thence the descent has been rapid and easy to the denial of God and immortality. The intellectual key to Strauss's position, which has opened the way before him towards the abyss of practical atheism, is the refusal to learn from the past in regard to religious beliefs. He throws each man back upon his isolated self, and upon his own reasoning powers, and in the light of modern science, asserts that man must part with his Personal God, and abandon the hope of immortality. One peculiarity of Strauss in his later utterances is that he appeals to 'faith.' He acknowledges that he has not attained to scientific certainty in regard to first principles. To the 'old faith' he opposes a 'new' one. We cannot (he says in the 'preface' published after his last work) 'be satisfied in substituting a new mode of regarding the universe for the old Church belief, with what we are able to prove by induction. We must add that which on this foundation appears to be required by thought as its presupposition, and also as its result.' Strauss does not abolish 'faith,' he only changes its objects.

On the facts found by induction he erects a theory of life which involves a bastard metaphysic and a Godless theology. It results in a dogmatic materialism that annihilates the soul, reduces life to a physico-chemical mechanism, and makes thought a secretion of the brain. This theory is a scheme of unity. By short steps through immense periods of time the infinite variety of present existences have developed from a common root. An infinitely mobile matter undergoing multitudinous decompositions, mixtures and recompositions, rising to forms and functions ever more complicated, from those that are more simple, and describing an eternal circle of appearances, dissolutions, and reappearances—such is the universe as conceived by Strauss. Motion, under certain conditions, is converted into heat.

Why, under other conditions, might it not become sensation, thought? The earth was at first a ball of vapour which by gravitation drew towards its centre, and gradually cooled down by radiation of its heat until the gaseous mass thickened into molten fire, and then to a solid crust. When the cooling process had gone so far that the ascending vapours became clouds which fell again as rain, the mighty part played by water in the economy of the world commenced and made possible the origin of organic life. The first germ of life is the original cell, which must thus have come by spontaneous generation. Strauss admits that science has not solved the difficulty of spontaneous generation; that is, the production of an organic individual, of however rude and imperfect a form, out of chemical and morphological processes which have taken place, not in the egg or the womb, but in external matter. But even though we cannot show spontaneous generation now, he argues, this does not prove it did not take place in another period under wholly different conditions. He concludes that the origin of life in its rudest form did so take place. This rudest form is even known in experience. He asserts that the transition from the inorganic to the organic has been made by Huxley and Hæckel, who have shown us self-nourishing structureless germs without organs. The gulf between the organic and the inorganic exists only in man's imagination; it is not in Nature. What is called the life force has no existence, as the bearer of life, has no special element which does not exist in inorganic bodies as well; only the motion of the stuff is the characteristic, and life is but a complicated kind of mechanism. There is no absolutely new element introduced, but only varieties of combination and motion of the elements and forces previously there; whereby under the different conditions of primeval time, with wholly different temperatures, atmospheres, &c., the 'miracle' of life began. Having obtained this beginning, Mr. Darwin's doctrine will do the rest. Darwin has shut the door for ever upon miracles. He has given the principle of development by means of which the origin and growth of organic life can be explained. 'Short steps and immense periods of time' are the magic formulæ by which the riddle of the universe is read. Thus are accounted for the great variety of organic structures which find their completion and keystone in man. Thought, which is man's highest property, is really no more wonderful than the rudest sensation of the lowest form of life. The brain and the nervous system give the motion from which we have

feeling, as heat is produced by the same cause, and sensation develops into thought.

What is the one great fact which Strauss in all this has derived from modern science? It is that of the continuity of Nature, and her processes. Nature or the external system of things in which we all play our parts is, on analysis, found to be a system of forces. Matter is the sensible appearance of force. But the forces at work must be adequate to the effects they produce. Suppose we have accepted the fact of continuity, as a law of Nature—universal process and progress—all we have said is that, in some way or other, there were in the forces in actual existence causal elements which found opportunity of manifestation under certain conditions, and when these were realized, the effects appeared. In the world while yet without living organisms, for example, there were forces capable of organizing life which, when the appropriate conditions were found, emerged from the midst of the physico-chemical forces and subordinated these to their ends. 'Why not?' asks M. Réville, pertinently, 'have resort to the same hypothesis for the rational force which could only appear in the human organism? On this hypothesis the principle of continuity is not injured, but it is only better comprehended.' Man's twofold nature as animal and rational, would thus also be explained. In this view the unknown force by which man was made a rational being pre-existed, but could only manifest itself when it obtained an organ like the human brain, and in order to continue to produce its effects, the brain must continue properly constituted. Thus might be explained the vague and fugitive gleams of rational life observable in the animal kingdom. The latent force begins to act, but it can only fully appear in man. On this field physiology and psychology might co-operate, mutually aiding instead of combating each other.

But it is obvious that on such a theory the acceptance of thought, intelligence, design, controlling and regulating the process of the development of natural forces is indispensable. It is impossible to suppose that the thought and reason which make their appearance in the world when the material conditions are suitable can either be there by chance or can have been developed from nothing. It is impossible to believe that sexual selection, the struggle for existence, and 'heredity' could have been adequate to the enormous multiplicity of phenomena offered to us in ascending circles, and which at length bloom forth in human thought and reason. Not only has development—the short steps through immense periods of

time'—not accounted for these facts, but it cannot possibly do so. Grant all it claims, and the fact remains that development taken on its own ground can represent nothing beyond the order in time in which things appear, it cannot give us the actually-producing or creative power by which they were brought into existence. It can even be demonstrated that the immense periods which development requires cannot be granted; that our planetary system is of later date than is required by the theory. But if this difficulty be got rid of or evaded, the fact remains that there are elements in existence which could not have been developed through any multiplication of the ages, for the appearance of which we are compelled to assume the existence of special causes.

Strauss is compelled to acknowledge in the 'Nachwort als Vorwort' that he has outstripped the naturalists he takes as his guides in the conclusion which he dogmatically asserts as to the origin of conscious and sentient life under mechanical conditions. The distinguished naturalist, Dubois-Reymond, believes indeed that without intervention of the supernatural the organic may have come from the inorganic. But the appearance of consciousness, not as fully developed thought, but in the most rudimentary stage as feeling, is a mystery which his science has not unravelled. There are three questions to be answered. How has life come from the lifeless? how has feeling proceeded from that which is insentient? and how has reason originated from the irrational? Dubois-Reymond says science can answer the first and third, but it is baffled and must for ever continue baffled by the second. The first is a hard, but still only a mechanical problem. Life is but another and more complicated kind of motion. The third is resolved by regarding thought as the highest step in an ascending series of more or less complicated degrees of sentiency in different orders of animals. But the most minute acquaintance with the material organism through which the soul acts only reveals to us matter in motion. Between that material motion and the fact 'I feel pain or desire, I taste sweet, or see red,' together with the consequence, 'therefore I am,' the gulf is unfilled. It remains 'utterly and forever inconceivable how it should not be indifferent to a multitude of particles of carbon, hydrogen, &c., how they lie and are moved; it is inconceivable how consciousness can possibly arise out of their correlations.' When this is the decision of him whom Strauss calls 'the Master,' we may be dispensed from the task of attempting to refute the groundless assumptions of the disciple.

But the fact is, naturalists have as little reason for asserting they can solve the first of the three problems as either of the other two. Despite their efforts the bridge remains to be constructed by which we can cross from the lifeless to the living. The gulf is as deep and broad as any that separates motion from feeling, or thought and reason from sentiency.

A few words upon the point in the form in which it has been made most familiar to us in England, viz., by Professor Huxley, may be of use in giving force and clearness to our conclusions regarding the views of Strauss. Mr. Huxley, in what he has said on protoplasm, represents it as at least a probability that all life has sprung from originally identical germs, or whatever the primary life-stuff may be termed. He has put forward the notion of a pervading life-stuff which is like in kind in all organisms, and which is living or dead according to the distribution or relations and conditions of the molecular particles composing it; according, that is, to their chemical composition or arrangement. Though Professor Huxley does not much like the term, this is surely a doctrine of materialism. It is an attempt to account for the phenomena of life, whether seen in the vegetable, or the animal, or as thought in the human brain, by the mechanical combination or grouping of molecular particles. Of course it does not follow either that Mr. Huxley believes that to be all or that we must needs assume it is all. There is room for the possible action of design from without, controlling, regulating, and directing the distribution of the particles, and so disposing them as to realize certain purposes. Mr. Huxley has assured us that he is 'individually no materialist.' On the contrary, he can show us that materialism is without any philosophical foundation. Investigation, he says, will drive us over to idealism, but it is a hopelessly sceptical idealism, and goes to confirm the deliverance of Strauss, that the controversy between materialists and idealists is one of words, at least as waged by some. The examination of our states of consciousness convinces Mr. Huxley that in the last resort we can be sure of nothing but the existence of ideas and impressions, according to the doctrine of Hume. These are the sum of our experiences, and therefore our world. What they are in themselves is unknown and unknowable. Mr. Huxley has a double line of argument resting on a twofold hypothesis—a physiological and a philosophical hypothesis. On the foundation of the first, everything is resolved into materialism; and it is no advantage to be told we may escape

from that by learning that we really know nothing, not even the existence of an external world, and that the principle of cause and effect and the notion of substance are equally invalid. This idealism leaves us without a basis for believing in any orderly connection between physical phenomena themselves; for the nexus of cause and effect is not necessary. Why, then, may not the antecedent of to-day be the consequent of the morrow, or *vice versa*? In like manner, by robbing us of substance the universe becomes a bundle of outsides without filling of any kind. We know only qualities, or what things are *to us*, and therefore there is nothing else. How *could* we know what any thing is to what is *not us*? That does not show that the qualities do not reveal the substance; for the substance may be known in its qualities just because it (the unity) is what the qualities (as the multiplicity forming the unity) show it to be. A substance *without* qualities is unthinkable.

But it is with the physiological and not the philosophical hypothesis that we are here concerned. And as to it we ask whether it be true that physiology demonstrates or renders probable the existence of a universal life-stuff, unorganized but capable of budding for thin multitudinous forms of life and intelligence under certain conditions? The answer, we are assured, is in the negative. The cell, and not any crude mass of life-stuff, is physiology's ultimate. Moreover, Mr. Huxley entirely fails to exhibit the identity or likeness of dead and living protoplasm. The life is the speciality which the presence of all the elements composing dead protoplasm cannot account for. Living and dead protoplasm may be alike in chemical composition, but the one is living and the other dead. Whence and why the difference? Again, as Dr. Stirling has pointed out, we have a great variety of protoplasm: 'Nerve-protoplasm, brain-protoplasm, muscle-protoplasm, and protoplasm of all the other tissues; no one of which but produces its own kind and is uninterchangeable with the rest. . . . There is the infinitely different protoplasm of the various infinitely different plants and animals, in each of which its own protoplasm, as is the case of the various tissues, but produces its own kind and is uninterchangeable with that of the rest.' Here, in the difference of living and dead protoplasm, is the *crux* of the whole. No materialist has succeeded in accounting for the innumerable diversities we see around us by merely asserting a fundamental identity. If the identity is proved, whence, we still ask, the differences? Whence the special purpose or design in one

organism and that entirely different one in another? No identification of likenesses can ever give us the *unlikeness*. At present physiologists stand helpless before the great leading diversities of Life, Feeling, and Thought. Mechanical relations of particles can never give the internal reference of self to self which constitutes feeling. The living and the dead are not one and the same because in chemical composition they are alike. And Thought, with its wonderful self-activity, refuses to be resolved into sentience. Thought might give feeling, but feeling alone will not account for thought.

We now return to Dr. Strauss, to apply to his argument the results we have won. If mechanical conditions cannot account for life, and chemical elements cannot explain feeling and thought, the continuity of nature cannot explain the facts of the order of nature. Strauss is bound to hold the pre-existence from eternity of causes capable of producing such effects. His universe is an unvarying sum of being which changes in the correlations of its parts, but itself remains ever the same. All that is has been from everlasting, though not in the form in which it appears, which is always changing. Therefore there has been an eternal matter self-regulated by its own laws, and though dead and unconscious, capable of giving birth to life, reason and consciousness, with all they involve.

At this point Dr. Strauss leaves us in the dark. He appeals to our 'faith.' We are asked to believe in a rational order circling from eternity in obedience to wise laws, and capable of the most marvellous combinations of power and intelligence, but upheld by nothing, resting on nothing. It is the old case of the Indian with his elephant and tortoise over again. What Strauss has not attempted has been essayed by another German. Philipp Spiller has found the root and universal cause of the world and all it contains, from the smallest particle of dust up to the highest thought and feeling of a Newton or a Shakespeare. All is the work of the world-æther. Ætherism is the theism of the future. The impossibility of conceiving life to have sprung from the lifeless, and feeling from what is without feeling led Hartmann to affirm an absolute which is unconscious. The evidences of thought and design in nature and history necessitated the acceptance of a cause. In his 'Philosophy of the Unconscious' he traces these evidences of design through all departments of conscious and unconscious existence. He is driven therefore to the assumption of a wisdom and intelligence working in all atoms and organizations, and unconsciously producing the

same effects as man does through his self-conscious thought and will. The unconscious in this system, as Strauss truly says, does all that was formerly attributed to the conscious and personal Absolute, following out a plan and selecting the most suitable instruments. Only what before was conscious is now declared unconscious. But this unconscious subject in which dwells such wisdom is unknown to us. Is there anything corresponding to it in reality, or is it merely a fiction of the imagination? If there be anything of the kind, Strauss says it must be represented as a blind force of nature which produces by its operations effects similar to what man produces when he fulfils a plan, purpose, or design. To him, however, nothing more seems required than the struggle for existence, natural selection, and inherited habits, at work through immense periods. Spiller, on the other hand, and so far more reasonably, asserts the existence of an universal cause the origin of light, heat, gravitation, force, and all the phenomena of life. He accepts Hartmann's unconscious Absolute, and identifies it with the world-æther, which is the life-element of worlds, as water is of fish, and air of birds. Throughout infinite space there is this rarified æther, which is the medium of light and gravitation, and the movements of which are the origin of force and heat. The ultimate molecules of matter are bathed in an atmosphere of this world-æther, and all the phenomena of life and intelligence in the human brain are produced by its action. But while it is the origin of thought itself remains unconscious. It acts and brings forth results according to rational laws. It constitutes a system of rigid universal necessity, in the iron clasps of which we are bound, and from which there is no escape. There is no God but the world-æther, there is no immortality except the everlasting existence of this blind but rational force which has been from eternity, and freedom is but a name. We have returned in the nineteenth century of the Christian era to the atheism of Democritus. That is the upshot of modern scepticism, the last word of modern free thought. There is no spirit created or uncreated. There is no God but an eternal matter, self-existing from eternity and marvellously endowed with power to produce the order of the universe in accordance with rational laws. As for man, he is but the last evolution of natural forces—the particles that compose his brain interworking with the world-æther and thereby producing thought.

Whether out of such a theory of the universe it will be possible to offer a religion to

'faith,' by which man may order his life and regulate his conduct, needs no discussion. There can be no room for morality where there is no place for freedom. Strauss indeed tells us that we ought to cherish the sense of dependence and cultivate reverence and resignation. But why? Why should I reverence and be resigned to the workings of a steam-engine? There is no place for reverence or resignation if we are simply spokes in a mighty wheel. Such feelings, in such circumstances, are an anachronism. So is all feeling. Feeling relates to and can have place only in a world in which there is consciousness, reason, thought. Feeling is internal, and all that is, we are told, is external. The existence of this internality, of this reference of self to self, is, on such a theory of the universe, a hopeless contradiction. It has not, therefore, accounted for the facts with which it professed to deal. In contrast with the mighty machine world, though clasped in its iron embrace, is a world of life, feeling, and thought, which can have no community with the former. And from this latter must come that by which conduct is regulated. Conduct which, Mr. Arnold says, 'at the very lowest computation' in three-fourths of human life is regulated by religion. Religion then 'is ethics heightened, enkindled, lit up by feeling; the passage from morality to religion is made when to morality is applied emotion.'

The evolutionary hypothesis which we have seen is the fundamental principle of Strauss's latest scheme is the great ally and instrument of the sceptical thought of the present time. It is not necessarily always of a material character. Evolution was first suggested in modern times in connection with idealism; for the speculative systems of the great German metaphysicians, such as Schelling and Hegel, rest upon it. Physical science has adopted the hypothesis from metaphysics, and strives to make it adequate to solve all problems. We have seen how Spiller ends at last in a materialistic Absolute by identifying the unconscious Absolute of Hartmann with his world-æther. Another turn has been given to the same doctrine since Spiller wrote by Venetianer, who has published a work, 'Der Allgeist,' in illustration of the 'Philosophy of the Unconscious,' in which he deduces a system of 'Panpsychism.' Instead of Spiller's material unconscious Absolute, we have here an ideal or psychical unconscious Absolute; but that is the only difference between the two theories. Evolution is thus assuming multitudinous shapes and forms; and so long as the fashion of the hour lasts it will doubt-

less continue to exercise the ingenuity of theorists from the ideal side or the material, or from both. In reality, though many in these days deem it essentially modern, it is one of the oldest of the thoughts that have been employed to explain the mystery of the universe. In our own day its influence is great. It pervades our literature and meets our steps at every turn. The new doctrines that spring from or have been coloured by it show themselves everywhere. Our Parliamentary debates are touched by them at a hundred points. Press, platform, and pulpit are charged with their influence. Turn where we may we cannot escape from the new views, which, we are told, must continue to operate on the thoughts and feelings of men till they have revolutionized all our institutions and made man's life appear to him something wholly different from what he has been taught by tradition and authority to believe. We have seen what the upshot and issue of these views must necessarily be if they are consistently held and logically applied. We are taken back to the eternal matter of the Greek philosophers. The experiences and achievements of man in the past two thousand years are thrust aside. The same response to 'questionings of sense and outer things,' as was offered by the sages of Greece at the dawn of philosophic thought, is now given us by modern science. Is this the end of all our 'progress,' the goal of our hopes, and the last result of time?

The world-æther, which is eternal matter without consciousness and feeling, though the source of both, is declared by Spiller to be:—

'The creator of heaven and earth, with all they contain; it has also fashioned us men and inspired us with intelligence; for it has organized the materials thereof, and is in living reciprocal interconnection with them; it is in this sense the preserver and producer of all its creatures; . . . it governs the whole universe with equal and enduring force according to unchangeable rational laws from everlasting to everlasting, because it is infinite and eternal; it is all-wise, for it operates only after fixed rational laws; it is just, for it never varies from these laws and only punishes those who act in opposition to the rational laws prescribed by it; it never errs (and is thus alone infallible), because it brings into effect only those wise laws without self-consciousness and pre-arranged design.'

With a personal God vanishes also a conscious immortality. The æther that produces the phenomena of thought through the brain is alone immortal and it is unconscious. We are the bubbles on the surface

of the ocean of eternal force, appearing for a brief moment as the passing manifestation of a mighty power, but doomed to vanish away in an instant and for evermore.

All this of course is old as the wayward fancies of humanity. Indian sages dwelt on the idea of a matter more refined than the finest of the elements, out of which the stars and heavens were formed. The *τὸ ἀπείρουν* of the Greeks, without definite properties, was yet the cause of all being; and Ovid, in the 'Metamorphoses,' says the same thing. According to Thales water, moisture, or æther was the source from which came all existences. In fact the idea of an eternal matter as the fountain of universal being is one of the commonest ideas of antiquity. Our naturalists have come back to it in the nineteenth century of the Christian era. They profess to have scientific grounds for affirming the existence of that of which Indians, Greeks, and Romans could only dream. So far as there is any truth in this it only refers to the mode in which the conclusion has been again reached, and not to the conclusion itself. What the ancients arrived at by abstract reasoning the moderns profess to prove by tracing the evidences of evolution in nature. Evolution sends us back to the primal matter, which is the source of the universe as we now see it. Evolution is in reality no more modern than eternal matter. We may have more stable notions of the 'reign of law' than the ancients, since we are more familiar than they with the order and fixity of natural processes. But the fundamental conception of a continuous and progressive order of development was familiar to them as to us. Evolution, both to them and to us is a mighty instrument; but if our naturalists were aware of the history of thought they would know that evolution has been long ago exploded. It may be valid, regarded as a continuous order of things developing in certain relations in time, but it is wholly invalid if taken as the productive cause that may account for things as they are. All that is necessary to make this plain is to analyze the conceptions which we apply to the explanation of reality.

Man's world, the world of each individual, is what is presented or represented to him through his mental faculties. We experience sensations, and we connect these with something existing outside of us. These sensations are not in our minds the mere reproduction or facsimile of what is outside. The impressions on our senses are made from without, but we impose upon them our own order. The causes of these impressions must exist outside, but the causes are different from the effects which

they produce. The conception of a world-order in which these causes operate has varied in different ages of the world's history according to the varying knowledge of man. All the manifestations of external phenomena which we know must be traced back to force. Force cannot be resolved into a creation of our minds. Whatever is or is not there must be an external force that produces our sensations. There is an ultimate element outside of us which we have not made, and cannot make. If we analyze in the same way the mode or order and the form of our thoughts, we shall find there is in them an element equally ultimate, which cannot be resolved into or made to appear the result of experience, and which could not have been called into being by external force. Kant has demonstrated this by his analysis of the law of cause and effect. An external force and an internal intellectual character—whether named innate idea, intuition, or inherited tendency—are thus two ultimates which cannot be got rid of. There is something in matter, and there is something also in mind which could have been brought into existence by no changes and combinations of what previously existed. To whatever extent the doctrine of evolution may at some future time be proved true, it could not advance one step so as to make a beginning without these two ultimate elements. 'Were we,' says Professor Müller, 'to accept the theory of evolution which traces the human mind back to the inner life of a mollusc, we should even then be compelled to recognise "the category of causality," the intellectual root—that works in the mollusc, and makes it extend its tendrils towards the crumb of bread which has touched it, and has evoked in it a reflex action, a grasping after the prey.' The force which gives the causes of our sensations, and the intellectual factor, which takes these sensations and weaves them in harmonious order as a whole, are the two constituents of the universe which no analysis can explain away. Give evolution whatever immense periods it asks it can never account for them. Hence it is clear evolution cannot explain the universe as we see it. It must have its tools to work with ere it can take a step, and these imply in the last resort the existence of Force and Thought. Force and Thought are the ultimate of our analysis of what is given in present experience. But it is impossible to conceive of them as self-existent. The essence of thought, if modern philosophy has proved anything, has been shown to be self-consciousness. That is its radicle and inmost kernel. And consciousness of course implies personality. From

the duality of Force and Thought in experience we are therefore impelled to ascend to their unity in a Person. In God they are one, for in Him Thought is Force, and Force is Thought. He has revealed Himself in nature and history, by this twofold gateway. We are called to know Him as He has thus manifested Himself. Nature testifies of Him, and therefore we seek Him in the record of the order of nature's forces. But it is only in history and in the person of Christ, who is the centre of all history, that we find Him adequately revealed. The deeper our study of the history and experience of humanity the more shall we discern of God's ways, and thus more and more obtain knowledge of His nature and character. Only by application of the key which we have in the revelation of God in Christ to the mysteries of life can we find any solution of our difficulties. If men refuse to employ this key, if they prefer their own abstractions and the fitful fancies suggested by their reasoning to the interpretation of the facts in which we have God's revelation of Himself, it is no wonder if they wander into the wilderness, and lose themselves amid its thickets, or sink in its quicksands. Once the authority of God's revelation is contested and denied, the path is entered upon which leads to blank atheism and desolate materialism. The noblest aspirations, the most beautiful conceptions, the finest ethical impulses will not save men. God has revealed Himself, and if they refuse to listen they must either make for themselves another God, or do without an object of worship altogether. It is strange and sad, but suggestive, how some of the finest minds in our own day have lapsed into idolatry, because they did not know God in Christ. The significant example of Auguste Comte, who made for himself a beautiful idol and elaborated a system of worship of the most ornate character in her honour, has been paralleled in our own country. It is impossible not to see how in the case of Mr. John Stuart Mill—as he shows himself in his autobiography—his heart cried out after the living God. But he knew not God as He had revealed Himself, and, like Comte, he fell down and worshipped the creature rather than the Creator. Thus must it ever be. Our only safety is in knowing the true God; and that is only possible by knowing Him whom He hath sent, and in whom the riches of His eternal nature are unfolded. Here alone have we a refuge from pantheism and atheism, as from all the other delusions by which modern unbelief tries to mislead men to their destruction.

ART. III.—*History of the Indian Administration of Lord Ellenborough, in his Correspondence with the Duke of Wellington; to which is prefixed, by permission of Her Majesty, Lord Ellenborough's Letters to the Queen during that period.*
 Edited by LORD COLCHESTER.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH'S brief administration of twenty-seven months was rendered memorable by his abrupt recall. The power of dismissal had been exercised by the Court of Directors for more than two centuries, and was always regarded as their most cherished prerogative. In the days of the factory they repeatedly visited the President with their displeasure, more especially when he sent them Dacca muslins of inferior quality, by 'changing hands,' as they termed it, and ordering him to be embarked in one of their ships. When the factory had expanded into a kingdom they were incensed by the receipt of a contumelious despatch from Colonel Clive and the members of Council, in which they were told that the diction of their letter was 'most unworthy of themselves and of the Council, in whatever relation considered, either as masters to servants, or as gentlemen to gentlemen.' They resented 'the gross insults upon and indignities offered to them, tending to the subversion of their authority over their servants; and were determined to put an immediate stop to the evil.' Colonel Clive had left India immediately on signing the letter, and was beyond their reach, but they ordered all the other members of Council to be dismissed their service, and put on board the first ships of the season. Twenty-three years after, when the animosity towards Warren Hastings at the India House was at its height, they passed a resolution for his recall, after Mr. Dundas had prevailed on the House of Commons to initiate it; but the Court of Proprietors, which then comprised men of higher social standing, and far greater talent than the Court of Directors, manifested their admiration of the Governor-General, and not only negatived it, but passed a vote of thanks to him, and thus set the House of Commons at defiance, on the ground that the Directors were under no obligation to recognise a resolution of only one branch of the Legislature. Lord Wellesley was the next to feel the weight of their displeasure. In contempt of their injunctions he had been engaged in a series of military operations, and had concluded treaties which doubled the empire, and increased their responsibilities, and spread consternation in Leadenhall-street. He disclaimed their authority, and charged them

with a vindictive policy and ignominious tyranny, and Lord Cornwallis was sent out to supersede him. In the next instance the Court acted under the irresistible pressure of the Prime Minister. The Prince Regent was desirous of obtaining the lucrative office of Governor-General for the favourite of the day, Lord Moira, who had encumbered his ancestral property by his princely hospitality to the exiled king and *noblesse* of France; and, under the dictation of the Board of Control, the Court of Directors were constrained to pass a resolution for the recall of Lord Minto, eighteen months before the period at which he had signified his intention to retire from the Government. At the renewal of the Charter, in 1833, Mr. Charles Grant, the President of the Board of Control, made a very strenuous effort to induce the Court to give the Ministry a veto on the exercise of this right to recall the Governor-General, the Governors, and the Commander-in-Chief; but although they relinquished the monopoly of the China trade, the last of their commercial privileges, they clung with inflexible tenacity to the power of dismissing those at the head of the governments in India. It remained dormant for eleven years, when they put it in force in the case of Lord Ellenborough; and, in spite of the remonstrances of the Ministry, and more particularly of the Duke of Wellington, he was deposed and dishonoured, in the presence of the princes and people of India.

The work we have placed at the head of this article is the history of Lord Ellenborough's administration, as given in his correspondence with the Duke of Wellington, published under his own injunction, without introduction or comment. It furnishes us with his own vindication of the measures of his government, and will be valued by those who are anxious to reach the pith and marrow of its history, instead of depending on official, and often misleading despatches. The Duke of Wellington has also placed at the disposal of the editor his father's correspondence with Lord Ellenborough. It bears the stamp of his genius, and will be prized by the student of our Indian policy. The Queen has likewise been graciously pleased to permit the publication of the letters which Lord Ellenborough was accustomed to transmit periodically for Her Majesty's information. We propose to avail ourselves of these valuable contributions to the history of this period, in this review of the principal transactions of his interesting administration.

Lord Ellenborough was born in 1790, and after having sat for several years in the House

of Commons, succeeded to the barony bestowed on his father, the Chief Justice of England, in 1818. In 1828 he joined the administration of the Duke of Wellington, in which he filled for three years the office of President of the Board of Control. The most remarkable transaction of this period, inasmuch as it gave the community in India the first impression of his character, had reference to the conflict between the Government of Bombay and the Supreme Court. This Crown court was conferred on the Western Presidency in 1823, fifty years after the establishment of the first Supreme Court, in the constitution of which Lord North had committed the fatal error of investing it with a jurisdiction of which neither the power nor the extent was defined. Two independent authorities were thus planted in the country, and they immediately came into collision with each other. The conflict, which lasted six years, convulsed society and placed the empire in extreme peril. It might naturally have been expected that the bitter lesson of that dangerous warfare would not have been lost on the cabinet of 1823, and that in framing the Charter of another Supreme Court the vices in the constitution of the first would have been studiously avoided; but the errors were repeated. The jurisdiction of the Bombay Court was left to be settled by the judges, and the same disastrous results ensued. They went out with more lofty and extravagant notions of their powers and prerogative than Sir Elijah Impey and Mr. Justice Hyde in the days of Hastings, and affirmed that the whole Presidency, to its farthest limits, was subject to their judicial authority, and that it was penal to resist their writs. The natives were required to give allegiance to a new and antagonistic tribunal, armed, as it announced, with the authority of the Crown, and the local authorities were paralyzed. Sir John Malcolm, an Indian officer and diplomatist of great distinction, was in 1827 rewarded for forty-four years of honourable service by the Governorship of Bombay. On assuming charge of the post he found the struggle at its height. The judges of the Supreme Court were summoning by writ criminals who had been sentenced to imprisonment by the district courts, and setting them at liberty; and with his resolute temperament he made up his mind to resist these encroachments.

The occasion on which matters were brought to a crisis, was the case of Moro Rughoonath, which has acquired in our Indian history the same distinction as that of the rajah of Cossijurah, in the days of Has-

tings. He was a youth of aristocratic lineage, fourteen years of age, who had lost both parents, and, together with his property, had been placed by Government under the guardianship of his uncle, a connection of the late Peshwa, and one of 'the privileged sirdars of the Deccan.' A distant relative who coveted the management of his estates, but had been unsuccessful in his application to the local authorities, was advised to have recourse to the Supreme Court, and to make affidavit that the youth was kept under restraint, injurious to his health, when a writ of *habeas corpus* would be issued, and both ward and guardian brought up to Bombay. The writ was granted without hesitation. Sir John Malcolm felt that the time for active interference had arrived, and that the question at issue was whether the country should be ruled by the judges of the Supreme Court or by the East India Company. He knew that if this writ were executed a hundred cases would be appealed to the Court, and that 'the Company must shut up shop.' He therefore issued instructions to the local authorities to make no return to the writ. At the same time he wrote a temperate letter to the judges of the Court, explaining the grounds on which Government had deemed it necessary to prevent the execution of the writ, or indeed of any writ directed to the subjects of the Company who were not resident in the island of Bombay. He stated, moreover, that the question of jurisdiction, on which the validity of such writs rested, had been referred to the home authorities, and he expressed a hope that the judges would in the meantime refrain from proceedings which must bring them into collision with the Government of the country.

The judges were inflamed by what they termed 'an outrage upon the majesty of British law,' as well as a personal insult, and declared from the bench that the East India Company and those who governed their possessions were entitled in the Supreme Court to no more precedence and favour than the lowest suitor, and that the only mode in which the writers of the letter could properly address the Court was through their counsel by way of a humble petition. Two of the judges died soon after, and Sir John Grant was left alone on the bench, and immediately issued a pluries writ, with a penalty of £1,000 for resisting it; and, at the same time, announced his intention to call upon the officer in command of the division to aid him in the execution of it, on the ground of the authority vested by the Crown on the Court by its Charter. The Commander-in-chief, who had hitherto acted in

concert with the other members of Council, began to veer round to the opinion that to oppose the Court was to oppose his sovereign. Sir John Malcolm began to apprehend that he might be led to give the aid of the military to the execution of the writ, and announced his determination to deport him as he would any other individual who should resist the authority of Government. Sir John Grant finding that no return was made to the writ, closed the doors of the court, and Sir John Malcolm issued a proclamation pledging himself to protect the persons and the property of the inhabitants of Bombay while the functions of the Supreme Court were suspended.

The reply from England was not so tardy as it used to be. Lord Ellenborough, though new to the duties of his office, exhibited that quickness of decision and promptitude of action which characterized his political career. Without waiting for the opinion of the law officers of the Crown, he resolved to apply an immediate and effectual remedy to the injury inflicted on the Presidency by the proceedings of Sir John Grant. The Advocate-General had exhibited great ability and discretion during the recent conflict, and he was appointed Chief Justice, under the impression that public opinion at the Presidency would be more effectually rectified by placing him over the head of Sir John Grant than by any other measure. He also directed that the honour of knighthood should be conferred on him by the Governor by a pompous ceremonial, which would mark him as the representative of the Crown, and place the Government in popular estimation above the Court. Mr. Chambers was at the same time sent out as *puisse* judge. In announcing these measures in a private letter to Sir John Malcolm he said, 'The opinion of the law officers, of the Chief Justice, and of the Lord Chancellor, may be sufficient to induce Sir John Grant to revise his notions of law—at any rate no more mischief can happen, as he would now be like a wild elephant led away by two tame ones.' By some means this letter found its way into the public journals, and created an extraordinary sensation throughout the community. The vigour and wisdom exhibited by Lord Ellenborough on this occasion was the subject of general applause, and prepared a hearty welcome for him, when he landed in Calcutta fourteen years after, while India was bewildered by the unexampled calamity of the Afghan war, and disgusted by the pusillanimity of Lord Auckland.

Lord Ellenborough joined the Tory Ministry in August, 1841, and was again plac-

ed at the head of the Board of Control, when he found that Sir John Hobhouse, the late President, by an act of incredible fatuity had, on the 4th of June, directed the Government of India to march an army to Herat, 360 miles in advance of our position in Afghanistan, into the heart of Central Asia, to occupy the city and territory, and to annex them to the kingdom of Cabul, in which the Government of India was predominant. One of the first acts of his administration was, in anticipation of the Queen's consent, to countermand this wild and perilous expedition, which would not only have increased our dangers in Afghanistan, but compromised our relations with Russia, whom only two years before we had effectually resisted in the attempt to obtain possession of that territory for Persia. Lord Auckland, who had been requested by the Whig Ministry to remain at the head of affairs in India for a year beyond the quinquennial period, had unfortunately for his peace and reputation, been induced to accede to the proposal, and the Court of Directors concurred in the appointment of Lord Ellenborough as his successor. At the valedictory banquet always given by them on such occasions at the London Tavern, Lord Ellenborough stated that—

'The sole object which had induced him to undertake the Government was to terminate by an honourable peace the war we were then waging with China, to establish tranquillity on both banks of the Indus, in a word to restore peace to Asia, to emulate the magnificent beneficence of the Mohammedan emperors in their great works of public utility, to perfect and extend the canals of irrigation, the only source of fertility in the East, and gradually and cautiously to impart to the natives of India whatever of useful knowledge we have inherited or acquired, and thus to elevate the character and extend the happiness of that great and faithful people.'

These noble sentiments, which preceded him to India, raised the expectation of a peaceful and philanthropic rule, and ensured him a cordial welcome from all classes of the community. He embarked on the 6th November, 1841, within three months of his appointment, and as at that time there was no steam communication with India, was obliged to proceed round the Cape, and did not reach Madras before the end of February, when the first news brought to him from the shore was that the envoy at Cabul had been assassinated, and the British army annihilated.

The history of that disastrous expedition is so well known to the public through the able work of Kaye, that we need only glance at its salient transactions as an introduction

to Lord Ellenborough's connection with it. The progress of Russia towards the East in the direction of India was a source of disquietude to public men in England and in India at the time when Lord Auckland landed in Calcutta in March, 1836. This feeling was subsequently augmented by the decay of British influence and the increase of that of Russia at the court of Persia, which was unequivocally indicated by the march of a Persian army for the conquest of Herat, under the encouragement of the Russian envoy, and with the aid of Russian troops, in spite of the remonstrance of the British Minister. During the agitation created in India by the politics of Central Asia, Lord Auckland left his Council in Calcutta, and proceeded to Simlah, with Mr. William Hay Macnaghten, the foreign secretary, and Mr. John Colvin, the private secretary, who may be considered as having formed his cabinet, and exercised a paramount influence on his mind. Captain Burnes, who had conveyed the dray horses to Runjeet Sing, was sent to Cabul, ostensibly on a commercial mission, but with the political object of inducing Dost Mahomed, the ruler, to interpose Afghanistan against the approach of Russian influence to India. Burnes found him smarting under the loss of Peshawur, which Ranjeet Sing had subjugated; and that in the hope of obtaining assistance to recover it, he had sent embassies to Persia and to St. Petersburg. Soon after an envoy arrived at Cabul with a letter and presents from the Emperor of Russia; but Dost Mahomed, who was strongly inclined to a British alliance, hesitated to receive him, and would have dismissed him at once if Lord Auckland and his cabinet of secretaries could have been persuaded to give the Afghan ruler any substantial encouragement. But while the Russian representative was making him the most tempting offers, Captain Burnes was not allowed to offer even the good offices of his Government with Runjeet Sing for the restoration of Peshawur, and Lord Auckland was advised to address a letter to Dost Mahomed, in which the refusal of his request was embittered by such arrogance of language as to kindle the indignation of the Cabul court, and Captain Burnes was obliged to retire. Lord Auckland and the secretaries were, in fact, irritated to find that instead of submitting to their dictation Dost Mahomed should be sitting at the gate of India, as Cabul was then considered, debating whether he would open it to their opponent. They determined, therefore, to depose him and to seat on the throne of Cabul Shah Shoojah, the former sovereign, who had been an exile for twenty-eight years and

was then living at Loodiana a pensioner on the Company's bounty. A large expedition, though denounced equally by Mr. Mount Stuart Elphinstone, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Wellesley, and Lord William Bentinck, was sent across the Indus, which reached Cabul by an unexplored route of 1,000 miles after a perilous march of eight months. Dost Mahomed fled; Shah Shoojah was seated on the throne under a salute by British cannon, and Afghanistan was garrisoned by British troops, and governed by British officers. Their presence exasperated the haughty chiefs and people, and rendered the Shah, who had been brought back on the shoulders of infidels, odious to his subjects. Revolts broke out from time to time in various directions, which, though quelled by the superiority of our arms, clearly indicated the perils of our position. Our authority was maintained only by the sheen of our bayonets, and the government was a government of sentry boxes. To maintain the puppet on the throne in a country seething with hostility, required an army of more than 20,000 men, and the military strength of the empire was seriously taxed, while the annual demand of a million and a-half bore severely on its finances.

At length, after twenty months of incessant convulsion, there was the appearance of a calm. There was no visible token of the fire that was smouldering throughout the country, and the envoy, Sir William Macnaghten, declared that Afghanistan was as tranquil as an Indian district. The Court of Directors availed themselves of this season of repose to urge Lord Auckland to retire from the country, with the frank avowal of the failure of our object, leaving it, however, to his judgment to follow this advice. But Sir William would not listen to the proposal, and declared that to abandon the cause of the Shah would be an act of 'unparalleled political atrocity,' and Lord Auckland was easily persuaded to reject the salutary counsel of the Court. It was resolved to continue the occupation of the country, to pursue a system of rigid economy, and to open a new loan. We were tolerated only for the golden showers we had been pouring on that poor and barren country, and the retrenchments brought on a crisis. On our entrance into Afghanistan an annual subsidy had been settled on the eastern Ghiljies, who held the passes between Cabul and Peshawur, the strongest mountain barriers in the world, with the understanding that they should allow a free passage to our detachments and convoys; and they had acted with exemplary fidelity. They were now summoned to Cabul, and informed that the

exigencies of the State rendered it necessary to curtail their allowances. They made their salaam to the envoy in apparent resignation, returned to their mountains, plundered a caravan, blocked up the passes, and locked up our troops in Cabul. The spirit of revolt which had been fermenting at the capital burst forth on the morning of the 2nd November, when a mob attacked the house of Sir Alexander Burnes, and cut him to pieces. It was at first a simple *émeute*, which one energetic effort would have stifled, but the incredible imbecility of the general in command allowed it to ripen into a revolt. Within three days the cantonment was in a state of siege, which continued for forty days. It was garrisoned by 5,000 troops, but they were thoroughly demoralized by the incapacity of the generals, in whom they had ceased to have any confidence. On the 23rd December Sir. W. Macnaghten was inveigled to a conference beyond the limits of the cantonment, and assassinated by Akbar Khan.

The garrison was now reduced to a state of starvation, and under the dictation of the Afghan chiefs, was obliged to commence a retreat through the tremendous defiles in the depth of winter. The troops and camp followers wading through the snow, destitute of food or shelter, and benumbed with cold, were slaughtered without mercy by the infuriated highlanders at every turn, and, with the exception of about 100 who were retained as hostages and prisoners, only one man out of a body of 14,000, survived to carry the tale of this catastrophe to Jellalabad. It was the greatest shock our Government had sustained since we appeared as a military power in India. It was echoed throughout the continent that we who had subverted the power of its princes, and mounted the throne of the Great Mogul, had been foiled by the rude mountaineers of Afghanistan, and an entire army destroyed; and it became indispensable to the security of our dominions that our authority should be vindicated and the prestige of our arms restored. Lord Auckland proved unequal to the exigency. On hearing of the final catastrophe, he was prevailed upon to issue a proclamation stating that 'the partial reverse which had overtaken a body of British troops, removed by distance and difficulties of season from the possibility of succour, was regarded by the Governor-General in Council as a new occasion for displaying the stability and vigour of the British power, and the admirable spirit and valour of the British-Indian armies.' But, after this spasm of energy, he relapsed into a state of morbid despondency, and declared that his chief object was to withdraw

General Sale, who continued to hold Jellalabad and its garrison from Afghanistan at the earliest period. It was in these circumstances that Lord Ellenborough arrived in Calcutta to assume the government, and as he was known to be an eminent statesman of great energy and resolution, the prospect of an auspicious change from the faint-hearted policy of his predecessor was hailed with enthusiasm in India.

Lord Ellenborough landed on the 28th February, and was immediately sworn in, and Lord Auckland became his guest at Government House. On surveying the state of affairs, he found that General Nott had continued to maintain his position at Candahar, and General Sale at Jellalabad, though they were both exposed to the constant assaults of the Afghan chiefs in the neighbourhood; that General Pollock was encamped at the mouth of the Khyber Pass with three columns of reinforcements ready to advance to the relief of General Sale, as soon as the soldiers had recovered their health and their military spirit, which had been impaired by contact with the insubordinate Sikh troops pushed forward to aid them by the Lahore durbar. He found also that General England was advancing to reinforce General Nott with a convoy of cattle, provisions, and treasure. A fortnight therefore after his arrival, he issued a notification on the 15th March, signed by himself and all the members of Council, which announced, to the delight of India, that—

'Our future course would be regulated by a regard to the establishment of our military reputation, by the infliction of some signal and deserved blow on the Afghans, which may make it appear to them, to our subjects, and our allies, that we have the power of inflicting chastisement upon those who commit atrocities and violate their faith, and that we withdraw ultimately from Afghanistan, not from any deficiency of means to maintain our position, but because we are satisfied that the king we have set up, has not, as we were erroneously led to believe, the support of the nation over which he has been placed.'

But the spirit which dictated this proclamation did not last long. After a residence of a few weeks in Calcutta he proceeded to Alahabad, where he learned that General Sale and his illustrious garrison had relieved themselves by the total defeat of the enemy, that General Nott had dispersed a large army of Afghans, and that General Pollock had successfully forced the Khyber Pass, and reached Jellalabad. But he heard also that Colonel Palmer had ignominiously surrendered Ghuzni, after having been besieged four months, though he might have held out

much longer, and that General England had been repulsed by the sudden appearance of a handful of Afghans, and, that although his troops were impatient to recover their honour, he had retreated to Quetta, and commenced throwing up entrenchments. These trifling reverses appear to have produced a greater impression on his mind than our substantial successes, and he dismissed all idea of 're-establishing our military reputation,' as he and his Council had announced their determination to do on the 15th March, and wrote to the Commander-in-chief that he questioned whether 'it would be justifiable again to put the troops forward for no other object than that of avenging our losses, and establishing our military character in all its original brilliancy.' He determined, therefore, to withdraw the troops from Candahar and Jellalabad without any reference to the liberation of the ladies, officers, soldiers, and children, who were held in captivity by the Afghan chiefs, and the generals were directed to retire to India at the earliest convenient time. We look in vain for any justification of this retrograde movement in his letters to the Queen or to the Duke of Wellington. To the former he states that the want of provisions and the means of transport would have rendered General Pollock's advance to Cabul impracticable, though he was pushing them forward with extraordinary promptitude; to the Duke he said that for the general to have advanced to Cabul, where our captured guns defended the Bala Hissar, would be wild, and he has been ordered to return to India. With regard to the captives he affirmed that he would not ransom them, though he was prepared to agree to an exchange of prisoners; but he was apprehensive lest necessary considerations for the health of the troops and the 'influence of the *entourage* at Jellalabad, might cause General Pollock to linger there, in the hope of making some arrangements for the release of the prisoners.' The most credible explanation of this anomalous proceeding may perhaps be found by a reference to his own allegation during the Charter discussions in 1833, when he dwelt 'on the peril of leaving too much to the erratic caprice of a single man, and advised that some restriction should be placed on the powers of Indian governors by subjecting them to the wholesome restraint of Council.' In announcing the order for retirement to the Duke, he stated that he acted altogether in what he had done upon his own judgment, and he trusted that it would be approved at home by the Government. 'Be that as it may, as long as he held power, he would use it as he thought best.'

The generals at Candahar and Jellalabad received the order to turn their backs on Cabul with deep chagrin, but they found plausible reasons for delaying the evacuation of the country, while they improved the condition of their troops, in the hope that time might work some favourable change in the versatile mind of the Governor-General. The intelligence of this order which it was impossible to conceal, in spite of every effort, produced a burst of indignation in India such as had never been heard before; but though Lord Ellenborough affected a profound contempt for the press, he could not be indifferent to the voice of public opinion which it embodied. The Duke of Wellington had likewise pressed the recovery of the captives and of our military reputation.

'There is not,' he writes, 'a Moslem heart in Asia, from Peking to Constantinople, which will not vibrate, when reflecting on the fact that the European ladies and other females attached to the troops at Cabul were made over to the Moslem chief, who, with his own hand, murdered Sir William Macnaghten, the representative of the British Government at the court of the sovereign of Afghanistan, . . . It is impossible to impress on you too strongly the notion of the importance of the restoration of our reputation in the East. Our enemies in France, in the United States, and wherever found are now rejoicing in triumph upon our disasters and degradation. You will teach them that their triumph is premature.'

Under the impulse of these representations Lord Ellenborough changed his policy, and eleven weeks after he had ordered the generals to retire to India gave them permission to advance upon Cabul. It was marked by his usual eccentricity. On the morning of the 4th of July the foreign secretary in attendance upon him was directed to inform General Nott, in an official communication, that the resolution of the Governor-General to withdraw the troops at Candahar to India remained without alteration. In the afternoon Lord Ellenborough wrote a private letter to the general, suggesting that it might be feasible for him to withdraw his army, not by the direct road through Quetta, but by advancing to Guzni and Cabul over the scenes of our disasters. He then expatiated in glowing language on 'the effect which such a march would have on the minds of our soldiers, of our allies, of our enemies in Asia, of our own countrymen, and of all foreign nations in Europe. It is, he said, an object of just ambition, which no one more than myself would wish to see effected, but failure is certain and irretrievable ruin; and I would inspire you with the necessary caution, and make you feel that

great as are the objects to be attained, the risk is great.' A copy of this letter was at the same time sent to General Pollock, with the suggestion that he might possibly feel disposed to advance likewise to Cabul, and co-operate with General Nott. The only reason which he assigned for this change of policy to the Queen and to the Duke was that General Nott's army was in fine and high spirits, and not ill-equipped. The generals embraced with alacrity the permission to march on the capital, for which they had been impatiently waiting. General Pollock left Jellalabad on the 25th of August, with 8,000 men, animated with enthusiasm, inflicted a crushing defeat in the valley of Tezeen on the great army which Akbar Khan had assembled from all quarters to oppose his progress, and hoisted the British standard on the Bala Hissar on the 15th of September. General Nott, who had encountered no resistance, arrived at Cabul the next day. The narrative of the liberation of the captives, one of the most romantic episodes in the history of British India, is too well known to need recital. They rejoined their countrymen at Cabul on the 22nd of September. Before quitting the country it was determined to leave some lasting token of retribution, and the great bazaar in the capital, where the mutilated remains of the envoy had been exposed to popular insult, the noblest structure of the kind in Central Asia, was undermined and destroyed. The British colours were hauled down from the citadel on the 12th of October, and the armies returned in triumph to India.

The proclamations issued by Lord Ellenborough on this occasion have been the subject of severe animadversion. When intelligence reached him of the recapture of Cabul he was residing at Simlah in the house occupied by Lord Auckland, when he published his manifesto of the 1st of October, 1838, which ushered in the Afghan war, and he now issued a pompous proclamation, announcing its termination, antedating it to give dramatic effect to the transaction. The document was inconsistent both with official dignity and traditional usage. To enhance the renown of his own administration he pronounced the severest censure on the conduct of his predecessor. 'Disasters unparalleled except in the errors in which they originated, have in one short campaign been avenged upon every scene of past misfortune. The enormous expenditure required for the support of a large force in a false position, will no longer arrest every measure for the improvement and comfort of the people.' Such reprobation of the proceedings

of a previous administration had never been known before. It presented, moreover, a singular contrast to the eulogy which, with a perfect knowledge of Lord Auckland's policy and proceedings in Afghanistan, Lord Ellenborough had pronounced on him at the banquet in the London Tavern:—'I know I shall succeed a very able administrator. . . . It is to me most gratifying to have this occasion of bearing my testimony to the extensive knowledge, the indefatigable industry, and the great ability which he has brought to the conduct of public affairs.' The proclamation proceeded to say that 'the combined army of England and India, superior in equipment, in discipline, in valour, and in the officers by whom it is commanded to any force that can be opposed to it in Asia, will stand in unassailable strength on its own soil, and for ever, under the blessing of Providence, preserve the glorious empire it has won in security and vigour.'

The second proclamation relative to the Gates, addressed to the princes of India, which was evidently a servile imitation of Buonaparte's proclamation of the Pyramids, was still more extravagant and objectionable. It ran thus:—'My brethren and friends, our victorious army bears the gates of the temple of Somnath in triumph from Afghanistan, and the despoiled tomb of Mahmood looks on the ruins of Ghuzni. The insult of 800 years is avenged. To you, princes and chiefs of Sirhind, of Rajwara, of Malwa, and Guzerat, I shall commit this glorious trophy of successful warfare. You will yourselves, with all honour, transmit these gates of sandal wood to the restored temple of Somnath.' The proclamation cost Lord Ellenborough no little labour. It was placed in the hands of Mr. Maddock, the foreign secretary, to be translated into Persian, and he found the same difficulty in giving an adequate conception of the original to the native mind through a foreign medium as the French generals in the service of Tippoo Sultan experienced when they came to transfer into Persian, for his comprehension, the words 'liberty, equality, fraternity,' and 'In the name of the republic, one and indivisible.' Lord Ellenborough had it translated back into English, when it appeared nonsensical; and it was subject to more than one correction. When the revision was complete he assured the secretary that he considered it so perfect and unexceptionable that even Sir Harry Inglis would be unable to take exception to it; whereas he was among the foremost to denounce it. In the general order which he issued on this occasion he directed that the gates should be conveyed from Ferozepore to the western

coast, a distance of 600 miles, under the charge of a commandant, on Rs. 1,000 a month, three European officers, and a hundred sepoys, and that to give greater importance to the procession it should be accompanied by a detachment of his own body guard; but the gates never got beyond the fort of Agra, of which they form a very interesting curiosity. The whole transaction was a piece of absurdity, not altogether without hazard. The Mahommedan princes would necessarily feel irritation at the insult offered to the memory of the great conqueror, whom they revered as the founder of their power in India, while the Hindoo chiefs were, with scarcely an exception, entirely ignorant of that remote event, now for the first time brought to their notice. It was doubted by some men of eminence whether these were the identical gates which Mahmood brought away from Somnath 800 years before; and even if they were, they had been desecrated, by being attached to a Mahommedan tomb. There was, moreover, no temple to receive them at Somnath; and it seemed preposterous that a Christian Government should erect one for the accommodation of those heathen gates. But Lord Ellenborough was led, by the flattery of those around him, to congratulate himself on having performed a notable act of policy; and he assured Her Majesty that while the Hindoos had universally evinced a feeling of gratitude to the British Government, for the consideration shown to the people of Hindostan, in the restoration of these trophies, there had not occurred a single instance of apparent mortification among the Mahommedans. He assured the Duke that the restoration of the gates had conciliated and gratified the great mass of the Hindoo population, that he was treating the recovery of them as a great military triumph, which the Hindoos would value as the guarantee of the future security of themselves against Mussulmans. 'It seems to me,' he said, 'most unwise, when we are assured of the hostility of one-tenth of the population, not to secure the enthusiastic support of the nine-tenths which are faithful.' Fourteen years later the fidelity of the Hindoos was exemplified, by their uniting with the Mussulmans, in a most vigorous effort to expel us from the country.

On the conclusion of the campaign Lord Ellenborough proceeded to Ferozepore to prepare an ovation for the returning heroes. 'At the foot of the bridge of the Sutlej' he received, with imperial pomp, General Pollock and the rescued captives, and General Nott and the sandal wood gates. Two hundred and fifty elephants had been collected

to give a character of oriental splendour to the ceremonies. Lord Ellenborough in person superintended the decoration of their trunks, intending that they should bend the knee and do homage to the grand procession, but the effect was spoiled by the habit of the animal of going down on his hind legs. The officers were entertained in splendid tents adorned with flags, bearing the inscription of their victories, and the sepoys were regaled, as Lord Ellenborough stated in his official version of the ceremonial, with 'their favourite metoys' or sweetmeats, an act of eccentric kindness and very equivocal value. He had assembled a body of 25,000 men at Ferozepore for the occasion, and the Indian press animadverted in severe terms on what was designated a useless expenditure on a redundant pageant; but it was an act of sound policy. The army of the Punjab across the river consisted of 70,000 valorous and well-disciplined but insubordinate troops, who might have been tempted by our recent calamity in Afghanistan to attack the returning force as it marched through their country, and it was prudent to overawe them by the assemblage of a powerful force on their frontier. While, moreover, the report of the greatest and most humiliating reverse we had ever sustained in India was still fresh in the native community, it was the counsel of wisdom to exhibit our military strength in undiminished vigour by the sight of an army in the highest state of efficiency, which, including the regiments coming from Afghanistan, counted 40,000, the largest number which had ever been assembled in one cantonment.

On the 15th November Lord Ellenborough, in his letter to the Queen, said that 'the restoration of tranquillity on both banks of the Indus, the restoration of peace with China on secure and honourable terms, and the creation of a surplus revenue in this country will have effected all the objects for which Lord Ellenborough with your Majesty's gracious permission undertook the office of Governor-General of India.' At the same time, to inaugurate the reign of peace, he ordered a medal to be struck with the motto 'Pax Asiæ restituta.' Within six months he issued another proclamation, annexing the kingdom of Sind to the Company's territories, though he had officially announced on the 1st of the preceding October, that the Government would be content with the dominions nature had assigned to it. Our political connection with that kingdom began with Lord Ellenborough when he was President of the Board of Control in 1829, and by a singular conjunc-

tion of circumstances, was terminated by him fourteen years after as Governor-General. Our treatment of its rulers from first to last is the darkest page in the history of our Indian career, and a cursory reference to it will serve to illustrate the final visitation. Lord Amherst in 1829 took up his residence at Simlah, in the vicinity of the Punjab, and Runjeet Sing embraced the opportunity of sending him a complimentary mission, together with a magnificent tent of shawls for Her Majesty. Lord Ellenborough was at the time at the head of the Board of Control, and hearing that the Lahore chief had a passion for horses, resolved to present him in return with a team of English dray horses; but instead of sending them by the usual route through the valley of the Ganges, determined to send them up the valley of the Indus, and to make this a pretext for exploring that river, then little better known than in the days of Alexander the Great, and establishing friendly relations with the chiefs on its banks. Lieutenant Burnes, who was charged with the mission, was twice repulsed by the Ameers at the mouth of the Indus, but they were coerced into submission by the menaces of Colonel Pottinger, the Resident in the neighbouring British province of Cutch. The report of Lieutenant Burnes was submitted to Lord William Bentinck, then Governor-General, and served to increase his desire to open up the river to commerce, and Colonel Pottinger was soon after deputed to negotiate a treaty with the rulers. They manifested great reluctance to any connection with the Company, and more particularly to the proposal to unlock the Indus to British enterprise, under the apprehension that the factory would lead to complications, and, as elsewhere, grow into a cantonment. But the pressure of the Resident was irresistible, and a treaty was at length concluded, one of the articles of which was that 'the contracting parties should never look with an eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other.' Within eleven years Sind was a British province.

On the breaking up of the Mogul empire the province became nominally tributary to Cabul, but in 1786 the Talpooras, a Beloochee tribe west of the Indus, overran it, and parcelled it out among their chiefs, who were designated Ameers. Their power, like that of all other principalities and kingdoms in India, with the exception perhaps of those of Rajpootana, rested on the basis of conquest, but they were in every respect independent, and had acknowledged no superior and paid no tribute for nearly half a century. In 1833 Shah Shoojah, who had

been expelled from the throne of Cabul twenty-three years before, succeeded in collecting a body of troops to recover it, and on his arrival at Shikarpore, was opposed by the Ameers, but defeated them, and constrained them to make an immediate payment of £50,000, as the arrears of tribute due to the crown of Cabul, which was estimated by him at £250,000. The Shah was himself defeated by Dost Mahomed at Candahar soon after, and obliged to fly from Afghanistan. Five years later Lord Auckland fitted out his ill-starred expedition to depose Dost Mahomed, and to seat Shah Shoojah on the throne. The Bengal column, accompanied by the Shah, moved down the Indus, while Sir John Keane, with the Bombay column, marched up to the point at which the two forces were to cross the river. The commercial treaty concluded by Lord William Bentinck had provided that the Indus should not be used by us for the conveyance of military stores, but the articles were summarily disposed of by a message from Lord Auckland to the Ameers, that 'it must necessarily be suspended during the course of these operations, and that at this important crisis, not only those who have shown a disposition to favour our adversaries, but those who display an unwillingness to help us in the just and necessary undertaking in which we were engaged, must be displaced.' The Ameers were likewise required to pay up at once all the arrears of tribute claimed by Shah Shoojah; but when Colonel Pottinger presented the demand, they produced two releases from all farther claims of every description which the Shah had given them when he extorted the £50,000 from them at Shikarpore, and which, for greater security, had been written in two copies of the Koran. Lord Auckland stated that he did not deem it necessary to enter into any formal investigation of this plea, and Mr. Macnaghten, the envoy with Shah Shoojah, declared that 'rather than allow the grand enterprise of restoring him to be postponed by any opposition from the Ameers, it would be better to let loose 20,000 of Runjeet Sing's troops on their capital.' Colonel Pottinger was, moreover, instructed to inform them that, 'neither the ready power to crush and annihilate them, nor the will to call it into action, were wanting if it appeared necessary, however remotely, for the safety or the integrity of the Anglo-Indian empire or frontier.' The Bengal column was ordered to march down to the capital to enforce the demand, but before its arrival Sir John Keane was already encamped in its vicinity, and the Ameers, yielding to these irresistible arguments,

signed the subsidiary treaty pressed on them, and paid up the first instalment. During the occupation of Afghanistan Sinde became the base of operations for the force at Candahar, which was entirely dependent on the supplies received from and through it, and they were never intermitted. Lord Auckland, before his retirement, gracefully acknowledged the exemplary good faith with which the principal Ameers had acted, and the friendly aid they had invariably rendered to the British Government. After our expulsion from Afghanistan, they continued to furnish supplies and carriage without interruption, and General Nott would not have been able to move on Cabul without the 3,000 camels forwarded by them. But two or three of the minor chiefs in upper Sinde had been emboldened by our misfortunes to manifest a spirit of disaffection, and Major Outram, the Political Agent, had brought distinct charges against them before Lord Ellenborough, and advised a general revision of the treaties. He replied that 'he was resolved to inflict signal chastisement, even to the confiscation of their estates on any chief or Ameer who should have exhibited hostile designs against us during the late events, founded on a doubt of the existence of our power, but there must be clear proof of the faithlessness of the Ameers, and it must not be provoked by the conduct of the British agents.'

Sir Charles Napier arrived at Hyderabad on the 10th October, 1842, with full powers, military and political. He was a soldier of high repute and great resolution, but, withal, of an arbitrary and impetuous temperament. He brought with him a strong feeling of prejudice against the Ameers, of which he gave evidence by his haughty demeanour at his first interview with them, and, after a brief survey of our position, wrote that 'we only wanted a pretext to coerce them.' Lord Ellenborough transmitted to him for investigation the accusation which Major Outram had brought against some of the Ameers, with the distinct injunction not to proceed to any act of hostility without the most complete proof of their guilt. All the charges were dismissed except two, and the question of their delinquency was reduced to the point whether two hostile letters which bore their seals were genuine, and whether the minister of one of the Ameers of Upper Sinde had connived at the escape of a malcontent. The authenticity of the letters was resolutely denied by them, and was considered extremely doubtful by the best experts in India, while the seals were evidently counterfeited by some of the professional forgers who

abounded in the country. Sir Charles Napier, who was new to the country and the people, relying upon the opinion of one of his assistants, scarcely wiser than himself, at once pronounced them to be genuine, and said, 'The Ameers have given a pretext; they have broken treaties. The more powerful Government will at no distant period swallow up the weaker, and it would be better to come to the result at once, if it can be done with honesty.' Soon after he wrote, 'We have no right to seize Sinde; yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful and humane piece of rascality it will be;' and all his measures for the next four months tended to this consummation.

Major Outram had sent Lord Ellenborough the draft of the new treaties which he proposed, the object of which was to place our relations with the Ameers on a better footing, and to make an equitable exchange of territory for the subsidy enforced on them by the treaty of 1839. The disloyalty of some of the chiefs was also to be visited by the restoration of some of the lands they had wrested from the Nabob of Bhawalpore, to recompense his loyalty to our Government. The draft was returned by the Governor-General to Sir Charles on the 12th November, when Major Outram perceived that the territory to be taken in lieu of the annual payment exceeded by £40,000 a year that which he had proposed as an equitable adjustment, and he requested that the question should be referred back to Lord Ellenborough. The papers were detained by Sir Charles for ten weeks, and when the reply was received from Simlah, admitting the error, and desiring that it might be rectified at once, the Sinde army had been defeated and the Ameers were prisoners of war on board a British steamer. The instructions of Lord Ellenborough regarding these treaties were, that they should not be acted upon until they had been ratified by the chiefs; but before the Ameers of Upper Sinde had been allowed an opportunity of discussing the terms, Sir Charles confiscated the whole of the territory which had been inadvertently inserted in the second version of them, though the question was still under the consideration of the Governor-General. The feudatories of the Ameers were thus reduced to beggary. Meer Roostum was the chief Ameer of Upper Sinde, with the title of Rais, and the Turban was the symbol of his authority. He was in his eighty-fifth year, venerated for his virtues as well as for his age, both by his own subjects and the British officers. His brother and heir apparent, Ali Morad, the most perfidious miscreant in Sinde, coveted the immediate

acquisition of the Turban. Having insinuated himself into the confidence of Sir Charles, he succeeded by false representations in poisoning his mind against Meer Roostum, and when he sought an opportunity of offering an explanation to Sir Charles was refused an interview, and, under the insidious advice of Ali Morad, was directed to repair to his castle at Dejee, where he was compelled to affix his seal to a deed—written also in a Koran—surrendering his territories, his army, and his forts to him, of his own free will. Sir Charles was not without a suspicion that the deed had been extorted, and he determined on a personal conference with him, but his perfidious brother awoke him at midnight and persuaded him to fly, upon the assurance that he was to be seized the next morning. Sir Charles was exasperated by his flight, and immediately deposed him, and Ali Morad entered into possession of the sovereignty. The Ameers of Upper Sinde, eighteen in number, thus found their income reduced from £200,000 to £60,000.

Sir Charles had ordered all the Ameers to meet Major Outram at Khyrpore, but, through the contrivance of Ali Morad, those from Upper Sinde failed to attend the conference, and the agents of only two from the Lower province had arrived, when Sir Charles ordered the Ameers of both divisions to repair to Hyderabad, the capital of the kingdom. Two days after, the agents from Lower Sinde arrived in his camp, with full power to affix their masters' seals to the treaties. This would have given a peaceful solution to the negotiations, but Sir Charles refused them permission to fulfil their mission, and ordered them to return to Hyderabad.

The Ameers met Major Outram at the capital, and indignantly repudiated the charge of having infringed the treaty of 1839, or of having affixed their seals to the disloyal letters, which they asked permission to examine, but they had not been returned by the Governor-General. Meer Roostum, moreover, solemnly affirmed that his seal had been attached to the deed, resigning the Turban and its rights by violence, when he had ceased to be a free agent. Meanwhile, Sir Charles continued to advance to the capital, and the Beloochee troops flocked to the defence of it, and were inflamed by the appearance of the disconsolate Ameers of Upper Sinde whom Sir Charles Napier had stripped of their possessions, and more especially of the venerated and disinherited Meer Roostum. The Ameers, after several conferences, agreed to the terms but denied the equity of the treaties. They were prepared

to resign the inequitable excess of territory demanded by Sir Charles, but they stated that it would be beyond their power to restrain the violence of the army, unless the Major would promise to restore the Turban to Meer Roostum, if he could produce evidence of the violence to which he alleged that he had been subject; but this request it was impossible for him to comply with. The treaties were signed on the 12th February, but as the officers of the mission left the durbar they were assailed by a crowd of soldiers and citizens, and were saved from destruction only by the active exertions of the Ameers, who refused to quit their side till they were safe within the Residency. The next day they waited on Major Outram, and assured him that the Beloochee officers and troops were wrought up to such a state of exasperation as to be altogether beyond their control. 'We have given you,' they said, 'all you wanted for yourselves and for your ally, the Nabob of Bhawalpore. Restore the lands which Ali Morad has obtained from his brother by force and fraud, or allow us to recover them ourselves.' For two days the Ameers continued to importune Major Outram to withdraw to a position of greater security, but the 'Bayard of the East,' as he was called, would not allow himself to exhibit any token of fear. On the morning of the third day the Residency was attacked by a large force, and the Major, after defending himself with only a handful of troops for more than three hours, withdrew to the steamer anchored at a little distance on the Indus. In reporting this event to Lord Ellenborough, Sir Charles Napier had the assurance to assert, doubtless with the view of inflaming his mind, that the Ameers signed the treaties on the 14th, and treacherously attacked the Residency the next morning.

This attack rendered an appeal to arms inevitable. On the 17th February Sir Charles reached Meanee, about six miles from Hyderabad, where the Beloochee army, 20,000 in number, was encamped, while his own force did not exceed 2,700. The Beloochees disputed every inch of ground, and fought with such desperation that they were supposed to have left 5,000 killed and wounded in the field. They lost their whole encampment, and the victory was complete and decisive. Never on any Indian field had British troops exhibited a nobler spirit, or a British general more consummate skill. One such day at Cabul would have saved the army. A body of 10,000 Beloochee troops arrived the next day, and the most martial of the Ameers was in the neighbourhood with a force scarcely less numerous, but Sir

Charles was relieved from all anxiety by the surrender of the Ameers, who were sent as prisoners on board the steamer in the river, and soon after forwarded to Bombay. The next day he entered Hyderabad, and lost no time in placing the accumulated treasures of the Talpoora dynasty in the hands of prize agents for immediate distribution among the troops; the sum of £70,000 being allotted to his share. On the 22nd March he gained another victory over Shere, Mahomed, and the subjugation of the province was complete. On hearing of the action of Meanee, Lord Ellenborough issued a proclamation applauding the gallantry of the troops and the tactics of the general, and stating that this brilliant victory had placed at the disposal of the Government of India the country on both banks of the Indus, from Sukkur to the sea, and a week after annexed the province to the Company's dominions, appointed Sir Charles Napier governor, abolished slavery, which was still legal in India, and opened the navigation of the Indus to all nations. He subsequently ordered a column—in imitation of that of Vendôme—to be erected with the captured cannon, but it was never begun.

These acts of imperialism, exercised without any reference to the Council, were severely condemned both in India and in England. In a letter dated the 4th February, thirteen days before the engagement at Meanee, the Duke informed him that his transactions in Sindé had given great uneasiness to the Cabinet, and advised him to trust to the existing treaties, and the reputation and reality of his power, to obtain all that he required, by negotiation and conciliation rather than by anything like menace or war. When the act of annexation was announced, the Duke again wrote that 'the affair had made a great impression on the Directors and the two Houses, and upon some of the most noble-minded of the firmest supporters of Government, who disapproved of all that they had heard and read of this Sindé affair,' which was the source of extreme and growing embarrassment to Government, and not without danger to its existence. The Ministry wisely abstained from expressing any opinion upon it in Parliament, and Lord Ellenborough complained to the Duke that the inference drawn from their reticence would be that his proceedings were disapproved and would be reversed, and that the Ameers would be restored to their thrones. To counteract this impression in India, and to create a belief that they would not be permitted to return to their country, he ordered their zenanas to be conveyed to them at Bombay.

While this dissatisfaction was at its height, Lord Fitzgerald, the President of the Board of Control, died, and was succeeded by Lord Ripon, historically known as Prosperity Robinson, when Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1825, and subsequently, for a few months, one of the most inefficient of Prime Ministers. Instead of following the example of his predecessor, and exercising the power of control vested in him, he permitted the Court to govern him, and gave his sanction to a despatch condemning Lord Ellenborough's proceedings in Sindé. It reached him on the 20th November, when he was on the eve of another war, for which he had assembled a large force on the Jumna. On the receipt of it he wrote to the Duke that, 'he had determined to remain until removed, but that he should wait for the next mail, under the impression that it was scarcely possible it should not announce his supersession by the Court; and he did not think it would be fitting to exhibit to the army at Agra a discredited Governor General; and that, politically, his presence there would have no effect.' The mail did not announce his dismissal, and within five days he proceeded to the upper provinces to organize the Gwalior campaign.

Of all the transactions of Lord Ellenborough's administration the conquest and annexation of Sindé has always been considered the most objectionable. It is not possible to find any vindication of it even upon the ground of political necessity, but the odium of it rests almost entirely on Sir Charles Napier. From the time of his assuming the command in Sindé, and onwards for more than four months, his proceedings were marked by a continuous violation of Lord Ellenborough's injunction that the Ameers should not be provoked to hostility by the conduct of the British agents. While they exhibited a spirit of abject submission to every exaction, however severe, his dealings with them were in every instance arrogant and unjust. The Government at home was fully aware of the danger arising from his fiery and arbitrary temper, and the Duke did not fail to inform Lord Ellenborough that they disapproved of 'his having left the question of peace and war, and all the consequences, so entirely in his hands.' The mind of Lord Ellenborough was kept in a state of perpetual irritation against the Ameers by repeated misrepresentation of their conduct. Papers which would assuredly have dispelled many suspicions from his thoughts and modified his opinions and proceedings were systematically withheld from him, and Sir John Hobhouse, the President of the Board of Control, as

serted with great truth that the conquest of Sindia would never have taken place if Lord Ellenborough had been in full possession of the real facts, and had been cognizant of the misdeeds of Ali Morad.

The third and last military operation prosecuted by Lord Ellenborough, and which doubtless induced the Court of Directors to hasten his recall, was the Gwalior campaign. Sindia died in February, 1843, without issue, and without having nominated a successor. His widow, of thirteen, adopted a lad of eight, upon the advice of the cabinet of ministers, who were desirous of retaining the administration of affairs in their own hands. Lord Ellenborough, however, considering the extreme youth of the Ranees and of the son she had placed on the throne, as well as the disturbed state of the country, deemed it important that the Government should be entrusted to the responsibility of a single minister. The two candidates for the appointment were the Mama Sahib, the uncle of the deceased Raja, and the Dada Khasjee, the hereditary chamberlain and the favourite of the Ranees. Lord Ellenborough gave the preference to the former, and the Ranees and her partisans immediately set themselves to thwart his measures and embarrass his administration; and after three months of incessant opposition, dismissed him from his post, and banished him the kingdom, in spite of the earnest remonstrances of the Resident. The Dada Khasjee was immediately invested with supreme authority. Lord Ellenborough manifested his displeasure at the dismissal of the minister appointed under his auspices by recalling the Resident within the Company's territories, and the Dada manifested his hostility to the British Government by dismissing from office all who were known to be favourable to an alliance with it.

The great object of solicitude to the Government of Sindia had long been the well-appointed army of 30,000 men, with more than 350 pieces of cannon. It was recruited from the martial population of Oude, Rajpootana, and the Company's territories—with a few Mahrattas—and was commanded by officers of European extraction. It was too large for the resources of the State, and successive ministers had endeavoured to reduce its strength; but it had successfully resisted every such effort, and would not allow a single regiment to be disbanded, or a single vacancy to remain empty. The Dada had endeavoured to secure the services of the troops by large donations, and this had increased their arrogance and assumption. They were courted by all parties, and the regiments espoused different and oppo-

site sides, and many lives were sacrificed in the conflicts which ensued. The anarchy at the capital became more and more intense, and the Ranees importuned the Resident to return to the Court, but he was instructed to reply that the friendly relations between the two Governments could not be re-established until the Dada, the inveterate foe of the British alliance, and the source of all these complications, was placed in charge of the British Government; but the Ranees refused to surrender him. The increased insubordination of the soldiery menaced the safety of the common frontier, and Lord Ellenborough ordered a large force to be assembled at Agra, under the designation of a camp of exercise.

On the 1st November he placed on the records of Council a minute on the unsatisfactory state of affairs at Gwalior. It was a masterly State paper, exceptionally free from eccentricity and inflation, and embodying sound views of policy in the clearest and most vigorous language. It affirmed as a fact—though not fully admitted as such in Leadenhall-street—that our position in India was that of the paramount and controlling power, and that it was impossible to take a partial and isolated view of our relations with any one State within its limits. To recede from that position would endanger our existence, and bring upon all the States now dependent on us the most afflicting calamities. It would let loose all the elements of confusion, and lead the several States to seek redress for daily occurring grievances among each other, not from the superintending justice of the British Government, but from the armed reprisals of the injured, and the countries which, under our protection have enjoyed many of the advantages of peace, would be again exposed to devastation. He then passed in review the course of events at Gwalior during the last eight months, where the minister nominated with the concurrence of the British Government had been ignominiously supplanted by one who could only maintain his position in despite of it.

'Still,' he remarked, 'under ordinary circumstances we might perhaps have waited upon time, and have abstained from the immediate adoption of measures of coercion, expecting the restoration of our influence at Gwalior from the disunion manifested among the chiefs, and the usual vicissitudes of an Indian court, but the events which have recently occurred at Lahore will not permit the resort to a policy suited only to a state of general tranquillity. . . . Within three marches of the Sutlej is an army of 70,000 men, confident in its own strength, proud of its various successes against its neighbours, desirous of war and of plunder, and under no dis-

cipline or control. . . . It would be unpardonable if we were not to take every possible precaution against any hostile act which might lead to war, and no precaution appears to be more necessary than that of rendering our rear and our communications secure by the establishment of a friendly Government at Gwalior.'

In announcing this assemblage of a large army on Sindia's frontier to the Duke, Lord Ellenborough said that he should be a little nervous at leaving such an instrument as the army in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief with any discretionary powers, and he felt that he ought to be there himself. As the mail brought no letter of recall he accordingly hastened to Agra, whither he reached on the 11th December, and, finding that the Dada had not been surrendered, ordered the army to advance; at the same time he informed the Ranee that 'the Governor-General could neither permit the existence within the territories of Sindia of an unfriendly Government, nor that they should be without a Government willing and able to maintain order, and to preserve the relations of amity with its neighbours. He had, therefore, directed the British force to advance, and would not arrest its movements till he had full security for the future tranquillity of the common frontier of the two States;' in other words, as he informed the Queen, till the disbandment and disarming of the disaffected portion of the Gwalior army had been effected. The progress of the troops produced the desired effect. The Dada was sent to the Resident's camp with a letter from the Ranee, requesting that as the wishes of the Governor-General had been complied with the progress of the troops might be countermanded. Lord Ellenborough, in his reply, repeated his former remarks regarding the necessity of a strong Government at Gwalior, and required that the army which dominated over the State should be reduced and the British contingent of troops augmented. Our army, accompanied by the Governor-General and his staff, soon after reached the Chumbul, the boundary between the two States, when a deputation of Gwalior chiefs waited on him and importuned him, with joined hands, to await the complimentary visit of the Ranee and the young Raja on British territory, where all former Governors-General had received the Gwalior court. They represented that any deviation from established usage on this point would inflict indelible disgrace on the royal family, and inevitably lead to a collision with the native troops, who were in a state of great excitement. Lord Ellenborough said it was impossible to delay the

advance of the troops, but at length offered to wait two days; as this was too short a period for the arrangements of an oriental court, it was decided that the meeting should take place at Hingona, about twenty miles from Gwalior, where the treaty embodying the Governor-General's requisition should be signed on the 26th December. The Gwalior troops could not fail to perceive that such a settlement would extinguish their power and their means of subsistence, and they placed an effectual restriction on the departure of the court. All mutual animosities were buried in a firm determination to oppose the advance of the British army, and the troops marched out of their cantonment with the swaggering shout that they were going to drive it back across the Chumbul.

Lord Ellenborough waited for the Ranee and Raja at Hingona for two days in vain, and then ordered the army to move on to Chounda, where the Gwalior troops were reported to have taken up a strong position. The British officers committed the egregious error of despising the enemy, and of treating Sindia's troops, the successors of those who had fought General Wellesley at Assye, and General Lake at Laswaree, as a contemptible rabble whom half-a-dozen shots would disperse; and the Quartermaster-General of Queen's troops—who fell gallantly in the action—said he should have occasion for nothing but a horsewhip. It had been settled in the camp, to breakfast at the village of Maharajpore, and the Governor-General and the ladies advanced thither on elephants, as if they were proceeding on a military promenade, when they were unexpectedly brought up by the discharge from a masked battery of a shower of balls, one of which grazed the ear of Lady Smith's elephant. During the darkness of the night the enemy had suddenly changed his position and brought up and planted 14,000 troops and twenty-five pieces of heavy ordnance on the line of advance. There was no map of the country to be depended on, and Sir Hugh Gough, who had made no reconnaissance, was required suddenly to alter the disposition of his troops. Lord Ellenborough aptly described the scene when he said that everybody and everything appeared to be out of place. It was on this field of battle that he won his spurs, and was seen moving about with the utmost intrepidity distributing money and fruit among the wounded. The Commander-in-Chief had, at his request, left his battering train at Agra, and the light field pieces with the army were quickly silenced by the heavy cannon of the enemy. Their artillerymen fought with desperation,

and were bayoneted at their guns, and the victory cost us 1,000 men killed and wounded. On the same day another action was fought at Punnar with an equally favourable result. On the last day of the year the Ranee and her adopted son came into the camp and made their submission to the Governor-General. These victories placed the kingdom of Sindia at the feet of Lord Ellenborough, and he astonished his colleagues in Council, as he boasted to the Duke, by his moderation. He declined to appropriate any portion of the territory of the State, and simply suppressed its independence. The Ranee was deposed and retired into obscurity on an annuity of £30,000. During the minority of the Raja, which was extended to his eighteenth year, the administration was to be managed by six chiefs, who were required to act implicitly on the advice of the Resident. Our victories had broken the spirit of the contumacious army, and they meekly submitted to be reduced to 9,000 men with thirty-two guns. The military authority of the State was placed under the protection of a subsidiary force of 10,000 picked Sepoys commanded by a body of well-selected British officers. On the completion of these arrangements Lord Ellenborough returned to Calcutta.

This campaign, which in the brief space of twenty days, extinguished the dangerous army of the Gwalior State, corresponds in character with the prompt action of Lord Wellesley, when in 1799, under similar circumstances, he annihilated the French force at Hyderabad, and dispelled the danger with which the interests of the Company were menaced by it. In both cases the defence of so high-handed and extreme a measure rests upon the ground of self-preservation, to which every other consideration was regarded as subordinate. In the Deccan Tippoo was preparing for the invasion of the Company's territories with a large and most efficient army. At Hyderabad lay a body of 14,000 troops thoroughly disciplined by French officers, who were little under the control of the Government, and who were in constant correspondence with their fellow-countrymen in the service of the Sultan. Lord Ellenborough now found himself placed in a position equally critical in the north-west. Our military prestige had been rudely shaken by our disasters in Afghanistan, and but partially restored by our successes in Sind. Within sixty-four miles of our north-west capital lay an army of 30,000 martial and well-organized troops with 350 pieces of cannon completely beyond the control of the authorities of the State. Across the Sutlej was encamped the most powerful

native army which had been seen in India for centuries, consisting of 70,000 soldiers trained by French officers, with 300 guns, in a state of the highest equipment, flushed with the victories they had gained year after year, and thirsting for fresh opportunities of triumph and plunder. They were likewise beyond the control of their Government, and scarcely a year had passed since the iron hand of Runjeet Sing was removed without a revolution or a convulsion. Their exactions had exhausted the large treasure accumulated by the old chief, and they had twice marched down to the banks of the Sutlej to invade and plunder the British territories; hence a conflict with them was inevitable. They had been in communication with the Gwalior army, and it appeared certain that whenever we were constrained to meet them in the field, we should be exposed to a perilous attack on our rear. Lord Wellesley felt that he could not venture to engage in hostilities with Tippoo while the French force remained in vigour at Hyderabad, and Lord Ellenborough equally felt that we could not safely proceed to repel the invasion of the Sikhs while the army of Sindia lay in undiminished strength at Gwalior; and in extinguishing this source of danger at once he acted with great foresight and sound judgment. The truth of this statement will be verified by a consideration of the position in which Sir Henry Hardinge would have been placed in the succeeding year when the Sikh army rushed across the Sutlej, and at the battle of Ferozeshuhur shook our power to its foundation, if he had been obliged at the same time to provide against an attack from the Gwalior troops.

Lord Ellenborough had a more immediate reason for congratulating himself on the timely disbandment of the insubordinate army of Gwalior. Within six weeks of the accomplishment of this measure a spirit of mutiny broke out among the Bengal regiments proceeding to Sind, when they found that the incorporation of the province with the Company's dominions deprived them of the field allowances they had enjoyed while employed in conquering it. In February the 34th Native Infantry refused to march to Sind without the additional allowances. The 7th Bengal Cavalry and several companies of native artillery followed the example. The 69th and the 4th, when ordered to proceed in their stead, refused to embark in the boats at Ferozepore. The 64th, at Loodiana, was equally mutinous; and, though the men were pacified for a time, they broke out with greater violence on the line of march. These repeated acts of insubordination, which demonstrated the

temper of the sepoys, gave a premonition of the explosion which thirteen years later extinguished the whole native army of Bengal. Sindia's troops were recruited for the most part from the same classes as our own army, with whom they were in constant communication; and if the Gwalior army had remained in the same state of efficiency and insubordination, the mutiny in our own regiments would have presented a more serious aspect. It was not, therefore, without good cause that Lord Ellenborough exclaimed, 'What a Godsend it is at this moment that we have got rid of the Gwalior army!'

Lord Ellenborough now felt that his recall would not be delayed much longer, and he gave vent to his feelings of disgust at the Court of Directors in his letters to the Duke:—

'I hope,' he said, 'you will be satisfied with all I have done. Everything I have done will be misrepresented in England, and the Court will be more hostile than ever. They are hostile because I do what I think right, whatever it may be. I certainly have not received from Lord Ripon the same support I received from Lord Fitzgerald. He allows the Court to say things that are offensive, and to do things which, being in disparagement of my measures, must necessarily weaken my position with reference to my colleagues, and the service. . . . There has really been nothing like government in India for many years. I have had to contend against the whole influence of the Court, collectively and individually, since I came. In this state of things nothing can maintain me but the constant support of the Board of Control, which ought to allow nothing to pass but what is entirely in accordance with the President's own individual opinion. There should be no spirit of compromise with a hostile and unscrupulous body of men. I am satisfied that, so acting, he would have the support of Parliament, and that the factious use of their power of recall by the Court would be met by an amending Act, which should take it away. Upon the whole, I think the Court will have been led to recall me, and that I shall hear of it by the mail which will arrive soon after the despatch of this letter.'

His anticipation was realized. On the 15th June, 1844, the community in India was astounded by the announcement that he had been deprived of office, and that Mr. Bird, the senior member of Council, had been directed to take charge of the Government till the arrival of his successor.

The recall of Lord Ellenborough, in all probability, postponed the Sikh war for a twelvemonth, for though he was reluctant to enter upon it prematurely, the impetuosity of his temperament might have hurried him into it, more especially as the officials around

him, civil and military, entertained so contemptible an opinion of the strength of the Sikh army, that three years before Lord Auckland had been assured that 10,000 of our troops might march to Lahore and extinguish it. Lord Ellenborough entertained sounder views, and he informed the Duke that he was fully aware of the magnitude of the operation in which we should be engaged. The army required a good deal of setting up after five years of war, and it was his earnest hope that we should not be obliged to cross the Sutlej in December. He was moreover weakened, he said, by the retirement from the Supreme Council of his colleague Sir William Casement, at a time of difficulty when his military knowledge and experience were most wanted; and he was replaced in Council by a prejudiced gentleman of the Civil Service, who had been mumbling laws and regulations and dabbling in codification for years in the Law commission. Such are the materials they gave him to work with.

'Nor I ought to conceal from you,' he writes to the Duke, 'that the anxiety I feel not to be called too suddenly into the field is much increased by the want of confidence in Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, who, with all his personal courage and many excellent qualities, does not appear to possess the grasp of mind or the prudence which is essential to the successful conduct of great military operations. He would do admirably, no doubt, at the head of an advanced guard. . . . We want 40,000 men and one man. The 40,000 I can find; the one man is a general, and him I cannot find; but he is as much wanted as the 40,000.'

There can be little doubt that this timely warning of the military incompetence of Sir Hugh Gough influenced the Duke of Wellington in the happy selection of the 'one man' as Lord Ellenborough's successor in the person of Sir Henry Hardinge, his own companion in arms in the Peninsula; and a soldier of the highest merit and reputation, and who may be considered as having saved the empire from ruin when the Sikh army burst across the Sutlej.

The discord between the Court of Directors and Lord Ellenborough commenced with his administration, and became more bitter as it approached its termination. He was the only Governor-General who had been their superior at the Board of Control, of which he was thrice President, and it is scarcely a matter of surprise that, with his dictatorial temper, he should have failed to realize the relative change in their positions when they addressed him in their despatches according to established usage, as 'our Go-

vernor-General,' and subscribed themselves 'his loving friends.' He could never forget the associations of Cannon-row, and all his proceedings in India were equally marked by a spirit of autocracy. After he left his Council in April, 1842, he refused to give the Vice-President in Calcutta any information of his proceedings, leaving him to gather his knowledge of them from the public journals. Every order to the generals and every important communication to the political officers was transcribed by his private secretary, and kept back from the foreign secretary in attendance on him. He was, of course, under the necessity of keeping the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors informed of the proceedings of Government, but instead of communicating with them through the usual official channel, he adopted the irregular practice of sending his despatches to the President of the Board of Control, to be sent on to Leadenhall-street. He endeavoured to justify this conduct by alleging that secrecy was necessary to the success of his measures, and that secrecy could not be maintained if they were once known in the Council chamber, where 'everything was developed by folly or sold by treachery.' The Court complained of his constant separation from his Council—of the twenty-seven months of his administration he was only eight by their side—and it required an admonition from the Duke, the only person for whom he cared a straw, to bring him back to the Presidency. They complained of the large expenditure he incurred on cantonments, barracks, and stations without any reference to them, and of his usurping even the prerogative of the Crown by conferring badges and distinctions on the navy engaged in China, as well as on the army, without the sanction of Her Majesty. He treated the members of the Civil Service, filled with the relatives and connections of the Directors, with perpetual contempt, and lavished all his attentions on the officers of the army. Arriving in India with the most pacific professions he had become fascinated with the excitement of war, and his thoughts were absorbed in military combinations. Within a twelvemonth he had engaged in two wars, and fought four battles, and the Court ceased to regard the empire safe in his hands. Independently of these political considerations, Lord Ellenborough's correspondence with them was of so offensive a character that the Duke felt the necessity of admonishing him on the subject, and he replied that he had always attended to every suggestion from him, and he did not think 'if he should remain that the gentlemen of the Court would have any colorable ground for

complaining of his expressions.' Public bodies generally feel any personal indignity with greater acuteness than any administrative misfeasance, and Lord Ellenborough is said to have stung them to the quick by studiously leaving out in some of his despatches to them the title of 'Honourable.' The immediate occasion of his recall is, however, understood to have been connected with his treatment of the political officers in Saugor and Bundelcund. He was greatly dissatisfied with their conduct, and turned out the whole body, as the natives remarked, 'by one stroke of his pen.' The Court of Directors naturally remonstrated with him on the injustice of this indiscriminate sentence of dismissal, and he is said to have resented their interference by telling them, in despite of the dissuasion of his staff, that he considered himself the servant of Her Majesty, and was not disposed to bend to any authority but that of the Crown. After this defiance of the constituted authorities of the empire, the Court of Directors had no option but to vindicate their authority by exercising the power of recall.

Notwithstanding the faults of Lord Ellenborough's administration he was unquestionably a great man, possessed of qualities of the highest value in the government of a large empire. His views of policy were often original and far-seeing. He was bold and sometimes rash in the conception of his plans of action, but always resolute in the execution of them. His great energy, his indefatigable industry, combined with independence of mind and talent of a high order, would have entitled him to a distinguished place in the annals of British India, but he wanted sobriety, he wanted ballast, and his administration is memorable chiefly for its eccentricities. He accomplished two of the objects he had announced on assuming the Government of establishing peace on both banks of the Indus, and restoring the finances, but he failed to emulate the magnificent beneficence of the Mahomedan emperors in their great works of public utility; he suspended the progress of the Ganges Canal, and pronounced the establishment of railways, when his support was asked, 'to be all moonshine.' We should not omit to state that he was one of the most accomplished speakers in the House of Lords, and that the clearness, purity, and vigour of his State papers have rarely been equalled, and never surpassed by any Governor-General.

ART. IV.—*Science, Philosophy, and Religion.*

- (1.) *Gott und die Natur.* Von Dr. HERMANN ULRICH. Zweite neu bearbeitete Auflage. Leipzig: Weigel, 1866.
- (2.) *Inaugural Address at the Annual Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Brighton, October, 1872.* By W. B. CARPENTER, M.D., &c. &c.

THERE are many auspicious signs, at the present time, that a more philosophical spirit is awakening in the scientific world. The materialistic dogmatism of some, and the shallow positivism of others, more especially among biologists and physicists, although they may not be silenced, have learned of late to moderate their tone. The influence of great scientific observers, who are also great thinkers, contributes to promote this healthy reaction towards philosophy, and we anticipate a speedy, entire reconciliation between the metaphysician and the student of nature.

That an age, like our own, of immense energy should be an age also of materialistic tendency, is not wonderful. That the abstract should seem to lose its value amidst so many and such marvellous applications of knowledge to palpable uses, is not at all unnatural. But just as the measurable material progress of such a time is, undoubtedly, the fruit of deeper and more recondite researches in a former age, so they must themselves become in their turn the pabulum of an intellectual life which will not be content with the formulas and theories of the past, but will aim at a greater reach of thought and more profound investigation of the mysteries which lie beneath all observation.

There need be nothing which is really discouraging in the crude attempts of scientific men to strike out light with their clumsy flint and steel. When they are weary of watching their tiny sparks and hoping for the flame, they will hail the more eagerly the better process of philosophy, and discard their own the more utterly. Nor are we disposed to presage gloomily a long and dreary period of scepticism as the sequel of our age. Doubt, from the very fact that it is a form of mental activity, cannot be anything more than a transition stage in the progress either of the individual or of the

up hill, by many zigzag windings, and with many needful pauses, and sometimes even seeming descents. But the progress is real nevertheless. Systems of thought perish, but thought itself lives on. The mountains are heaved up, great ranges one following the other, solitary peaks towering in isolated grandeur; but the disintegrating process carries them down, age after age, into the plain; they give up their very substance to the valleys; they are reduced to the habitable earth. And so the loftiest generalizations and the proudest achievements of the world's greatest thinkers, though they may not retain their original form, are being ground down into the common field of knowledge.

There cannot, however, be a doubt that in our own country we have been reaping the fruit of an inexcusable neglect of metaphysics. The researches of science have been divorced, almost entirely, from the questions of philosophy; and the result has been the temporary and disastrous reign of the sensationalist, and the empty generalizations of positivism, to the disparagement of profound thought in every department.

But the tide has already turned. The Inaugural Address, by Dr. Carpenter, at the Brighton Meeting of the British Association, marks an epoch in our own country; and although we lag behind our German cousins in this, as in some other respects, such signs of returning reason may be gladly welcomed as a bright omen for the future. We shall soon hail in England, what has already appeared in Germany, a new alliance between physics and metaphysics, the offspring of which, we may confidently predict, will be a true and complete philosophy of nature.

The Duke of Argyll, in his admirable and attractive little work on the 'Reign of Law,' recognised clearly the tendency of science, in the present day, in the direction of the invisible.

'There are two great enemies,' he says, 'to materialism—one rooted in the affections, the other in the intellect. One is the power of things *hoped for*—a power which never dies; the other is the evidence of *things not seen*, and this evidence abounds in all we see. In reinforcing this evidence, and in adding to it, science is doing boundless work in the present day. . . . There are eddies in every stream; eddies where rubbish will collect and circle for a time. But the ultimate bearing of scientific truth cannot be mistaken. Nothing is more remarkable in the present state of physical research than what may be called the transcendental character of its results. And what is transcendentalism but the tendency to trace up all things to the relation in which

'May be the wildest dreams
but the needful preludes of the truth.'

progress of man is not in a continued
at line along a level plain, but a course

they stand to abstract ideas? And what is this but to bring all physical phenomena nearer and nearer into relation with the phenomena of mind? . . . Even the writers who have incurred most reasonable suspicion as to the drift of their teachings, give nevertheless constant witness to what may be called the purely mental quality of the ultimate results of physical inquiry. It has been said with perfect truth (Lewes' 'Philosophy of Aristotle,' p. 66), that "the fundamental ideas of modern science are as transcendental as any of the axioms in ancient philosophy." . . . Science, in the modern doctrine of the conservation of energy and the convertibility of forces, is already getting something like a firm hold of the idea that all kinds of force are but forms or manifestations of some one central force issuing from some one fountain head of power.' (Pp. 116-123.)

We may add to this testimony concerning the tendency of science, the remark with which Dr. Carpenter concluded his very thoughtful address at Brighton:—

'Whilst the deep-seated instincts of humanity and the profounder researches of philosophy alike point to mind as the one and only source of power, it is the high prerogative of science to demonstrate the *unity* of the power which is operating through the limitless extent and variety of the universe, and to trace its *continuity* through the vast series of ages that have been occupied in its evolution.'

The work of Dr. Hermann Ulrici—which we place at the head of this article—and which has not yet been given to the British public, as it deserves to be, in an English dress, is only one among many meritorious attempts which have been made in Germany during the last half century to rest physical science on a metaphysical basis. Unlike the great philosophical systems of the last two generations—those of Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Herbart, and others—Dr. Ulrici's method is analytical rather than synthetical. Taking the conclusions of modern science as accepted facts, he follows them back with marvellous acuteness and closeness of philosophical reasoning to their true basis in metaphysical assumptions, or deduces from them metaphysical ideas to which they inevitably lead. Thus he clears away the cloud of materialism from before the man of science, and sets him face to face with the great problems of the human soul and of the higher Reason, demanding of all students of nature, if not the faith of the Christian, at least the modesty of the true philosopher. The text of his book may be said to be this: God is the necessary postulate of modern physical science. Dr. Ulrici addresses himself to a wider audience than the scientific world strictly speaking. He calls in the *educated classes* (a term which has much

more distinct meaning, we are sorry to say, in Germany than it has in our own country) to judge in the controversy between science and religion. While he includes in his statement of the subject a large amount of illustration drawn directly from the leading works of our greatest physicists, he has interwoven it, with great skill, into the substance of his argument, and carries the reader forward by a style which is singularly easy, flowing, and occasionally eloquent. It is a pleasing evidence of the high education of Germany that such a work should find a large circle of readers, and that an octavo volume of 770 closely printed pages on the philosophical aspects of science should, in a year or two, reach a second edition.

Before describing immediately Dr. Ulrici's argument, it will not, perhaps, be out of place to make a few remarks on the relation of science to abstract thought. It has been the dream of the positivist, who may be said to represent the negation of metaphysics, that his philosophy (in some sense a revolt from philosophy in the highest form of it) is the climax of human thought in its application to the observed facts of the universe.

'In the final stage of its history,' says Comte, the coryphæus of this school, 'the human mind has given over the vain search after absolute notions, the origin and destination of the universe, and the causes of phenomena, and applies itself to the study of their laws—that is, their invariable relations of succession and resemblance. Reasoning and observation, duly combined, are the means of this knowledge. What is now understood when we speak of an explanation of facts is simply the establishment of a connection between single phenomena and some general facts, the number of which continually diminishes with the progress of science.'

The *theological* or *fictional* and the *metaphysical* or *abstract* stages, are regarded by the great positivist as simply introductory (historically speaking) to the ultimate perfection of the *positive* system. Now, however tenaciously some scientific men may still cling to the language of the positive school, it may be safely affirmed that, as regards the highest intellects of the day, Comte's dream is already dispersed by the light of a profounder philosophy. A poor inheritance, indeed, of all the past, that man should settle down into a mere tabulist of Nature, that his highest attainment should be a codification of physical laws! *Historically*, let it be granted, the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive are successive stages of advance in the method of philosophy; but *logically*, they are surely concentric, rather than successive, and in the final synthesis of the reason, they must be

harmonized and *coincident*. Science cannot dispense with, and must not therefore disparage, the ideas which it borrows from philosophy; and philosophy cannot remain in a state of permanent estrangement from theology. Why this search after an ultimate analysis, but for the sake of an ultimate synthesis? Why this ceaseless generalization, and this hope that, possibly, in the end, we may '*represent all phenomena as particular aspects of a single general fact*?' The mind will philosophize. It abstracts and still abstracts, finding no rest except in unity. And what is the desire to find and to rest in unity, but the theological instinct still asserting itself? At the root of all other mental conceptions is that of the first cause, the absolute Being, behind and beyond, and, at the same time, amidst all multiplicity of phenomena.

Kant, by anticipation, administered a crushing rebuke to the positivist, showing in his celebrated preface to the '*Kritik der reinen Vernunft*,' that physical science could make no real advance until she acknowledged her dependence on reason.

'From the time,' he says, 'that Galileo had experimented with balls of known weight on inclined planes, or that Toricelli had applied to the atmosphere a weight which he knew to be equal to a column of water of a certain height, or that Stahl, at a later period, had transformed the metals and metallic oxides by the addition or abstraction of certain elements, from this moment a light was thrown upon the path of the physical philosopher. They learnt to recognise the truth that the reason conceives only what she herself originates according to her own ideas; that in all cases *she* ought to take the initiative, in conformity with her own laws, and to *force* nature to answer her questions, instead of allowing herself to be led, as a child, in leading strings. If this be not done, accidental observations, made without any reference to preconceived ideas, can have no agreement among themselves, since they have no reference to any necessary law. It is *this law*, however, that the reason seeks, and from its very nature *must* seek. Reason should present herself before nature, holding in one hand her principles—which alone can give to the whole and to the harmony of the phenomena the authority of laws—and in the other hand the experiment which she has instituted in conformity with these same principles. Reason requires instruction from nature, not as a scholar that repeats whatever the master dictates, but as a legitimate judge who forces the witness to answer truly the questions put to him. Natural philosophy owes the happy change of its method to this idea—that reason *seeks*, I do not say *imagines*, in nature, in conformity with her own principles, what she desires to learn, and what she could not learn of herself, independently of nature. Thus

physics have been established on the solid ground of science, after having stumbled in darkness and error for so many centuries,' (Cousin's '*Lectures on Kant*,' Chapman's Translation, pp. 19, 20.)

Those who are despising the metaphysics on which, in fact, they are really dependent, if not for the '*matter*,' at all events for the '*form*' of their knowledge, are playing the part of '*hodmen*,' quarrelling with the architect by whose plan and thought alone they are able to work, and who alone can frame their materials into shape of permanent beauty and utility.

Positivism, as a philosophy, is a gross *petitio principii*. It begins by marking its arbitrary circle round the mind, with a '*thus far shalt thou go and no farther*,' and it then calls its own system ultimate, the climax of human thought. But in the very act of marking out the boundaries of knowledge, positivism itself freely employs terms borrowed from the prescribed region beyond, '*law*,' '*force*,' '*phenomenon*,' '*cause*,' '*effect*,' all of which are really philosophical terms which necessitate our overleaping the barriers if we would trace them to their origin. This contradiction and inconsistency are beginning to be keenly felt. Surely we have a legitimate claim upon physical science for respect to philosophy, so long as it stands its debtor for so large and important a portion of its terminology. We may rightly remonstrate against all dogmatism upon the part of the observers of nature, so long as they assume so much, and stand on a platform of postulates. There is something ungrateful, not to say dishonest, in the attitude of some physicists in the present day. Dwarfs on the giant's shoulder, they take advantage of their position to box his ears. But the true Baconian spirit is humility, a humility which is only another form of the consciousness of power. Caution and patience in observation best comport with the brotherly welcome of all true fellow-labourers, diverse though their aims be, and irreconcilable their methods.

It is matter for sincere regret that the attitude of theologians in our own country (we say not of theology) towards contemporary science has been too often that of affront or alarm. This has worked a disastrous effect. It has emboldened less reverent spirits to reckless assertion and defiance. It has unnerved the friends of religion, and sometimes elicited from them very unseemly denunciations of the spirit of progress, and very unwise depreciations of the discoveries and generalizations of science. But such a discordant relation between truthful and earnest men in different departments of hu-

man knowledge cannot be permanent. Had we a larger number of writers who would patiently inform themselves of all that science has to tell us, both as to the material world, and as to the nature of man, and then bring their knowledge to bear upon the great problems of philosophy and religion, we should soon find all misunderstandings cleared away, and the vital questions of the human soul laid bare, set in their true light, ready if not for decision, at least for such a consideration as they have never before received. 'If,' says Dr. Ulrici, 'our faith in God rests upon truth, then any new step in advance in the scientific knowledge of nature must give us a new argument for its justification, must confirm it, strengthen it, and illustrate it; for if there is a God, in the religious sense of the word, then nature is of necessity His first and oldest revelation.'

A ground of reconciliation must be sought between fact and thought. We misapply the name of science (knowledge, *scio*) to the results of our observations of nature, unless we are building them into the structure of a theory in which our generalizations and classifications rest on a basis of reason as to that which is beyond nature. In the world of thought there ought to be no schism. To hedge ourselves round about, to shut ourselves within the stony walls of our definitions, and shoot arrows of scorn and scepticism at theologians and philosophers, is unworthy of enlightened spirits—a relic of the dark ages.

A theory of knowledge must precede all true progress which is not simply empirical. We must seek some satisfactory answer to the question, What is cognition? It has been supposed that the relativity of our knowledge, which has been established and admitted by almost all thinkers since Kant, has cut off the pretensions of the philosopher and the theologian to more than a regulative function in the sphere of thought. But this surely is a two-edged sword which cuts both ways. Mr. Herbert Spencer believes that he has found a formula of reconciliation between religion and science in this negation of knowledge.

'May we not,' he says, 'without hesitation affirm that a sincere recognition of the truth that our own and all other existence is a mystery absolutely and for ever beyond our comprehension, contains more of true religion than all the dogmatic theology ever written.' 'In the consciousness of an incomprehensible omnipresent Power, we have just that consciousness on which religion dwells. And so we arrive at the point where religion and science combine.'

A very shadowy foundation to build on,

and a very vague reconciliation to rest in! No. If religion and science are divided by a great gulf, still let them recognise that each side of the unfathomable is equally solid. Science cannot scorn religion as dealing any more than itself with the '*unknowable*;' and religion must not frown down science as a traitor to the highest interests of humanity. For the truth is, that the great gulf into which both science and religion have gazed from their standing-places, and from which both have withdrawn shuddering, as their own giddiness has seemed to shake the ground beneath their feet, unfathomable as it is, has its two sides, each going down by the same steep wall until it is lost in the depth below, but each, away from the gulf itself, solid and secure. 'Let us walk on the *terra firma* of experience,' says science. *Experience!* What is experience? The level ground beside the bottomless abyss. Push on far enough with your questions in the direction of the Infinite, and you must reach the dizzy verge, and look down into the awful depth. 'All your beliefs,' says the man of science to the teacher of religion, 'are based upon unprovable assumptions on the "*unknowable*." There is nothing really solid but the facts and conclusions of experience.' 'All your scientific results,' replies the advocate of faith, 'are dependent upon the accuracy of your observations and the soundness of your reasonings. But what is accuracy? What is truth? Have you a standard of certainty? Is science a phantasmagoria of the senses, or is it the grand inheritance of the intellect?'

Truth? How can we rightly use the word, whether of scientific truth or of religious truth, except we acknowledge that the apparent rests upon the unfathomable? There is no more real certainty in science than in religion. Both are the offspring of human reason in alliance with fact and in dependence upon the Infinite. If we can believe that we have a right to say, such and such are the laws of nature because we have observed them, then surely we can also say with the same confidence, such and such is the character of God because we find ourselves compelled by facts and by reason to believe that it is so. We are glad to find such writers as Mr. Herbert Spencer adopting this tone of brotherhood towards religion.

The following words occur in Mr. Spencer's '*First Principles*' (latest edition, p. 21):—

'Each side, therefore, has to recognise the claims of the other as standing for truths that are not to be ignored. He who contemplates the universe from the religious point of view,

must learn to see that this which we call science is one constituent of the great whole; and as such ought to be regarded with a sentiment like that which the remainder excites. While he who contemplates the universe from the scientific point of view, must learn to see that this which we call religion is similarly a constituent of the great whole; and being such, must be treated as a subject of science, with no more prejudice than any other reality. It behoves each party to strive to understand the other, with the conviction that the other has something worthy to be understood, and with the conviction that when mutually recognised this something will be the basis of a complete reconciliation.'

But it will be necessary to examine yet more closely the position of the positivist. Assuming to stand upon a logical basis he formulates the theory of existence, and divides the objects of human thought into the '*knowable*' and the '*unknowable*.' God, spirit, the soul, and other immaterial concepts, he cannot of course deny have a *logical* reality, but he describes them as *unknowable*, because they cannot be brought within the sphere of scientific observation. They are not, he says, phenomena, for phenomena are in immediate or mediate relation to our senses and material organization, although he must acknowledge that there are phenomena which are rightly distinguished from others as spiritual or mental. But they are phenomena only that we know. All beyond them is unknowable, a simple hypothesis of the reason. Substance, spirit, God, are terms which represent ignorance, not knowledge. The human mind which concludes the immaterial from the material, the substance from the phenomenon, is itself a phenomenon, and no man can pass beyond individual assurance to absolute certainty. But is not this distinction between the knowable and the unknowable entirely arbitrary? Is it not founded on a false conception of knowledge?

'There is no possible knowledge of the world,' says Mr. Bain ('The Senses and the Intellect,' p. 370), 'except in reference to our minds. Knowledge means a state of mind; the knowledge of material things is a mental thing. We are incapable of discussing the existence of an independent material world; the very act is a contradiction. We can speak of a world presented to our minds. By an illusion of language, we fancy that we are capable of contemplating a world which does not enter into our own mental existence, but the attempt belies itself, for this contemplation is an effort of mind.'

This is simply the old error into which Kant himself fell, of reducing all knowledge to *self-consciousness*, which is, in fact, to deny the possibility of knowledge, in the

proper sense of the word; for knowledge implies the existence of the object as well as of the subject. Self-consciousness must be distinguished from consciousness. Consciousness contains in it not only the knowledge of self, but the knowledge of that which is not self; for only in such a knowledge of the not-self can the self be really known. Besides, if consciousness be simply the knowledge of ourselves, how can we ever speak of the certainty of science? How is any knowledge of an impression on the senses more correctly called knowledge than any knowledge of an idea suggested at once and inevitably on the occurrence of the sensible impression? So let Mr. Bain answer the positivists: 'Both as to the reality of matter and as to the reality of spirit, I am incapable of direct knowledge, therefore make no distinction between the knowable and the unknowable, for all is unknowable. I know nothing but phenomena.'

But here again we are at sea; phenomena cannot be assumed without the assumption of knowledge. The very word phenomena implies a duality of existence. There cannot be an appearance without a seeing self and a seen object. If I know an impression on my senses, I know myself impressed. If I know myself impressed, I know that which is distinct from the phenomena, as well as, and coincident with, the phenomena, objectively regarded. To deny substantiality to the subject is also to deny possibility to the object. A phenomenon cannot be the basis of knowledge, except in the Hindoo sense of the elephant upon the tortoise.

But the knowable must be conditioned by the knowing. Until we have defined the subject we cannot define the object. Knowledge is a relation; the factors are subject and object. To *know*, in the strictest metaphysical use of the word, is to have in consciousness. In that sense I am as truly cognizant of God as of any other object. Does the positivist reply that God is only the inference of my reason, or at best the necessity of my thought, the reply is immediate—I can give no better account of anything. I know only that which is in my consciousness. The laws of my thought must be laws of my faith. When I am told that there is an unknowable which is distinguishable from the knowable I am guilty of an ambiguity. My ignorance of God is only my weakness. And the same weakness applies to all my knowledge. All my concepts of nature are as really defective and incomplete as my concepts of the absolute Being. But knowledge is not the less real that it is relative. That which is unknowable is also unthinkable and to us is not. Absolute

knowledge is an impossibility and contradiction to a finite intellect. Absolute knowledge can be predicated only of an infinite consciousness; but absolute knowledge is not the only real knowledge, and a finite mind may yet reach a certainty which is commensurate with its own nature.

But we must not be content with the acknowledgment which is now made freely by some, that religion has a basis to rest upon as broad as that of science. The investigations of modern times into the constitution of the material world have furnished the advocate of theism with new weapons; and we may compel the man of science to admissions which do in fact, philosophically regarded, postulate the whole logical foundation of the theistic theory. This is very ably set forth in the volume before us by Dr. Ulrici. The first section of his work treats of the scientific explanation of the existences and facts of nature, or physical ontology. He then passes on to review the principal doctrines of the physicists with regard to the structure and formation of the universe, or scientific cosmology. In three remaining sections he shows, with great philosophical acumen and fulness of exposition, that the idea of God is the necessary postulate or presupposition of scientific ontology and cosmology—the necessary philosophical basis on which physical science itself rests—and that, in His relation to nature and humanity, the idea of a personal Creator, Ruler, and Object of faith, may be philosophically developed from the fact of the material universe, the constitution of man, and the deepest instincts of the soul.

Our space will not allow of more than a brief notice of the many and elaborate arguments of such a work. Dr. Ulrici remarks that—

‘The universal principles and motive powers to which physical science traces back particular phenomena, and which therefore must be regarded as the fundamental ideas of scientific ontology and cosmology, are still very indistinct and uncertain, exposed to manifold objections, and therefore requiring justification if the given phenomena shall be truly explained by them. Such are the conceptions of *matter* and *force*, of ponderable and imponderable, organic and inorganic matter, of mechanical and chemical mass-forces and molecular forces, of light, heat, magnetism, and electricity; especially of the causes and conditions of the phenomena of life, and the operation of the vital and psychical forces. Natural science has certainly established a great number of important facts and individual laws, but, theoretically regarded, it is yet far from having established its claim to the name of *exact* science. In this respect the

most and the best of what it has done still rests upon mere hypothesis and current assumptions, that is, upon a scientific faith.’

Let us begin with the great question which lies at the foundation of all branches of physical science, as to the nature of material things themselves, **WHAT IS MATTER?** It is vain to seek for a definition of matter itself by appealing to the various perceptions of sense, because they inform us only of particular kinds or forms of matter. We must compare these together by some other faculty, and thus obtain, if possible, some common and universal element which is in them, which constitutes them, in all their variety, still *material* phenomena. Now some have been contented to define matter as that which is recognised through the sense of touch, others as that which is recognised through all the senses. But these are evidently no definitions at all of matter itself. The question is not what do our senses perceive, but what is that which is beyond the senses? And here we may rightly appeal to the observations of science, for we should seek the answer to our question by carrying back as far as possible the data of experience.

The majority of scientific men, in the present day, have agreed to acquiesce in what is called the atomic theory of matter, as being the truest expression of the facts latest observed by them and of the conclusions to which they seem to be logically forced by the application of reason to the materials of observation. Modern chemistry has shown that palpable, material things can be resolved not only mechanically into parts which are similarly constituted, but into parts of dissimilar constitution. These parts the chemist calls the simple materials or ‘*elements*’ of which things consist, which therefore lie at their root and may, so far, be called ‘*substances*.’ These substances are distinguished from the mechanical parts of matter in this respect, that while the latter differ from one another only as to their size and shape, the chemical elements differ in constitution or quality (gravity, cohesion, &c.), are repeated in every smallest mechanical portion, and cannot by any mere mechanical means be separated from their chemical union. The researches of the chemist have hitherto shown about sixty of these simple substances (according to Hiller sixty, according to Graham-Otto sixty-one, according to Scherer sixty-two), and they are described as simple only in this sense, that they cannot be further resolved—that is to say, the chemist cannot separate them further into substances of a different nature. But at the same time

it is by no means certain that in spite of all the perfection of chemical analysis and its appliances, a number of substances have not still escaped our knowledge. Natural science calls the least parts of material things which are discernible to us by the microscope '*molecules*.' They are not perceivable by the touch, but they make up tangible objects. But science cannot stop at this point. It believes that it can assume and is able to prove that all matter consists of the smallest elementary substances, which though not absolutely simple and indivisible are still to be held as indivisible—physically and chemically irresolvable—in so far as this, that we cannot find any scientific reason to suppose that they can be further divided. These ultimate constituents of matter are called '*atoms*.' *Molecules* are groups of *atoms*. And the highest authorities have declared themselves decided in favour of the necessity of this assumption of the atomic constitution of matter. The theory is based upon many subtle scientific observations. The polarization of light is supposed to confirm it, for polarization results from the disintegration of the rays of light in the decomposition effected by the prism. To suppose the ether or the light substratum *continuous*, would make such a fact impossible to reconcile with the undulatory theory, which is generally accepted. Again, the phenomena of the radiation of heat and its propagation through bodies, presuppose the atomic theory. Undulation seems to require atoms. Magnetic and electrical phenomena confirm it. The dynamic theory of the continuity of matter cannot explain the facts. The simple experiment of drawing out a piece of steel wire until it breaks, seems decisive to prove that matter is not continuous; for how otherwise should the wire break at last? The chemical evidences of the theory are also very striking, but into these we must not enter.

Admitting then the existence of atoms, it is evident that they possess attractive and repellent forces inherent in them. We have not, at least, been able to reduce the phenomena to one force alone—the force of attraction. These forces operate according to distance. The universal laws which we see in the larger bodies we believe to act in the smallest particles, but the man of science cannot decide how the atom in the last instance is formed. He leaves that to philosophy.

We have, then, in the first place, the idea of matter as that which is simply tangible, producing sensible impressions; then, further, we have the *molecules*, or groups of atoms; and then we come to

the notion of *atoms*, or ultimate particles. But it is admitted that atoms are not discernible by the senses. Hence the palpable in nature consists of the impalpable. The two ideas of matter and atoms surely contradict one another. The idea of *matter* is of that which is perceptible by the senses. The idea of *atom* is of that which is not discernible by the senses. Admitting that atoms do exist, what right has science to call them *material*? What is that one, similar, universal constituent in matter and in atoms, which reconciles their opposition and enables us to use the expression *material substance*; and how can the divisible come out of the indivisible?

Here science calls in to its rescue the idea and name of *force*. WHAT IS FORCE? Readily it is granted that *force* is *law*, and it seems to be thought that a satisfactory definition is found. But we must push the inquiry further. WHAT IS LAW? Let us take as an answer the following very clear and forcible words of Fechner ('*Die Physikal. und Philosoph. Atom-lehre*,' p. 120):—

'*Force*, in physical science, is only a form of speech by which we represent the laws of equilibrium and motion, and every clear conception of physical force leads up to them. We speak of laws of force, but looking more closely they are only the laws of equilibrium and motion, which work in opposition to one another, between matter and matter. The sun and earth exhibit a force of attraction for one another. That is really nothing else than this, that the sun and earth move towards one another according to laws in opposite directions. The physicist, we say, knows nothing of *force* but the *law*, but there must be a reason why the sun and earth move towards each other. We call this reason the *force*. Regarded scientifically, however, this *reason* is nothing but the *law*. The law exists that, if certain relations of co-existence of bodies be given, certain new ones will follow. If the force resides anywhere, it resides in the law, which has likewise the power of law that; what it declares is done. When we attribute to every body force, we only attribute to it this, namely, that in proportion to its individual nature, and according to its position in relation to other bodies, it contributes to the fulfilment of the law which belongs (so far as it is universal) to all the relations of matter, and which therefore prescribes to every body what it has to do and suffer in its conjunction with others.'

Now this is very able, so far as it goes, but the idea of law must be more clearly defined.

Dr. Ulrici enumerates four senses of the word '*law*' as used scientifically:—1. A *universal property* or definite relation of bodies to one another, as chemical properties, or the law that one body conducts electricity and another does not. 2. A *definite cause*,

which calls forth uniformly definite effects, as, e.g., sunbeams colour the juices of plants, heat expands iron, light blackens chloride of silver, and so on. 3. A *general fact*, such as the succession of the seasons, the elliptical motions of the planets, heat set free in all chemical combinations. We speak in such cases of a rule which is followed universally, but do not speak of the cause. 4. A *force*, such as the law of gravitation, working definitely, universally, and always producing the same effects. We speak of such effects as necessarily inherent in the force or in the bodies possessing it. Now, properly speaking, the last is the only correct sense of the word law as used scientifically. Fechner does not distinguish which meaning he has employed. He admits that not only the existence of the law but the individuality of the body and its relation with other bodies, form the *reason*, taken together, of that which happens according to law, the reason of the equilibrium and motion. Surely this is to beg the whole question. There cannot be law without something for which it is law. We can conceive a being without law, but we cannot conceive of law without being. And in the same way we cannot escape from distinguishing force and law, as we cannot but distinguish force and matter.

Looking into the modern theories of mechanical forces, into the doctrine of chemical affinity, into the nature of light, heat, magnetism, and electricity, as they are described to us, fundamentally nothing is explained; it is always the same. We are brought face to face with an unknown *force*. And so with the phenomena of life: all organization presupposes a special life-force. The researches of physiology land us in the same philosophical problem; science proves that we must assume the existence of a special psychic force, or of several such forces, which alone explain the psychic and spiritual phenomena. Physiology cannot explain the phenomena of the feelings. No amount of nerve-force is sufficient to account for them. All attempts to ascertain the seat of the soul in the organism have hitherto proved utterly futile (the connection of the will with any supposed galvanic centre or torpedo-like apparatus must still remain an insoluble enigma; all the theories of muscular contractility will not explain the passing of force through the organism in obedience to the will). We are driven to assume the duality of the forces which are manifested in the phenomena.

Dr. Ulrici dwells at some length on the physiological arguments for the existence of a separate life-force, and for the immateri-

ality and immortality of the soul. There are various kinds of psychic activity, propagated in various impulses and through different organs, but proceeding apparently from one centre, ruled and disposed by one force. They have a common direction. There is a unity in the consciousness which attaches to them, which points to the unity of the soul. The soul is not and cannot be an atom or a group of imponderable atoms. It must be a continuous substance, for unity is apparent in all its phenomena.

'Let us put together,' says the Doctor, concluding his very profound chapter on Life-force and the Soul, 'the results of our inquiries. We proceed from the acknowledged principle of natural science that no force is apart from matter. We give, then, first, this conclusion:—As certainly no force can continue to exist without matter with which it is united, so no force can come into existence by a mere mechanical, chemical, organic combination of matter. Only new *manifestations* of force can result from new combinations of matter, but not new forces. For if a new force should come into existence through such combinations, it would be either an effect without a cause (as the mere meeting together of substances is only an approximation in space which, *as such*, can exercise no influence, and can be the seat of no force), or else the substances must possess in themselves the capacity (force) for the joint production of force; that is to say, the force would come into existence through other forces, and so would be rather only a manifestation of them, only the result of an operation for which the power must be present already in the operating forces. This is the reason why, as we have seen, the opponents of a *life-force* must always implicitly, involuntarily, and unconsciously to themselves maintain and recognise what they dispute; and this is why it is the same, as could be easily shown, with opponents of a special *psychical force*. Therefore we are necessitated not only to assume a special *life-force* (for which we must, of course, postulate a special substance), but a special *psychical force* also. If, then, there is a special soul-force and soul-substance, it follows further that since no substance, no force, no existence in general can be annihilated, the soul after the dissolution of its union with the body cannot absolutely pass away. Only the consciousness and the self-consciousness of the soul will vanish at the moment of this dissolution. But as consciousness and self-consciousness are temporarily disturbed, confused, removed by organic changes, it is matter of fact that they do return with their previous contents unaltered after the organic interruption has passed away. Accordingly, it must also be assumed that, although consciousness vanishes with the separation of the soul from the body, still a reawakening of it is not only possible, but will necessarily follow so soon as the soul re-enters into connection with an organism, whether the same or a similar one. We say,

whether with the same or a similar organism; for that the continuation of the absolutely identical organism is requisite for the maintenance or restoration of consciousness cannot be supported in face of the continued change of matter (that is, the continued renovation of the body), and the manifold changes to which the organism is subject. The corporeity of the child is in many respects considerably different from that of the old man, and yet the identity of the consciousness is maintained all the life through. The born-blind, the deaf and dumb, lack very important organs for the development of the psychical power; and still it appears that the deficiency can be supplied by a careful training, so that the same means are not absolutely necessary for the origin and maintenance of consciousness. The various sense-perceptions are produced in the different animals through very variously constructed organs (for example, the eyes of insects are quite differently formed from other eyes), and yet we must assume that the psychical phenomena which result through them are essentially the same; a proof, again, since two different factors co-operate, that the same effect can be obtained through various, or, at least, merely similar means. Hence the only question is, whether that reunion of the soul with a new, more or less similar organism, can be scientifically assumed? The answer to this question follows as a consequence from the principles which rule nature, and which are demonstrated by science. It is proved that the procedure of nature everywhere is to give to conditional forces the possibility of their manifestation and the sphere of their operation. As surely, then, as every atom set free from its chemical union finds a new union with other atoms, and unites itself with them into a new body, so we may postulate that the soul after its separation from the body will not remain in absolute isolation: Natural science must logically assume that the human soul after death will be temporarily indeed deprived of consciousness, but is destined to regain it, together with its preceding contents, by reunion with a new body, even though it be granted that thereby a portion of its earlier contents of consciousness should be lost, *i.e.*, the specifically earthly, casual, unessential. If this process, according to natural, scientific analogy, may be regarded as one continually repeating itself, still physics cannot deny that it may just as well be regarded as coming to a conclusion in a last act by the union of the soul with a corporeity no more separable from it. Reason, however, *demands* such a conclusion. An endless and aimless succession of changes is unreasonable; and hence natural science not only cannot oppose faith as to the immortality of the soul, in the sense assumed, but it must logically recognise it; and though it should not itself maintain its truth, it should yet support its probability.'

In dealing with the theories of science on the structure and formation of the material universe, or scientific cosmology, Dr. Ulrici pursues the same line of argument, and

is, perhaps, even more successful. Kant's hypothesis of the origin of the solar system, as developed by Laplace, has been confirmed by modern researches. We may conceive the whole planetary system in its original condition, as a single, huge, gaseous globe in which, through concentration of the substances composing it, first a middle point and afterwards a fixed kernel of matter was formed; and so the process of solidification was carried forward. The gradual thickening produced heat. And the long course of refrigeration brought about the subsequent conformation; and this process extended through the whole universe. Now, apart altogether from the truth of this theory, it is evident that it postulates a controlling power, and therefore a presiding intelligence. All scientific theories which are worthy of the name as to the formation of our own globe, seem to involve the same conception of mind-force. If there have been periods of creation, these periods must be admitted to have been progressive. If there is evidence of a gradual and uninterrupted evolution, there must still be presupposed a maintaining and determining force. The organisms which are discovered in the crust of the earth prove the existence and agency not simply of a blind life-force but of a life-force which has been directed and developed from one period to another, through a long course of ages, according to principle and in conformity with a method. Although it should be admitted that there is considerable difficulty in marking the distinction between the lowest types of animal and vegetable life, still within each kingdom there is immense variety, orders, classes, families, races, each preserving its proper type and specific differentia with great tenacity. We cannot, therefore, suppose a life-force accounting for this variety, which acts with a mere chance activity. From the beginning there has been this abundance and variety of vegetable and animal life, and in all parts of the earth it is found, and in the same external conditions. We must therefore assume that there has been the control of a higher power. Both in the vegetable and in the animal kingdoms method and law reign throughout. Darwin's theory of the development of species from species by a law of evolution is no contradiction, but rather a confirmation of this. If there is a development from the lower to the higher, and if that development points to a climax in the human being, which, as it concludes a succession of steps, must have been prepared for and foreseen from the beginning, and if the result of this development is the spiritual, self-conscious life of man, then we cannot escape the con-

clusion which is logically brought out, that a spiritual and self-conscious force originated and controlled such a development. Darwin distinctly maintains that the species which have become dominant have had advantages over their already dominant parents, as well as over other species, so that the line of succession is a line of increasing advantage. Darwin, it is true, evidently shrinks from the logical conclusion of his own observations and the working out of his own theory, but he cannot escape it. There must have been a presiding spiritual force.

The laws of the inorganic universe, such as gravitation and the motions of the heavenly bodies, presuppose an originating and prescribing mind-force. The law is adapted to the circumstances, and the circumstances are adapted to the law; and the same principle of adaptation lies at the basis of all the modern discoveries on the subject of heat and electricity. The law of chemical proportions and equivalents—the glory of modern chemistry—is a law of number, of quantitative determination, regulating the manifold chemical combinations and resolutions, according to a fixed numerical rule. Science continually speaks of the balancing of forces in equilibrium, the harmonic adaptation of all the elements. Surely such a language implies the existence of a controlling force in nature. The most patent facts, such as the distribution of matter on the surface of the globe in sea and land, presuppose some principle of arrangement, and therefore some force beyond matter itself. The evidences of mind are innumerable. The course of nature in the great cosmos and the physical history of our own globe, in all the various organic and inorganic provinces, from the first origin of the earth through all periods of its development, reveal, beyond all possible dispute, a harmonic, methodical procedure, the conjunction and disposition of forces and substances, to effect one end after another in progressive succession.

Without pursuing further this enumeration of illustrations, from the mass of scientific conclusions accepted at the present time, pointing all alike to the persistence of force and the unification of phenomena, and therefore to the existence of a Power above nature and in nature and controlling nature, we may now, at the risk of some repetition, give our readers the substance of Dr. Ulrici's summary of scientific data and his conclusions from them, with his refutation of the materialistic and pantheistic theories of the universe on scientific grounds; and this must conclude our notice of his valuable work.

1. That which we designate by the name substance or matter is not a continuous magnitude, extension, mass, but is divided—*i.e.*, every material, natural existence consists of atoms; they are the reality (substantially) in all nature, the substratum of all natural phenomena. Material and atomic are consequently equivalent terms.

2. Atoms, which are divisible into two great classes—the so-called ponderable and the imponderable—exhibit a great mobility, both as parts, and as united into larger wholes (bodies), and their movements assume the most manifold forms, directions, and velocities.

3. These movements stand, both in respect to their modality and in reference to their causes (that is, the forces by which they are called forth), under some great general laws.

4. The following are some of these laws whose universal validity physical science has established with sufficient certainty. (a) No atom, no body, can come into motion by itself. On the other hand, if a motion (manifestation of force, operation) arises, two substances, two factors, at least are always requisite, which either work reciprocally upon one another (attract one another, co-operate), or the one is the cause of the motion of the other. Hence all motion, all activity of matter—be it atom, molecule, or body—goes outwards upon another along with or outside of it. (b) Every motion continues infinitely unless another force (motion) works upon it, hindering, disturbing, &c. (c) Various motions, disturbing one another, seek equilibrium, and continue only until this equilibrium is found. Every new motion is possible, therefore, only through the disturbance of equilibrium.

5. Among these motions, again, two classes are to be distinguished—those of atoms and molecules, and those of bodies; and accordingly molecular forces and mass-forces are distinguished. Mass-forces act from body to body to farther distances, and their operations (motions of bodies) exhibit themselves therefore externally. Molecular forces, on the other hand, only operate in the closest proximity of atom to atom, of molecule to molecule. Their operations, therefore, proceed in the interior of the masses of bodies, and are mostly imperceptible.

6. All bodies, no matter how they are composed, attract one another reciprocally, that is, move towards one another with a velocity (degree of force) which stands in direct proportion to their mass and in inverse proportion to the square of their distances: the universal law of gravitation.

7. Only so far as the atoms are united together in masses (bodies) do they appear to

be subject to this law. Their union, however, ~~of~~ masses, takes place through forces proper to them—cohesion, adhesion, and chemical affinity. They are also forces of attraction; but in the case of cohesion similar, in the case of adhesion dissimilar, atoms and molecules are afterwards joined, united, and made, in the former case similar, in the latter case dissimilar masses. By virtue of chemical affinity, on the other hand, dissimilar atoms move in relation to one another, under determinate conditions, but unite to form a uniform substance, and are co-ordinated and held together by the force of cohesion (as oxygen and hydrogen in water). The force of affinity works according to fixed laws, since the various atoms exercise upon one another a greater or less (or none at all) chemical attraction variously, according to certain internal relations (qualitative), the so-called electric affinity, and combine chemically, according to such relations, for the most part in fixed, determinate proportions. For the mode of operation of the forces of adhesion and cohesion as yet no universally valid laws have been discovered; we know only in respect to the force of cohesion that upon it the form and external appearance of inorganic bodies depend, but not how it acts—as in the case of crystals.

8. The atoms and molecules are moved by other forces besides, which are variously named, on the ground of various phenomena, and are called the forces of light, heat, magnetism, and electricity. Whether they set the imponderable atoms in motion, and operate on the ponderable merely through them, or whether they immediately impel the latter, is still undecided. Notwithstanding their variety in respect to gravity, they follow, again, all alike, the universal law that they operate in direct ratio of their strength or intensity (which here represents the unknowable mass of their imponderable particles), and in inverse ratio of the square of the distance to the object which their operation affects. It is shown also that they stand, both to one another and to the chemical and mechanical forces, in a regular inter-relation, determined by measure and proportion, in virtue of which their operations are transmitted to one another, and any one may produce the effects of the others, or may represent them. Many of the special laws by which each of these forces operates have been established. But they only declare the *conditions* and the *specific forms* of the motion which the impelling force communicates to the imponderable particles (which carry it), without giv-

ing us any decision as to the reason or origin of it.

9. There is an unmistakable distinction between organic and inorganic bodies, between physical and psychical phenomena (i.e., manifestations of force, modes of activity). And as it is with the inorganic so it is with the organic and psychical phenomena—they follow certain proper laws and norms, of which some are established with undoubted certainty. But whether or not we are to assume accordingly a specific life-force or soul-force at the same time with the principal various laws and forms of their operation, is so far still disputable, that a number of physicists deny the necessity of that assumption, notwithstanding the peculiarity of those laws and norms.

From these conclusions, then, established by physics itself, and generally acknowledged, the following seem to be the fair deductions:—

1. Notwithstanding all objections of opponents, a special life-force, and consequently life-substance must be assumed, and is taken for granted, which acts, certainly, only in co-operation with inorganic forces, but to a certain extent rules them and sets the manifold inorganic particles (the ponderable and imponderable atoms) in that combination, form, and mode of operation, which we call an organism.

2. So in like manner we must assume a special psychical force and a soul-substance, in itself one and operating from one centre, which certainly appears again to be limited, as to its manifestations by co-operation with the organism, and which exercises its functions only together with the life-force (the so-called morphological), but yet is distinguishable from it, in so far as the psychical, and especially the spiritual phenomena, undeniably differ from the mere vital phenomena.

3. As it is undoubtedly established that all operations of heat, as well as all chemical processes would cease with the extinction of the sun; and an original cause of magnetism (that is of the first separation of the two magnetic currents), as well as of the electric current (a motion of the electrical fluid), must be assumed; light, as such, that is, the absolutely self-luminary force which in the present order of nature belongs to the sun, and therefore to the fixed stars, must be regarded as an original force, which cannot be placed in subordination to the co-operation or excitement of any other force of nature; for the operation of all other molecular forces appears rather to be dependent upon it. But in this case a force is

assumed which can either operate absolutely independently, and so would cease to be a force of nature, or else can be set in activity, and maintained only as conditioned and impelled by some higher supernatural force.

4. Such a higher, absolutely independent, unconditioned force appears to be definitely demanded by the principles of physical cosmology, and is itself presupposed by physics as the first cause of motion, when the attempt is made to explain scientifically the origin of the material universe.

5. This first cause of all motion, however, must be regarded as a power, working according to a plan—regulating, arranging. Seeing that science itself proves and acknowledges a methodical arrangement in the positions and motions of the heavenly bodies, a methodical combination of causes and relations upon the earth, a methodical succession of stages of development in the organic creation, and an adaptation and agreement reigning throughout the operating forces, organic and inorganic.

There is no absolute certainty, Dr. Ulrici remarks, in these conclusions, because we have not really defined such terms as matter and force, law, phenomena, &c. The atomic theory seems to be established, but it may be objected against it that the idea of an *atom* which lies at its basis is really unthinkable and contradictory. Neither science nor philosophy can meet the objections which are made to this primary conception. If science takes the atom to be the simplest, smallest, absolutely imperceptible portion of a body, it declares an atom unthinkable in doing so; for in this sense the atom is no concept at all like the mathematical concept of a triangle, for example, which, though not perceptible, is still thought because it is put together in thought, made up of component parts; but the atom, just on account of its simplicity, is only to be thought of in the form of an intuition. But neither as an internal intuition nor as an external perception is it thinkable. We can never be sure that we think of the least and the simplest—for there may be a less or a simpler still. The imperceptible and the unthinkable in this case coincide. So long as science cannot prove that (altogether apart from the ideas of great and small, whole and part, and different degrees of composition and simplicity) simple fundamental elements generally must be presupposed for all material things and sensible phenomena, such objections are irresistible. Moreover, the empty space which is assumed to exist between the atoms appears to be a contradiction and a superfluity; for if atoms hold one another apart by their own forces the space

as such is not requisite. And, on the same theory, the extension of matter is inexplicable, for if the atoms are unextended, then how can matter which they constitute be extended; and if they possess any magnitude whatever then they are divisible, which, according to science, they are not. Qualitatively indivisible, though quantitatively divisible, it might be said. But the assumption demands a hypothesis going still further.

We maintain that if the existence of the atom be admitted, it immediately follows that God, the absolute, must be conceived as a necessary postulate of the existence of such constituents of matter. Or, which is the same thing, it is impossible to complete the conception of an atom, and to think of the existence of atoms, clearly and definitely, without positing with it the conception of the existence of God.

Matter is force; the appearance of force. Force in nature works from many force centres, distinguishable from one another. The centralization which prevails everywhere must be founded on a force ruling over the atoms, acting over or with them, and which cannot be a physical force, but must be a metaphysical. Everywhere reign law and order, method and harmony. Everywhere there is progress, gradation of structure and form and development. The presiding central force must be intelligence.

Dr. Ulrici exposes with considerable acuteness the theories of the materialist and the pantheist—showing that they are not only against reason, but refuted by the science of our day. The materialist admits the order prevailing in nature, but ascribes it to chance. How is this reconciled with the atomic theory? After innumerable other combinations of the elementary atoms had taken place, but had been again dissolved, because of internal disharmony, the present order came to pass, because the union of elements on which it rests involves (by chance) a corresponding fitness of those elements to one another, a relation according to their forces and properties. Such a theory is simple absurdity. Suppose we allowed, what is really unthinkable, that a chaotic confusion of elements, notwithstanding their multiplicity and variety, worked into an order universally prevailing, still there is contradiction; for it is presupposed that a constitution originally inheres in the elements themselves, according to which, of necessity, the combinations not tenable and unfitting came to an end, and the fitting and coincident remain. But whence the original constitution? Why should the harmonic combinations abide? If chance reigns, not only is one combination of elements as good as

another, but they must continually change. This theory speaks of harmony as the cause of permanence, and then supposes a predisposition to harmony. Geological investigation shows that from the beginning chemical and physical laws which still rule have been carrying forward a regular progression. The original flora and fauna did not come to an end because they rested on an unfitting union of materials, but because by the process of regular regeneration they were carried forward, and no longer harmonized with the higher phases of the terrestrial formation. Older races gave way to the richer, more manifold, and more highly developed flora and fauna of subsequent ages. Materialism too has forgotten to account for the first motion of atoms. Scientifically it is established that no matter moves itself. There is no force in operation except through another force. *Vis inertiae* is the fundamental property of matter. The origin of force must be in that which is not the material universe, which is not nature—which is supernatural. Above the conditioned there must be the unconditioned, not simply as a negative idea, but as a positive, necessary postulate of all occurrences in nature. And the unconditioned can conditionate itself and become the conditioned only by a creative act.

Pantheism is involved in essentially the same contradiction as materialism. It confounds the universe with God by deriving it from His essence, and therefore makes the conditioned to be the conditioned and the unconditioned at the same time. We must call in to our rescue the conception of creation; creation involves an act of distinction. The absolute must distinguish itself from that which it is not. The cause must be distinguished from the effect. This self-distinction is the spiritual self-activity by which the spirit is spirit, because both consciousness and self-consciousness. When we speak of the laws of nature we postulate the idea of the absolute Being conditioning Himself—in a word, *creating*. The particular laws of nature are dependent upon the one law of uniformity, and that is in fact the logical law of identity and contradiction ($A=A$). Nature and natural forces work in absolute universality according to the laws of thought; or may we not rather say, that we are incapable of conceiving nature otherwise? If the laws of thought are the laws of nature, then nature is the effect of which a thinker is the cause. Law, according to its pure concept, is only the norm of action or occurrence. No law is operative without the existence of a force which is different from it, which operates according to it. A power can give a law only as it is

distinct from itself, as the norm of its action. The creative power must be spiritual or supernatural; and the same reasoning applies to what we call the order of the universe. Order implies a fixed principle; the different principles of order through the different provinces of nature are subjected to one principle. What is this one principle of order? Not simply the uniformity of nature, because nature is ever changing. There must be a principle prior to the order, to the changes which follow the order—it cannot itself be material; it must be a norm according to which creative activity proceeded, and according to which it ordained the being and constitution of the elements themselves. If there is an aim in nature, then there must be a self-conscious Being behind it. The atomic theory destroys the possibility of maintaining either the materialistic or the pantheistic view of the universe.

The Christian idea of God is altogether distinct. God has not developed the material universe out of His own substance. He has created it. The world is not a constituent of the being of God—it is His free act, the work of His creative force of will, as distinct from Himself.

The ends of the universe, therefore, are in themselves limited to the universe. They are not the ends of God's being in itself. The ends of the universe can be only finite and temporary. If they lead to one infinite end still they do so by a finite course. If then we assume that this finite course of the universe demands the interposition of God Himself at certain points of it, still this interposition is only in the way of disposing and modifying the natural effects and forces. These still remain always the immediate causes of natural occurrences. In creation, and in creation alone, does the unconditionality of the Divine activity find its complete expression. If God be regarded as a force, then He must be regarded as in Himself an unconditioned force. But the only true conception of activity which we can combine with the conception of an unconditioned force is an unconditioned activity; that is, a creative activity—not simply a force in nature, but a force which originates nature.

We shall find our scientific men accepting, under the leadership of their most philosophical reasoners, something like this position, that the supernatural is the cause of the natural; and if they go thus far they cannot long withhold their hearty assent to the theistic views of the Christian. In the latest edition of his masterly work, 'First Principles,' Mr. Herbert Spencer, summing up the results of his inquiries, makes the

following admissions, with which we will conclude this article (p. 551):—

‘It has been shown by analysis of both our religious and our scientific ideas that, while knowledge of the cause which produces effects on our consciousness is impossible, the existence of a cause for these effects is a datum of consciousness. We saw that the belief in a Power, of which no limit in time or space can be conceived, is that fundamental element in religion which survives all its changes of form. We saw that all philosophies avowedly or tacitly recognise this same ultimate truth—that while the relativist rightly repudiates those definite assertions which the absolutist makes respecting existence transcending perception, he is yet at last compelled to unite with him in predicating existence transcending perception, and the inexpugnable consciousness in which religion and philosophy are at one with common sense proved to be likewise that on which all exact science is based. We proved that subjective science can give no account of these conditioned modes of being which constitute consciousness without postulating unconditioned being. And we proved that objective science can give no account of the world which we know as external, without regarding its changes of form as manifestations of something that continues constant under all forms. This is also the implication to which we are now led back by our completed synthesis. The recognition of a *persistent force*, ever changing its manifestations, but unchanged in quantity throughout all past time and throughout all future time, is that which we find alone makes possible each concrete interpretation, and at last unifies all concrete interpretations.’

Such language points to a new era in the philosophy of science in our own country. This ultimate truth, which is acknowledged to be the basis of all human thought, must be the ground on which shall be effected a lasting reconciliation between inquirers in all departments of human knowledge, whether physical, metaphysical, or theological.

ART. V.—*The Primæval Archæology of Rome.*

- (1.) *Die Ruinen Roms und der Campagna*, von Dr. FRANZ REBER. Leipzig. 1863.
- (2.) *A History of the City of Rome, its Structures and Monuments*. By THOMAS H. DYER, LL.D. London. 1865.
- (3.) *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, von ALFRED VON REUMONT. iii. Bände. Berlin. 1867.
- (4.) *Rome and the Campagna, and Historical and Topographical Description of the*

Site, Buildings, and Neighbourhood of Ancient Rome. By ROBERT BURN, M.A. Cambridge and London: 1871.

- (5.) *L'Histoire Romaine à Rome*, par J.J. AMPÈRE. Quatrième Edition. 4 Tomes. Paris. 1871.
- (6.) *The Archæology of Rome*. By JOHN HENRY PARKER, C.B. Vol. I. Oxford and London: 1874.

THERE is no subject on which the growth of modern scientific research has thrown more light than on the præ-historic times of the city of Rome. There is no better field for the careful application of the comparative method. By bringing that method to bear on the legends and traditions of the early days of the city, by comparing them with the evidence supplied by the natural features of the spot and by the still existing remains of man's primitive works, we are enabled to call up a picture of the first beginnings and the early growth of the city. Such a picture stands apart, alike from blind acceptance of the legendary story, from the arbitrary substitution of something of our devising in its place, and from that extreme sceptical view which holds that, till we have contemporary written evidence, all is darkness. If we are satisfied with the amount of knowledge which is really to be had, if we think it enough to recover successive states of things in their proper order, without names and exact dates, if we are content to do without personal characters and personal adventures, we shall really find our præ-historic chronicle by no means meagre. The history of Rome, boundless as it is, is a history whose leading features may be easily summed up. It is the history of a city, of a ruling city, of an incorporating city. It is the history of a city; for the local Rome was always more than the mere capital; it was the hearth and home of the Roman State, and, when equal privileges were granted to all the inhabitants of the Roman world, it was the franchise of the local Roman city which was granted to them. It was, in short, as if Rome herself, the local city, had spread herself over the whole extent of her dominion. Rome was thus, above all other cities, the ruling and the incorporating city; she was the city which bore rule over a wider dominion and for a longer time than any other city, because she was more ready than any other ruling city to bestow her own franchise upon her allies and subjects. Now there is no feature in her history which is more clearly brought out than this, when we come to compare Rome herself with her earliest traditions and legends. Her special character, not

merely as the ruling city, but as the incorporating city, is a character which she had from the beginning; it is a character which is impressed upon her as a necessity by the hand of nature. There are other cities whose sites are more lordly, which strike us as being more directly marked out by nature as seats of dominion. Rome does not stand so proudly as some cities which were once her subjects, as some which have arisen in later times, both in Italy and in other lands. The Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, could never have looked down so proudly as the minsters of Saint Cuthbert and Saint Hugh on the heights of Lincoln and of Durham. She does not seem so naturally marked out as the centre of all around her as Bern looking forth from her peninsula, as Florence girded by her wall of mountains, as Venice floating on the bosom of her subject sea. But Rome on her Seven Hills had a mission given to her which could never have been given to cities perched on the single height of Fiesole, of Le Mans, or of Lincoln. They might be fortresses, they might be municipalities, they might be the seats of rule of counts and bishops and kings; but they could at most be only ruling cities, they could never be incorporating cities. But in an age when every height was sought as a shelter and dwelling-place of man, the island hills of Rome, the promontories which spread themselves forth to meet them, each inhabited by its own separate settlement, had no choice but either endless strife or incorporation into a greater whole. The lesson was learned from the beginning. When the men of the Palatine and the men of the Capitoline began to meet in the Comitium as members of a single state, it was the foreshadowing of the day when the citizenship of the hill-fort on the Palatine should be granted to all the lands from the Euphrates to the ocean. When the first wall was drawn round those primæval hills, it was a foreshadowing of the time when the line of Rome's walls should be drawn beyond the rivers of Germany and the firths of Northern Britain. When the first outpost in a strange land was planted on the height of Janiculum, it was a foreshadowing of the day when York and Antioch should be outposts of Rome in lands which were no longer strange.

But, if the position of Rome with regard to the world in general is really only the carrying out of a process which began within the range of her own hills, the story of her local growth within her own walls is one of the most instructive in the history of mankind. Nowhere else are we admitted to see so clearly and so minutely

the growth of a great city from the very beginning. And it is strange to see how little direct effect the extension of her power over Italy and the world had upon Rome as a local city. In one sense of course, in the growth of her population, in the number and splendour of her buildings, the effect which the growth of the Roman dominion had on the Roman city was beyond words. But the city herself did not grow with her dominion; and, if her works grew in splendour, they did not in the same way grow in actual greatness. The King who made the great sewer really wrought a greater work than the Emperor who laid out the Forum of Trajan. And the city itself, the walled and fortified enclosure, never grew in all the long ages between Servius and Aurelian. There is a sense in which the historian of the city of Rome may leap over her ages of foreign conquest, a sense in which he may pass by Scipio and Flaminius, Cæsar and Trajan, as persons with whom he has no concern. The growth of the walled city belongs to the days of her early infancy and to the days of her seeming decline. The first Rome on the Palatine fenced herself with walls to guard herself against foes on the Capitoline and the Quirinal. In a later stage she fenced in all her seven hills to guard herself and her allies against the Etruscan beyond the Tiber and the Volscian beyond the Alban hills. The æra that began lasted for ages; the walls of Servius remained her defence through the struggle with the Gaul, the Carthaginian, and the Macedonian. Rome did not again extend her civic boundary, she did not again gird herself with new and wider defences, till she had to dread the attack of men of our own race. The walls of Aurelian, the gates of Honorius, tell us of the days when Rome had to tell her towers and mark well her bulwarks, to see if they could save from the Frank, the Aleman, and the Goth. In one aspect of local Roman history, and that not the least important aspect, we may leap from the night when the Sabines of Appius Herdonius climbed over the battlements of the Capitol to the night when the 'tremendous sound of the Gothic trumpet' was heard within the Salarian gate.*

Our present business lies mainly with the earliest days of the city, and these we have to look at by the light which modern science has thrown upon such inquiries. By bringing together all that it has taught us

* See Becker, *Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer*, i. 91, where he points out the three main epochs in the history of the city, the first fortress on the Palatine, the walls of Servius, and the walls of Aurelian.

as to the beginning of states and cities, we can see what the beginning of Rome must have been. We can enjoy the legendary tale none the less as a legendary tale, because we no longer accept it as a narrative of actual facts. And yet in the legendary tale itself, dealt with as we now know how to deal with it, we can see important elements of truth. We no longer believe in a personal Romulus, founder of Rome; we now know that the legend which makes Rome the creation of a Romulus is historically worth hardly more than the arbitrary addition to the legend which says that the followers of the slain Remus marched off into Gaul, and founded the city of *Remi*.* We see that the tale of Romulus is simply one out of the hundred tales of the origin of Rome, which happened to gain more vogue than its fellows, because it was thrown into a shape which better suited the national mind, and because it has been handed down to us in the imperishable works of the great Roman writers. We see that the tale is a tale of late growth and strongly tinged with foreign elements. It is no Grecian invention, but a tale of strictly Roman birth; every detail marks it as a legend which grew up on the spot, differing in this from the mere arbitrary guesses of the Greek writers. But it is a tale which could not have grown up till intercourse with their Greek neighbours had given the Romans a wholly new stock of religious and legendary ideas. We see that the story of the Vestal and the War God could not have arisen in days when men still clung to the old Italian notions of deity; those who devised it must have been already familiar with Hellenic notions about the loves of the gods and the births of the heroes. We see that the tale of the miraculous preservation and nurture of the twins is simply one of the tales which go the round of the world. The wolf which suckled Romulus and Remus is but another form of the kindred beast which suckled Cyrus. We see too that the end of the hero is no less inconsistent with old Italian belief than his beginning, that the change of the man Romulus into the god Quirinus is a tale which came from the

same Hellenic source as the tale which gave him a god for his father. We see the late origin of the story in the fact that not one of the proudest patrician houses of Rome dared to claim a descent from the founder of the city. We see that the very name of the supposed founder teaches us the same lesson; it is coined from a later form of the name of the city, the oldest form of the name of Rome lurks in the name of her eldest tribe; if a Romulus could have been the patriarch of the *Romans*, he could never have been the patriarch of the *Ramnes*.* Yet with all this, the old tales are full of truth; the true tradition still stands out clearly distinguished from the inventions either of poets or flatterers; and the eternal monuments of primæval days are still there as living and contemporary witnesses of the truth of the tradition. All the tales of the origin of Rome, whatever name they may give to her founder, from whatever stock, divine or human, they may trace his line, all agree in this, that there was a time when the Palatine was the only Rome, when its Ramnes were the only Romans. Comparative science might almost have told us as much without the help of tradition. But here are the tales, differing in every thing else, but agreeing in this, the one kernel of truth round which the mass of legend has gathered. And there against the scarped side of the primæval hill, we can still see the mighty stones, the wall which fenced in the citadel of the oldest Rome, when her *pomærium* took in the Palatine alone, and when the enemies to be feared were not beyond the Alps, not beyond the Etruscan or the Sabine hills, but on the rock of the Capitol hard by. On the summit again we can now see the foundations of the primæval fortress, whence the chiefs of those old Ramnes looked forth for signs of attack from that hostile Capitoline or for signs of help from the friendly Cælian. Names we have none, dates we have none; but we may be sure that that hill had long been a dwelling place of man, that the clans which

* This story is told in the first chapter of Floard's History of the Church of Rheims: 'Probabilis ergo videtur, quod a militibus Remi patria profugis urbs nostra condita, vel Remorum gens instituta putatur, cum et mœnia Romanis auspiciis insignita, et editor porta, Martis Romanæ stirpis veterum opinione propagatoris ex nomine vocitata, priscum ad hæc quoque nostra cognomen reservaverit tempora.' The reference is to the great Roman gate at Rheims, the Porta Martis, where he says that the wolf and twins were yet to be seen.

* Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, i. 31: 'Wie verhältnissmässig späten Ursprungs selbst der Name Romulus ist, beweist der Umstand, dass der ältere Name des Stammes urkundlich nicht *Romani* war, sondern *Ramnes*, und erst später mit einer der ältern Sprachperiode geläufigen, sonst aber innerhalb des Lateinischen nicht mehr vorkommenden Umlautung in *Romaneis* oder *Romani* überging; so dass der Name *Roma* oder *Rama* vielleicht ursprünglich die Wald- oder Buschstadt bezeichnet.' We may accept Mommsen's etymology or not; but we can hardly doubt that the true form of the name is preserved in the tribe-name of the *Ramnes*, and that *Roma*, and the eponymous names *Romus* and *Romulus* framed from it, belong to a later stage.

came together to form the Ramnian tribe had made many steps in the arts of war and government and human culture of every kind before they raised so great a work as that of which we now see the fragments, the mighty bulwarks of the primæval city. The tale, goes on to tell us how there was first war, then peace, then alliance and incorporation, between the Ramnes on the Palatine and the Titius on the Quirinal and the Capitot—how the men of the two cities met, first in fight and then in council, in the Comitium which lies between them. We risk no guesses as to dates, or as to names, but we see that the tradition preserves a tale which a mere glance at the site at once stamps with the mark of truth. Be the names Romulus and Tatius or any others, we see in the state of things which the legend represents the beginning of all that made Rome great, of all that made her eternal.

We cast then aside the various guesses, most of them coined in an Hellenic mint, by which learned men, Roman and Greek, in the days of Rome's greatness sought to account for the origin of the city. The tales of Evander and of Hercules—be that Hercules the Hēraklēs of Greece, or an Italian god who has got hopelessly confounded with him*—the obscure tales about Romē the captive, and about Romē the wife, daughter or granddaughter of Aineias, † the tales which gave the city a Trojan or an Achaian origin, are all historically worth just as much, and just as little as the more famous tale of the twin children of the vestal. The tale which we heard in our childhood is simply one out of many, which has chanced, as it deserved, to become more famous than its fellows. These tales are not properly speaking traditions; they are mere guesses, some of which have had, and some of which have not had, the good luck to be cast into a poetic form and to obtain a lasting currency. But when we have tales, however dim and contradictory, of early inhabitants of the spot, Ligurian, Sicanian, or Sicilian, ‡ when we hear a half-

muttered story that Rome once had another name than Rome, and when we are told that before Rome was, the spot was already known as Septimontium, in all these things, we seem to have, not the mere guesses of ingenious men in an age of reflexion, but fragments of genuine tradition, handed on from immemorial times. In the dim mention of Sicanians and Ligurians, names which would have hardly come into the head of a mere legend-maker, we seem to be carried back to days which must have been, though there is no record left of them, the days when the site of Rome was still held by a non-Aryan race, and when the Italian division of the great Aryan army was still pressing its way through the mountains and valleys of the great central peninsula of southern Europe. It is perhaps hardly going too far if we risk the guess that the wild tale of Cacus, the giant of the Aventine still keeps, like the tales of the centaurs of Hellas, and the trolls and giants of the North, some faint memory of the days of the great migration of our common forefathers. The tale that Rome had another name, falls in with the fact that her people had an older and a younger name, that there must have been some local name, which gave birth to the gentile *Ramnes*, before *Roma* and *Romans* were heard of. The Septimontium too, the old feast of the seven hills, not the famous seven of the Servian city, but the earlier seven, the names of some of which have almost vanished,* may really point to

quando tenuerunt, id est, usque ad ea loca, in quibus nunc Roma est; hæc enim Siculi habitaverunt; illi autem a Liguriis pulsi sunt; Ligures a Sacranis; Sacrani ab Aboriginibus.' So Festus, 321, Ed. Müller: 'Sacranis appellati sunt Reate orti, qui ex Septimontio Ligures Siculosque egerunt.' On the Sicilians, see Lewis, i. 272. The Sicanians are commonly held to be akin to the Iberians and Ligurians, and to be therefore most likely a non-Aryan people.

* The Septimontium, the older seven hills, is spoken of by all the best modern writers on Rome. Our knowledge on the subject comes from Varro, L.L. v. 41; vi. 24; and Festus, 340, 348. Varro begins by saying: 'Ubi nunc est Roma, erat olim Septimontium, nominatum ab tot montibus, quos postea urbs muris comprehendit.' But he shows that he did not fully understand his own meaning by going on directly to talk about the Capitol, which is not one of the seven. But in the second passage referred to he says: 'Dies Septimontium nominatus ab his septem montibus, in quibus sita Urbs est; feræ non populi, sed montanorum modo.' What the 'montes' and who the 'montani' were we learn from Festus, who describes the 'Septimontium' as a sacrifice made on the seven 'montes'—'Palatium, Velia, Fagatal, Subura, Cermalus, Oppius, Cispius.' The feast of the Septimontium (Σεπτομόντιον) is spoken of also by Plutarch, Quæst. Rom. 69; and by Suetonius, Domit. 4. The strange ceremonies of the 'October Equus,' spoken of by Festus, 178 (see

* This question whether the Latin Hercules was originally a god of boundaries and fences, with a name from the verb *hercere* or *herciscere*, is discussed by Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, 640, and the whole subject is more thoroughly gone into by Schwegler, *Römische Geschichte*, i. 366.

† Sir G. C. Lewis (Credibility of the Early Roman History, i. 895) has collected twenty-four different stories of the origin of Rome, with almost as many distinct ἐκδόσεις. A still longer list is brought together by Schwegler, i. 400. The particular stories referred to in the text will be found in the opening chapters of Solinus and of Plutarch's Life of Romulus.

‡ The Sican appear in Virgil, *Æneid*, vii. 795; viii. 328; xi. 317; where is the important note of Servius: 'Usque ad fines Sicanos, quos Siculi ali-

a time when a mere descriptive name for a whole region had not yet given way to the name of a single settlement on one of its heights. Traditions of this kind, which may have been misconceived and misapplied, but which can hardly have been deliberately invented, are something quite different at once from the romance and from the deliberate fiction of both of which we find so large a store in what passes for early Roman history. They are in fact history, though history in its rudest, most imperfect, most fragmentary form. But it is a history which we must look for much less in those Roman writers who are professed historians, than in the detached notices of writers of quite another kind. We must seek for it in the works of antiquaries, philologists, dictionary makers, compilers of all kinds, in the casual references of poets and orators, and in those sayings of the historians themselves which are most strictly entitled to be looked upon as undesigned. We must turn from the flowing narrative of Livy, and from the heavier, but more careful work of the Greek Dionysios, to scraps scattered up and down the surviving portions of Varro and Festus, to copyists like Solinus, to the sayings which fall as it were by the way from the better known Latin writers, counting among them the casual notices of Livy and Dionysios themselves. Virgil and Ovid hold a high place among our authorities, but it is Virgil and Ovid speaking in the spirit of antiquaries rather than of poets. From the hints which we pick up in this way, combined with the witness of the spot itself and the earliest works of man to be seen upon it, we may, if we can be satisfied to do without personal names and personal adventures, put together something like a consecutive account of the pre-historic times of Rome, meagre indeed, but free alike from mythical details and from any attempts at divination on our own part.

In Rome then we see a group of settlements of immemorial antiquity which gradually grew into a single city. It is vain to ask whether the Palatine was actually the first hill of the group to become the dwelling-place of man, or of Italian man. For our purposes the settlement on the Palatine is the first of the group, because it is the one which incorporated and gave its name to the others. There may have been a Quirium on the Capitoline, there may have been a Lucerium on the Cælian; we know

that there was on the Palatine a settlement in which the others merged themselves, whose inhabitants formed the oldest tribe in the united state, and whose name, if only in its later form, became the name of the united city. The beginnings of these settlements belonged to days when political life was still in its earliest stage, when clans were growing into tribes, but when tribes were not yet growing into nations, or even into cities. These settlements were essentially of the same nature as the other settlements which, in Italy, in Greece, in Gaul, crowned every hill which nature had marked out for a citadel. Had the Palatine stood alone as an isolated hill, the Ramnes and their town would most likely never have outstripped the other towns which arose on almost every height in central Italy. It was the presence of so many attractive sites close together which made Rome become all that she did become. The hills of Rome, low but steep, the isolated *montes* and the peninsular *colles*, have a certain likeness in general effect, though they have none in geological origin, to the insular and peninsular hills which form a characteristic feature in some parts of Gloucestershire and, still more strikingly, of Somerset. And in both cases the words insular and peninsular are not mere metaphors. The Isle of Avalon, and the neighbouring hills of which it is the greatest, were real islands in the vast swamp in the days when Alfred sought shelter at Athelney. And so the Palatine and the Capitoline were islands, in the days when there was a Curtian Lake in the low ground between them, and when boatmen earned their living by rowing passengers across the Velabrum.* Here we have pieces of real tradition. We need not trouble ourselves with any of the legendary explanations of the name, but we may be sure that the name of the Curtian Lake preserves the memory of times when, probably not always, but at least in certain seasons and in certain weathers, the low ground was a lake and the hills were islands. How slight an elevation may make the difference between wet and dry in such cases will be understood by those who know the use of the words *highlands* and *lowlands* in Cambridgeshire. To this state of things the great sewer put an end, but its memory comes up again on occasion when Father Ti-

* Varro, L.L. v. 43: 'Olim paludibus mons [Aventinus] erat ab reliquis disclusus, itaque eo ex urbe advehebantur ratibus: quoque vestigia, quod ea, quæ tum vehebantur, etiam nunc dicitur Velabrum, et unde descendebant, ad infamam novam viam locus sacellum Velabrum.' So v. 156: 'Palus fuit in minore Velabro, a quo, quod ibi vehebantur lintribus, Velabrum, ut illud majus de quo supra dictum est.'

Burn, p. 38) would seem almost to belong to an earlier state of things than the Septimontium. The struggle was between the 'Suburenses' and the 'Sacravienses.' See *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*. I. 140.

ber overflows his banks, as legend says that he did to receive the cradle of the first founders of the city, and as it is more certain that he did by way of a strange welcome when that city again became the head of an united Italy.* On these low, steep, wooded islands and promontories many ruder tribes may have settled, and may have been driven out by successive conquerors, before the days of the Latin settlement which grew into Rome. Our work begins when the Ramnes first fixed themselves on the Palatine, when they traced out the *pomærium* at its foot with the sacred plough, when they scarped the sides of the hill and strengthened them with the mighty stones which still are there, and when, as the strongest defence of all, the walls of the primæval citadel, the *Roma quadrata*, rose on the north-eastern of its two peaks, looking forth upon the hostile hill of Saturn. Small as the settlement was, it was already a city, inaugurated with the sacred rites which belonged to the foundation of a city; it had its temples, its gates, its *clivus victoriae*, its ascent of triumph, when victory was to be won, not over Britain or Parthia, not over Carthage or Macedonia, but over the tribe which had made its settlement on the other side of the swamp at the foot of the primæval Rome. The spot where Rome arose lay at the meeting of the lands of three distinct races; the Latin outpost on the Palatine could look out on the land of the Etruscan stranger beyond the Tiber, and on the heights from which the Sabine—a kinsman as compared with the Etruscan—was pressing down upon the lower land of Latium. The two nations met face to face. The Latin outpost on the Palatine, with its stronghold of *Roma quadrata*, was met by the Sabine outpost on the Quirinal, with its stronghold on that Saturnian hill which was to be the Capitol of Rome. That the real home of the Sabine settlement—we may call it Quirum or not, as we think good—lay on the Quirinal, and that the Saturnian or Capitoline hill was simply the site of its citadel, seems to us to admit of very little doubt. The Capitoline hill, so much smaller than the Palatine, could hardly have been the site of a distinct settlement, and it seems in early times not to have been so strongly cut off from the Quirinal as it now is, but to have been rather a peninsula than a true island like the Palatine, Aventine, and

Cælian. To our minds the name of the *vetus capitolium* on the Quirinal, one of those names which no later age could invent and which must represent a genuine tradition, is proof enough that the Quirinal was the site of the original Sabine settlement. It was the home of the second in date of the patrician tribes of Rome; the hill which was to be the strongest fortress of Rome and the holiest sanctuary of her gods, was held by the Sabine Tities as a stronghold against the Latin Romans on the Palatine.* Here we have a piece of the very truest tradition. But if this be so, it follows that a great number of the most familiar legends must be at once cast aside as no genuine traditions at all, but as the fictions, or at best the arbitrary guesses, of an age which did not understand the meaning of the real tradition. If the Saturnian or Capitoline Hill was the site of an original Sabine fortress, we must at once give up the legend which makes the Sabine possession of the Capitol the result of a sudden seizure of that post in the war between Romulus and Titus Tatius. We may admit the name of *Mons Tarpeius* as an ancient name for the hill of Saturn, or for part of it, but we must seek for the origin of that name in some other source than any version of the legend of the fair Tarpeia. In this way we see that a great number of the events which the legend assigns to the reign of Romulus are topographically misplaced. They are adapted to the circumstances of a king who reigns on the Capitoline as well as on the Palatine, not to the circumstances of a king who reigns on the Palatine only. An asylum opened by a King of the Ramnes only must have been on the depression between the two heights of the Palatine; it cannot have been on the depression between the two heights of the Capitoline.† Such a king may have marched in triumph up the *clivus victoriae* of his own hill; he cannot have marched up the *clivus* of the Capitol which beheld the triumphs of Camillus and of Cæsar. In these cases there is no counter-legend; but we see that stories of the same

* In many places in Rome the height of the great flood of September, 1870, is marked. But we can hardly hold that Father Tiber meant

‘Ire dejectum monumenta regis,’

but rather to welcome the establishment of the revived kingdom.

* See *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*. v. 143; Becker, i. 117, 577; Von Reumont, i. 21.

† It must be remembered that the asylum appears again under Tullus. In Dionysios, iii. 82, the Sabines accuse the Romans *ὅτι τοὺς Σαβίνων φυγίδας ἑτέδρχοντο κατασκυιάσαντες ἀσύλον ἑρῶν, ὑπὲρ οὗ ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ δεδήλωται μοι*. In Livy, i. 80, the charge takes the form: ‘Sabini suos prius in lucum confugisse ac Romæ retentos.’ ‘Lucus’ comes to the same thing as asylum (see Schwegler, i. 590). This is one of the many cases in which Tullus, according to the view of Schwegler and Ihne, simply repeats Romulus; only, at the stage represented by the reign of Tullus, a Roman king might open an asylum on the Capitol. Digitized by Google

kind did grow up when there was a genuine counter-legend. There was a house of Romulus to be seen on the Palatine, a relic which, if not genuine, at least fitted consistently into the legend. But there was another house of Romulus to be seen on the Capitoline, a relic which was clearly devised in forgetfulness of the genuine legend.* The house of Romulus on the Capitoline makes us better able to judge of his alleged asylum and his alleged triumphs on the same height. All these stories are alike inconsistent with the account of the extent of the *pomærium* of Romulus which is preserved by Tacitus. They are, in truth, inconsistent with the universal agreement on every side that the earliest Rome consisted of the Palatine only. No one surely who has any grain of historical criticism can doubt which of the two reports is the genuine tradition to be accepted, and which is the mere legend to be cast aside.

The tradition of the Septimontium, the feast to which it gave its name, the distinction between the men of the *montes* and the men of the *colles*, the rivalry between them, and the strange rites with which that rivalry was commemorated—all these are clearly pieces of genuine tradition; they are relics which must be as old as the hills themselves. It is inconceivable that they could have been invented at any time later than the state of things which is represented by the joint reign of Romulus and Titus Tatius. They set before us the men of the *montes*, the insular hills as distinguished from the *colles* or promontories; and the distinction which they preserve cannot fail to be a survival of a time when they were not only distinct but hostile. And among the *montes*, strange as the omission would seem from any later view of Roman history and topography, they do not reckon the Capitol. But, besides the Palatine itself, and its adjuncts the Germalus and the Velia, the list takes in the valley of the Subura, and it skirts the lower tongues of the Esquiline, those known as Oppius and Cispian. Here then we may almost venture to say we have the extent of the oldest 'ager Romanus.' The citadel rose on the height; the *pomærium* round the Palatine marked out the city; the small territory whose inhabitants had a share in the rites of the Septimontium marked out the first extent of Roman dominion without the city. At one point at least the boundary of the infant state was marked and defended by a ram-

part of earth. The dyke which fenced off the Subura from the dangerous neighbours on the higher slopes of the Esquiline,* discharged, in the stage which is represented by the legendary reign of Romulus, the same duty which was discharged by dykes and walls beyond the Rhine and the Danube, between the Solway and the German Ocean, when the dominion of Rome over the Subura and the Cispian had grown into a dominion over Italy and the Mediterranean world.

The two great settlements which thus came together to form the earliest city stand out with a clearness which almost amounts to certainty. There can be no reasonable doubt that the legend of Romulus and Titus Tatius represents a real state of things. We need not trouble ourselves about dates and names. Titus Tatius, with his *prænomen* and *nomen*, sounds more historical than Romulus with his single name, like a Greek. But Tatius is as clearly an eponymous hero as his colleague, with the advantage that Titus Tatius is a true eponymous hero of the Tities, while Romulus is but a clumsily devised hero of the Ramnes. The real kernel of truth in the legend of the joint reign of Romulus and Tatius is that the two tribes, the Ramnes of the Palatine and the Tities of the Quirinal and the Capitoline, joined together in a single commonwealth, and became component tribes of one city. An ingenious French writer is able to help us to many details, and, above all things, to set forth the great superiority of the Sabines over the rude shepherds of the Palatine, and the supremacy which they fittingly enjoyed over them.† Without going off into these romantic imaginations, there is some ground to believe that the Sabine tribe, the Tities, did at first hold a precedence, perhaps even a superiority, over the Latin Ramnes.‡ But the feelings of later times reversed this order, and not without reason. For, owing doubtless to the fact that the Sabine element was recruited by no new settlers in early times, while the Latin element was strengthened by the third patrician tribe and by the great mass of the Commons, Rome grew up a Latin, and not a Sabine city. The evidence of language alone shows that it was the Latin

* Varro, L.L. v. 48: 'Eidem regioni attributa Subura, quod sub muro terreo Carinarum.' This must surely mean something of the kind which we have supposed in the text, some partial forerunner of the great Servian agger.

† All this comes out in M. Ampère's chapters, 11, 12, 13; the last bearing the title of 'Promenade historique dans la Rome Sabine au temps de Numa.'

‡ See Schwegler, i. 492, 493, where he remarks that in Varro and elsewhere the Tities commonly take precedence of the Ramnes.

* On the passages which imply a 'casa Romuli' on the Capitol, see Becker i. 401. The idea may be a late one; it may have arisen from some misunderstanding; it is enough for our purpose that it ever arose at all.

element which assimilated the Sabine, and not the Sabine element which assimilated the Latin. Rome grew up a Latin city, though a Latin city which showed strong signs of Sabine influence, above all in the character of its national religion. There is no more reason to believe in a personal Numa than in a personal Romulus. But the legend of Numa is well conceived, as setting forth that the creed and the gods of Rome were largely Sabine. Still the Ramnes and the Tities did not make up the whole Roman commonwealth. There were other elements in the Roman state, just as there were other hills within the circuit of Rome, though it is not so easy to settle their origin and their geographical position as it is to settle the origin and the position of the eldest Latin and the single Sabine tribe. Within the city of Servius we have the Cælian Hill, an integral part both of the civil and of the sacred enclosure, fenced in both by the lines of military defence and by the consecrated line of the extended *pomærium*. We have too the Aventine, included within the Servian walls, but not included till ages after within the consecrated boundary. On these heights we naturally look for the other elements of the Roman commonwealth. And it is not hard to put together almost any theory that we choose, whether out of conflicting ancient traditions or out of the no less conflicting conjectures of ingenious men in modern times. It is easy and tempting to quarter the third patrician tribe, the Luceres, on the Cælian, and to look on them as another Latin element in the commonwealth. But there is more than one tradition which connects the Cælian Hill, not with Latin, but with Etruscan settlers. We have the tale of Cœles Vibenna, and the tale of that Mastarna who was so mysteriously changed into Servius Tullius. This last tale, if it be false, must be an invention of Etruscan, not of Roman, vanity; but it should be noted that all the tales of the origin of Servius, widely as they part off from one another, agree in making him of foreign, and not of Roman birth. A crowd of other stories point to a time of Etruscan dominion, or of Etruscan influence of some kind. There is the legend of the Etruscan origin of the Tarquinii; there is the tale of the war with Porsenna, told in so many forms, but of which we may be sure that the form which comes nearest to the truth is that which represents Rome as having been surrendered to the Etruscan conqueror.*

* The passages from Tacitus and Pliny which prove this are referred to by Arnold, i. 127. They must contain a truer story than the com-

mon one, because no Roman would ever have invented such a state of things. Then the Aventine is connected with the Palatine, in various forms of legend from the very beginning; it is the spot on which, if the accidents of augury had been different, *Remuria*, instead of *Roma*, would have arisen. We have further traditions of settlements of conquered Latins on this hill, and we find it at a later time the special seat of the Roman Commons.* And the evidence of existing remains, the fragments of the primæval walls which are still there, show, just as we might have expected, that these heights also were once the sites of separate settlements which, no less than those on the Palatine and the Capitoline, stood in need of defences against their neighbours. We cannot put together our evidence with regard to these hills and their inhabitants with anything like the same certainty with which we can put together our evidence for the primæval settlements of the Ramnes and the Tities. But the prevailing character of the Roman commonwealth is so distinctly Latin that we can hardly fail to believe that the third element of the original city, the third patrician tribe of the Luceres, was, like the Ramnes, of Latin origin. And, if we trace the origin of the *plebs* to further settlements of allied or conquered Latins on the Aventine, we have a theory, the truth of which it would be hard to prove, but which quite falls in with the prevailing Latin character of the city. It is hardly possible that there can have been a real Etruscan element in the population of Rome. As far as topography helps us, it sets before us the Etruscans, not as a component part of the commonwealth dwelling on a hill of their own, but simply as strangers occupying a single street between the Palatine and the Capitol.† And yet the signs of an Etruscan dynasty and even of an Etruscan conquest, seem too plain to be cast aside. But at Rome, as elsewhere, dynasties may have reigned, and may have reigned by conquest, without bringing with them any new component element in the population. In fact, the period which is represented in the legend by the reigns of the later kings is far darker as regards actual events, as regards the relations of the different parts of the commonwealth to one another, than the pe-

mon one, because no Roman would ever have invented such a state of things.

* See Schwegler, i. 600, 605. The law of Icilius may have caused earlier settlements on the Aventine to be imagined, but the remains of primitive fortifications there show that they have some groundwork in fact.

† On the question of Etruscan settlements at Rome, and the 'Vicus Tuscus,' see Schwegler, i. 511. The different legends will be found in Festus, 355.

riod represented by the reign of Romulus. We better understand the relations in which the two oldest tribes stand to one another than we understand the relations in which they stand to the third patrician tribe, to the commons, and either to Etruscan kings or to Etruscan settlers.

But if the later stages of the kingly period of Rome are thus dark from one point of view, there is another in which they have left abundant memories behind them. There is nothing to make us doubt for a moment the truth of the traditions which represent the later kings of Rome as the rulers of a powerful state, a state which stood at the head of Latium and which was powerful enough to treat on equal terms with Carthage,* a state whose kings strove to adorn and to defend their city with works of constructive and engineering skill worthy of the masters of such a dominion. The Tarquinian dynasty at Rome, like the Pelopid dynasty at Mykênê, is itself historical, though the names and the particular acts attributed to its members may be legendary. We need not pledge ourselves to the personal being of Atreus and Thyestês, of Agamemnon and Menelaos. But we need not doubt that Mykênê was once the seat of rulers who bore sway over many islands and all Argos, rulers who have left behind them the works which tell us that Mykênê once had a day of greatness which we should never have heard of from recorded history. So we need not pledge ourselves to any of the stories of the origin, the family relations, the particular acts, of either the older or the younger Tarquin. We need not pledge ourselves to any of the endless tales of the birth and childhood of Servius Tullius. We may be sure that, whether the lawgiver of Rome was as real as Alfred, or as shadowy as Lykourgos, popular belief would in either case have made him the author of many a law that was older, and of many a law that was younger, than the date at which history or tradition placed him. Yet we need none the less believe that there is a kernel of truth in the tales of the greatness of the later kings of Rome, for their mighty works are still in being to bear witness to their power. The great sewer, the wall encompassing the seven hills, the great temple of the national gods on the Capitol, are still there, or have left traces enough of their existence both in recorded history and in their actual remains. Nor need we doubt the tradition which speaks

of them as the work of mighty, perhaps oppressive, kings, who ground down their subjects with task-work, and whose buildings, whether for religion, for utility, or for defence, may really have been among the causes which led to their downfall. Such works as these might be the works of a powerful despot; they might be the works of a mighty, civilized, and prosperous commonwealth, like Athens, Venice, or Florence in the days of their greatness; but they are not works which are likely to be undertaken by a young and struggling commonwealth, made up of a few pastoral tribes imperfectly fused into a single state. They are works which bear the impress of a single and a powerful will. They may be the works of a single king, or of a dozen successive kings; but we may be sure that it was at a kingly bidding that the great triple temple arose on what had been the Saturnian hill, that the marshy ground at the foot of the Palatine was cleared by the vast work of the great sewer, and that the whole circuit of hills and valleys which now made Rome was fenced in by the mighty wall and the mightier dyke which bears the name of Servius.

Thus following from the very beginning the same policy which she continued to follow to her latest days, by the gradual incorporation of friends and enemies into her own commonwealth, Rome had grown from a single settlement on the Palatine into the city of the seven hills. A Latin outpost on the Etruscan march had grown into the head of Latium, and, if she had received Sabine citizens and had been ruled by Etruscan kings, assimilation had gone hand in hand with incorporation, and the foreign elements had been fused together into the original Latin body.* Many things had joined together to further the growth of what may well have been the youngest of the Latin cities. The close neighbourhood of so many early settlements, the position on a twofold march, Etruscan and Sabine, the neighbourhood of the greatest river of Italy in the eldersense, all joined to make the city which arose on so favourable a spot, at once military, agricultural, and commercial. And now the historian of the city of Rome, as distinguished from the historian of her constitution and her dominion, may take a leap over many ages. Rome girded herself with

* See the famous treaty between Rome and Carthage, in Polybios, iii. 24, which must, at any rate, represent a real state of things.

* We can heartily echo the denunciation of Mommsen, l. 34, of 'Die unverständige Meinung, dass die römische Nation ein Mischvolk sei.' This may be aimed at what Schwegler says in i. 503; but Schwegler so explains himself that there does not seem to be much practical difference between the two statements.

walls while she was still only the head of Latium; it was not till she had grown to be the head of Italy, till she had grown to be the head of the world, till, in outward appearance, she was ceasing to be the head of the world, that she again girded herself with walls of a wider compass. As the dominion of Rome grew, the wealth and splendour of the city grew also, and her buildings, public and private, gradually far outstripped the limits of the Servian enclosure. The Servian city reached to the Tiber only for a small space near the Capitol and the Palatine; beyond the river there was nothing but the detached fort on the Janiculum. The site of modern Rome was still the field of Mars, the scene of the martial exercises; and of the martial assemblies of the Roman people. Now and then a conqueror who had extended the borders of the empire availed himself of his privilege to extend the *pomerium* of the city, and Claudius, the conqueror of Britain, at last made the Aventine a part of the sacred enclosure.* But by the same legal fiction by which the Aventine, though within the wall, had remained without the city, so now the extension of the *pomerium* no longer implied an extension of the wall, and ground might be within the sacred bounds of the city which lay without the line of its now forgotten fortifications. For as the danger from Pyrrhos and Hannibal had passed away, as men began to deem that Rome could never be attacked by a foreign enemy, the ancient walls of Servius were almost forgotten. They were hidden by the growth of later buildings, and a large part of the actual city, including many of its noblest buildings, lay beyond the walls of the ancient kings. It was beyond the walls that Pompeius and Marcellus raised their theatres, and that, in a later age, Antoninus Caracalla raised his mighty baths. It was beyond the walls that there stood that house of Lateranus out of which was to grow the metropolitan church of Christian Rome and the proper dwelling-place of the Roman bishop. That Augustus raised his mausoleum for himself and his house without the walls of the city was simply in obedience to the laws of the Roman religion; but it marks the growth of the actual city that the next pile which was reared as the resting-place of imperial

ashes, the vast mole of Hadrian, was reared, not only beyond the wall, but beyond the Tiber. The choice of this last site pointed the way for yet later changes; it pointed to the day when the mole of Hadrian should become the castle of the ecclesiastical sovereigns of Rome, and when their most favoured palace and their most favoured church should both stand on Etruscan soil beyond the river. But with these times we have no concern. The next enlargement of the walls of Rome made the Janiculan fort part of the city; it still left the Vatican beyond its borders. This was when the far-seeing mind of Aurelian marked that the days were passed when Rome could safely be, as she had in truth been for ages, an unwallled and open city.* Once only since Hannibal had turned away from the Colline Gate had her bulwarks been really threatened. That was on the day when the hand of Sulla saved her, when the last hero of independent Italy, the second Samnite Pontius, came to overthrow her very being in the great battle at the gate over which Hannibal had simply thrown his spear in defiance.† But now she needed new bulwarks against new enemies, and the battle at the Colline Gate pointed to the day when those new enemies should at last enter by its Salarian neighbour. The true city of Rome was now the vast undefended space over which its buildings had spread themselves, and which Augustus had long before mapped out into his fourteen regions. The walls of Aurelian were now as needful to defend that vast circuit as the wall of Servius had once been to defend the seven hills, or as the oldest wall of all had been to defend the primæval settlement on the Palatine. The walls of Aurelian, vainly repaired and strengthened under Honorius, have been again repaired and strengthened after each of the endless sieges of Rome from Belisarius to Victor Emmanuel. And showing as they thus do, the work of nearly every age for sixteen hundred years, they remain to this day, on the left bank of the Tiber, the walls of the modern city.

It remains that we should say something of the literature—ancient, mediæval, and modern—which has gathered round the his-

* The question why the Aventine was not included within the *pomerium* is discussed by Gellius, xiii., xiv.: 'Neque id Servius Tullius rex, neque Sulla, qui proferendi pomerii titulum quesivit, neque postea D. Julius, quum pomerium proferret, intra effatos urbis fines includerint.' He adds that it was 'post auctore D. Claudio receptus et intra pomerii fines observatus.'

* The description given by Dionysius, (iv. 13,) cannot be mistaken: *ἔστιν ἀπαντα τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν οἰκούμενα χωρία, πολλὰ ὄντα καὶ μέγала, γυμνὰ καὶ ἀτείχιστα, καὶ ῥᾶστα πολέμοις ἐλθόνσι ἀποχείρια γενέσθαι*. He afterwards speaks of the wall as *δυσσευρότην διὰ τὰς περιλαμβανούσας αὐτὸ πολλαχόθεν οἰκήσεις*.

† 'Intra muros solus hostium emisit hastam,' says Pliny (xxxiv. 15) of Hannibal (Cf. Livy, xxvi. 10). Compare this with the great description of Pontius Telesinus in Velleius, ii. 27.

tory of the Roman city, the literature whose chief masterpieces the inquirer must compare with the actually existing remains, the works, old and new, which we have ourselves largely made use of in the course of the rapid sketch of one side of the history of the city which we have just drawn. The books which deal with the topography of Rome are simply endless. If we may count writers like Strabo and Varro, they begin within the Augustan age itself, and they go on down to our own day. But, as with the subject itself, so with the literature which deals with it, it is only its earliest and latest portions with which our present inquiry is much concerned. Our knowledge of the primæval archæology of Rome comes from the remains themselves, as compared with the notices of the ancient writers. And in the work of such comparison we thankfully accept the guidance of several eminent scholars who have dealt with the history and topography of Rome at various times during the last forty years. But the writers of intermediate times, most precious for some other branches of Roman research, give but little help for the matter immediately in hand. The late classical, the mediæval, and the early modern writers were naturally much more concerned with the great monuments of Rome, heathen and Christian, than with the growth of the primitive city and with its scanty remains. It is only on one part of our subject that we can draw on them at all largely. In our sketch of the growth of the city, as distinguished from that the city contains, we leap from the walls of Servius to the walls of Aurelian, and with regard to the walls of Aurelian we do get most valuable help from the Itineraries, mediæval and earlier than mediæval, especially from that of the pilgrim for Einsiedlen in the eighth century.* And on this subject of the walls we also learn much from the great work in which Prokopios described the sieges of the city during the Gothic war in the sixth century. With this exception, we have to deal almost wholly with the actual ancient writers and with their modern expounders. And, if there is any subject to which we may apply the 'somewhat flippant saying of a well-known Professor, that 'good books are commonly written in German,' it is certainly true of the matter now in hand. It is almost wholly by German scholarship and German observation that every existing monument

in Rome has been carefully noted and compared with the passages of the ancient writers which throw light upon it. There are of course many points on which there are fair differences of opinion, and on which the German scholars themselves do not agree. But on the most important questions there is a near agreement, and writers like Bunsen and his colleagues, who first opened the way to any scientific treatment of Roman topography,* like Becker and Marquardt, in their great work on Roman antiquities,† never fail to give the fullest array of authorities which may enable the careful reader to come, if he sees reason, to a different conclusion from his guides. With a more special view to the architecture of Rome, to the architecture at least of its pagan times, there is the work of Professor Reber, which is on our list. This splendidly illustrated volume goes very minutely through the various buildings, their history and architectural detail, and it deals also at some length with the general archæology, and especially of those primitive remains with which we have now most to do. Reber has gone thoroughly into his subject, and he deals minutely with the construction of the rude primitive walls, as well as with the artistic details of the later buildings. The great work of Gregorovius on the history of the city in the Middle Ages‡ barely grazes our immediate subject; but much may be learned from the clear summary and narrative in Von Reumont's History of the City, which we have placed at the head of this article. Nor must we forget the many writers whose direct object has been, not the history or topography of the Roman city, but the history of the Roman commonwealth, but who do not fail to throw much light on the topography as well. In fact, in the early times the history and the topography are almost the same thing; our survey of Rome would be very imperfect without turning to the direct historical works of Niebuhr in a past generation, and of Mommsen, Schwegler, and others in our own time. Schwegler, above all, discusses the origin of all the legends—legends which are so essentially topographical—with thorough minuteness and with a full citation of authorities which makes his treatment in the highest degree instructive, whether we

* *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom.* Von Ernst Platner, Carl Bunsen, Eduard Gerhard, Wilhelm Röstel, and Ludwig Ulrichs. Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1829-1842.

† *Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer.* Von Wilhelm Adolph Becker und Joachim Marquardt. Leipzig, 1843-1864.

‡ *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter.* Von Ferdinand Gregorovius. Stuttgart, 1869-1873.

* The description of the Einsiedlen pilgrim is printed in most of the collections of the early writers on Rome, as in Jordan's *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, and in Ulrichs' *Codex Urbis Romæ Topographicus*.

accept all his conclusions or not. Here is pretty well a library; but it is not too much to say that the man who should try to work out any question of early Roman history or topography without knowing what some at least of these German writers have said on the points which he has taken in hand would be very like a man who should try to search out the contents of a catacomb without a candle.

Among French writers we have the work of M. Ampère, the fourth edition of which we have placed at the head of this article. No one can say that its author has failed to search for knowledge in every corner. But the result is very different from the sound and critical productions of the German writers. M. Ampère gives us a kind of romance of primæval history, the fruit of a lively imagination, which makes us wonder at the amazing knowledge which M. Ampère has somehow gained of times beyond the reach of knowledge. Hints on particular points may be picked up from various parts of the book, but the part with which we are concerned, the part which deals with primæval times, is, as a whole, valuable only as a specimen of the wonderful speculations into which a man who certainly lacks neither learning nor ingenuity may be led when he once forsakes the safe path of sound criticism.

In our own tongue Arnold was little more than the expounder of Niebuhr, the Loxias to the German Zeus. But he was an expounder who far surpassed the original oracle in clearness and eloquence, and his short general picture of the early city* still remains wholly unsurpassed. Sir George Lewis tore the legends, and something more than the legends, to pieces without mercy. His negative conclusions often teach us more than any positive theories; still they are only negative conclusions. Since then we have seen Dr. Dyer, in the work placed in our heading and in his *History of the Kings of Rome*,† trying, with no lack of reading or of acuteness, but in an unscientific spirit and with a fixed determination to quarrel with everything German, to set up again the old legendary belief. Since Dr. Dyer, we have the scholar-like work of Mr. Burn, giving the results of all Roman researches except the very latest, with regard both to the buildings and to the general topography. For the English reader who does not wish to grapple with more than one book, Mr. Burn's is certainly the book, as it gives the cream of the great German writers, discuss-

ed, not in a servile but in a critical spirit, by Mr. Burn himself. Last of all, we have the most recent English writer on Rome, who has surprised the world by yet again falling back on the old legends with more than the faith of Mr. Dyer. To Mr. Parker's work we mean to give such space as we have still left. His book, as yet unfinished, is a memorable example of the way in which a man eminently fitted in many ways for the inquiry which he has undertaken has to a great extent failed, because he has neglected to prepare himself in other ways which are no less essential to success. Mr. Parker has given his life to the study of antiquities in one shape or another. And he has not been simply a student; he has devoted time and energy and money to the promotion of his favourite pursuits in a way which is beyond all praise. At Rome itself, those who are least inclined to accept his theories should be none the less ready to do fitting honour to the zeal and the liberality which he has shown in his diggings and other researches, and to his never-failing readiness to take trouble on himself in helping the researches of others. And in some branches of antiquarian knowledge Mr. Parker has undoubtedly reached high eminence. No man better understands the details of the mediæval architecture of England and France. His various works on these matters always show the same incapacity to rise to a general view of anything, to grasp the leading principles of successive styles, or to trace out the way in which architectural study, and other branches of historical study bear upon one another; still they are most valuable for their own purpose, as records of particular buildings and of particular forms of detail. In the department of domestic architecture he is confessedly a master. In fact Mr. Parker has succeeded whenever all that was needed for success was a keen observation of details and their arrangement according to an ascertained chronology. There is no one better to be trusted when all that is needed is to know whether a particular moulding or a particular arrangement in a house is likely to belong to the reign of Edward I., or to the reign of Edward III. But to a general view of any matter, to any view which needs historical knowledge, still more to any view which needs historical criticism, Mr. Parker has never reached. His strange craze that Englishmen in the tenth century were incapable of building in stone has been answered over and over again. The dream has arisen from not grasping the great arithmetical truth that the year 1066 stands as far removed from the year 449 as the year 1683 stands removed from the year 1066. The

* See Arnold's third chapter, vol. i. pp. 30-36.

† *History of the Kings of Rome*, by Thomas Henry Dyer, LL.D. 1868.

confused way of calling all Englishmen for more than six hundred years 'Saxons,' has led Mr. Parker into a practical belief that all 'the Saxons' lived at one time. He would not go to Froissart to prove something about the reign of Henry VIII.; but he does go to Bæda to prove something about the reign of Eadgar. In this state of mind, full of zeal, full of energy, full of keen observation, but in utter ignorance of the first principles of historical criticism, in utter ignorance, it would seem, of the works of the great German scholars, Mr. Parker has rushed at the primæval archæology of Rome. He has carried with him two simple canons of evidence, to believe nothing north of the Alps and everything south. Mr. Parker in his own island would be the last man to believe, on the authority of Stow or Hollingshed, that an existing building was the work of Hengest. But at Rome he is perfectly ready to believe, on the authority of Livy or Dionysios, that he has before him the actual works of a personal Romulus.

We must say at the onset that Mr. Parker's book is by no means one to be thrown aside without examination. Its arrangement is chaotic almost beyond belief, and the blunders in detail are endless; yet the book gives the result of real research. Any one who will gird himself up to dig through the irregular surface of Mr. Parker's book, as Mr. Parker himself has dug through the irregular surface of the hills and streets of Rome, will often light upon things which will fully repay his trouble. We say this, because the first impulse of the scholar, classical or mediæval, will be to cast aside the book at once. What, he will ask, can be learned from a teacher who still, at this time of day, believes in real twins suckled by a real wolf, who is fully convinced that the *pomarium* was in truth an orchard of apples,* who believes that the *nomen* Varius and the *cognomen* Verus can be the same

* For this astounding notion of Mr. Parker see the second section of his first chapter, pp. 19, 22, of his second Arabic reckoning; and again p. 87 of his last. The beauty of this is that the delusion is not even original. Turn to a passage in Gibbon (cap. lxx. vol. xii. p. 322, Milman), which one would have thought that any one who undertook to write about Rome must have read: 'I cannot overlook a stupendous and laughable blunder of Rienz. The *Lex regia* empowers Vespasian to enlarge the *Pomærium*, a word familiar to every antiquary. It was not so to the tribune; he confounds it with *pomarium*, an orchard, translates *Lo Jardîno de Roma cioene Italia*, and is copied by the less excusable ignorance of the Latin translator, and the French historian.'

word,* nay, who thinks that Arcadius and Honorius were victorious generals,† who thinks that there was an Emperor Frederick I. before, or perhaps contemporary with Henry IV.,‡ who turns Ladislaus of Naples into a king of Poland,§ and who seems to attribute a great share in the creation of the modern city of Rome to the momentary Savoyard Antipope, Felix V|| And any

* Mr. Parker, in his chronological table, calls Elagabalus 'Marcus Aurelius Varius,' and in p. 21 (the last p. 21 in the book) we hear of 'Domitilla Lucilla, wife of Annius Verus, and mother of Marcus Aurelius Augustus, the head of the great family of *Verus* or *Varius*.' Now the names and shiftings of the names of the various Antonini, real, adopted, and merely pretended, are certainly hard to keep in the memory, but the thing may be understood by taking pains. Anyhow it is cruel to confound, as Mr. Parker does, the philosopher Marcus with Elagabalus. The persons spoken of in p. 21 are the parents of Marcus, as appears from Julius Capitolinus' Life of Marcus (1, 6), and from Spartianus' Life of Didius (1). Marcus had nothing to do with the gens *Varia*, but *Verus* was the cognomen of his father, as it was also one of the endless names of his adopted brother L. Ceionius Ælius Commodus Verus Antoninus (Julius Capitolinus, Verus 1), who also appears as L. Aurelius Verus and L. Ælius Verus, but who in no case has anything to do with any Varius. The only Antoninus who bore the name of Varius was Elagabalus, who first changed his paternal name for the name of his god, and then for the imperial name of Antoninus. But nowhere could he appear by such an impossible title as 'Marcus Aurelius Varius.' The nearest thing to it is 'Heliogabalus Bassianus Varius,' in the Heliogabalus of Julius Capitolinus.

† In page 141 (it is the only 141 in the book) Mr. Parker represents the inscription on the Porta Maggiore as saying that 'the Senate had, on the motion of Stilicho, granted statues to the victorious generals, Arcadius and Honorius, on whom the title of "Semper Augustus" had been conferred, on account of the walls with their gates and towers being restored.' The inscription is 'Imp. Cæs. D.D. invictissimis principibus. Arcadio. et. Honorio. victoribus ac. triumphatoribus. semper. Augg. ob. instaurationes. urbi. æternæ. muros.' etc. We need not say that the title of 'semper Augustus' has nothing in the world to do with repairing the walls, and we cannot enough admire the *sancta simplicitas* which seems to have taken the flattering epithets literally.

‡ In page 125 we read 'In A.D. 1067 the Leone city was again attacked and taken by Frederic I.' This immediately precedes the coming of Henry IV. in 1084.

§ This is in page 132. Like the *pomarium*, this mistake is not new. Mr. Parker most likely stumbled on some such word as *Puglia* or *La Pouille*, and took it for Poland. Mr. John Williams at Ithel did the same in editing the Brut y Tywysogion, where, under the year 1267, he kills Conradin 'in a battle on the plain of Poland,' the word in his Welsh text being *Pugl*.

|| In page 109 (the second page 109) we are told that 'some of the very straight streets are

reader, scholar or not, will find it a hard task to make out what is and what is not in Mr. Parker's book, or to find anything again when he has once lost the place. Mr. Parker's volume of text, in short, does not look like a book, but rather like a collection of detached pamphlets bound together. The paging begins and ends and breaks off and begins again so many times, there are so many prefaces and tables of contents, so many appendices and further appendices scattered up and down the volume, there are so many allusions to photographs which are not in the accompanying volume of plates, that all attempts at reference are wholly baffled. Nor have we the help of an index; for indeed an index would be impossible where there is no intelligible or consecutive paging. The book is like Rome itself; it is a chaos, a mass of ruins; but, like Rome, it is a chaos out of which a good deal may, by diligent search, be picked out.

The unlucky thing is that Mr. Parker has attacked a subject which cannot be dealt with except by the help of the last discoveries of modern science, without having given the least study to modern science and its discoveries. Comparative philology, comparative mythology, historical criticism in all its branches, are to Mr. Parker as though they had never been. His notion of Roman history is simply the story to be found in Livy or Goldsmith. Mr. Parker believes in the wolf story, and he defends it by stories from India about children being suckled by wolves in later times. He defends it because the Lupercal is just the kind of place where a wolf would make its lair. He does not see that all this does not bring us one jot nearer to proof that a particular wolf suckled particular children at a time when any authentic record is impossible. Of the part which the wolf plays in all ancient Italian mythology,* of the hundred kindred stories about wolves and other animals, of the endless alternative stories about the foundation of Rome, Mr. Parker seems never to have heard. He is prepared with a flood to drown the whelps of the wolf that suckled Romulus; he does not tell us whether he is prepared with another flood to drown the

puppies of the bitch that suckled Cyrus. He believes that the twins were suckled by the wolf; whether he believes that they were really the offspring of the War-God does not appear. But we must maintain that the authority for the one part of the legend is exactly as strong as the authority for the other. We need not waste one line in disproving all this; but it is a fact worth notice, that Mr. Parker by no means stands alone, that he has followers who look on him as a champion of orthodoxy against wicked unbelievers, and who moreover seem always to think that Niebuhr is the last thing in the way of unbelief. These vagaries would be hardly worth mentioning, did we not find Mr. Parker solemnly setting down certain buildings as being built in the years 4 and 12 of the city. His argument is that he finds remains on the Palatine answering to the buildings attributed by Livy to Romulus. He thinks that this proves that Romulus was a real person, and that the first book of Livy is a true history. His antiquarian research, he says, confirms the written statement. Now this would be the best possible line of argument, if he were dealing with the time of Augustus; but it proves nothing with regard to a præ-historic time. Legends grow up to explain the origin of buildings, just as they grow up to explain the origin of customs. In both cases the legend must be so framed that it does not contradict the phenomena which it undertakes to explain. There is therefore nothing wonderful in finding that the legend and the antiquarian phenomena agree as to the position and order of things. The wonder would be if they did not. The whole argument which we have followed throughout this article rests on the method of comparing traditions with actual appearances. But all that tradition and appearances together can give us is a trustworthy succession of things. Till we get within historic times, we cannot get trustworthy names; still less can we get trustworthy dates. We believe as firmly as Mr. Parker can that there was first a Rome which took in only the Palatine, then a Rome which took in only the Palatine, the Quirinal, and the Capitoline. What we decline to believe is the definite statement that a man who was suckled by a wolf erected a particular building in the exact year 749 B.C.

No one will be surprised, after this, to hear that Mr. Parker's way of dealing with his authorities is throughout inaccurate and unscholarlike, that his quotations are constantly miscopied or mistranslated, that his dates are often impossible and contradictory, that his way of describing and referring to people is wild and inconsistent. The most

clearly modern, or rather of the time of Pope Felix V.' The key to this may possibly be found in page 173, where we first read that 'Sixtus V. made many new streets in Rome' and presently after hear of 'the Pope Felice Peretti, who had the title of Sixtus Quintus.' We pass by such things as turning Fulvius Flaccus into 'Favlius Flarius,' which may be only due to great carelessness in correcting the proofs.

* On the whole legend, see Schwegler, i. 410, *et seqq.*, and on the wolf and the Lupercal, i. 860, *et seqq.*

amusing thing of all is the kind of loyalist feeling which seems to lead him to look upon the Roman Republic as a short interval between Kings and Emperors, something perhaps of the same nature as the Roman Republic of Mazzini and Garibaldi. Mr. Parker commonly speaks of the driving out of the Tarquins as 'the great rebellion.' The references to 'the Republic,' 'the time of the Republic,' are something like the references to 'the time of the Saxons.' In either case a few centuries are jumbled up together, as if there was no great difference between their beginning and their ending, as if Hengest and Harold were contemporary, or nearly so, as if the elder and the younger Brutus, if not actually the same person, were at any rate not unlikely to be father and son. Eyes moreover which are accustomed to see people described after some certain rule, eyes to which the system of Roman personal nomenclature conveys a meaning at a glance, are offended at seeing a historian described as 'Dion Cassius' in one line and 'Cassio Dionis' in the next. They are offended at seeing the famous Varro, from whom we learn so much as to early Roman matters, sometimes called 'Terentius Varro,' according to the custom of a later time, sometimes 'T. Varro,' as if his *prænomen* had been Titus instead of Marcus. But all these matters, the mistakes which cannot fail to happen when a man who is not a scholar undertakes a subject with which only a scholar can deal thoroughly, may well be forgiven, when set against the real value of Mr. Parker's researches. Mr. Parker has worked well and zealously among the primitive remains of Rome; he has brought some things actually to light for the first time, and his photographed series of examples of early construction are a real addition to our knowledge. Mr. Parker has not only carefully followed up the diggings made under the direction of the Cavaliere Rosa on the Palatine and in the Forum; he has made independent and important diggings of his own. He has, at his own cost and almost with his own hands, brought into full light a most important piece of early wall on the Aventine, and he has also traced a very remarkable series of drains connected with the *tullianum* or well-house, the so-called Mamertine Prison, which must take their place among the various strivings made in Italy and elsewhere after the great invention of the arch. All that we ask is that Mr. Parker should bear in mind what discoveries of this kind prove, and what they do not. The evidence of buildings themselves, when there is no documentary evidence to compare with them, can only give us the order in which they were built.

They cannot give us dates and names; they cannot enable us to do more than give a very vague guess at the time which may have passed between the original building and the earliest addition to it. When one piece of wall is built up against another piece of wall, we can tell that one is the older of the two; but, unless we can have some other kind of evidence at our command, we cannot tell how much older one is than the other. If Mr. Parker would be satisfied with arranging his primitive buildings in a certain order, without ticketing them with the names of mythical persons or attempting to fix dates in an age for which there is no chronology, no one would have a word to say against his researches, and the inferences which he makes from them. So, as we turn over the book, we constantly light on remarks, discoveries, fragments here and there which Mr. Parker's industry has brought to light, which are of real use either to the explorer of Rome on the spot or to the student of Roman matters at home. The diggings on the Palatine have enabled him to put together a clearer and fuller account of the first Rome than had ever been put out before. We have no doubt at all about accepting his view of *Roma quadrata*—its foundations are now there to be seen—as occupying part of the hill only, and as cut off from the part towards the Cœlian by a ditch. For all this Mr. Parker deserves real thanks and real honour. Some of his other views are startling, and we cannot so fully accept them. Mr. Parker believes that he has made out, not only the wall of the primitive settlement on the Palatine, but also a second wall which took in the Palatine and the Capitoline after the union represented in the legend by the league of Romulus and Tatius. Mr. Parker is far from being so clear about the matter as we could wish, and it is a great pity that, in putting forth a view which upsets some of the most generally received doctrines of Roman topography, he has not given a plan on a large scale, such as those which are given us by all our other writers. The only plan in which Mr. Parker attempts to show us this wall is one so small that it is almost impossible to make it out. But we gather that Mr. Parker wishes us to accept the utterly new doctrine that the wall which everybody else has taken to be the wall of the Forum of Augustus, and the other piece of wall in the Forum of Nerva against which rest those two most striking half-buried columns known as the *Colonnacche*, are really parts of the wall of Titus Tatius. This is, to say the least, startling, and to our mind, it contradicts the clearest points in the history of the primæval city. It is utterly in-

conceivable that, if a wall was built immediately after the union of the Ramnes and the Tities, it should have failed to take in the original Sabine settlement on the Quirinal and the *Vetus Capitolium* itself. Again, Mr. Parker may be right in tracing an early wall along part of the bank of the Tiber, but we are at a loss to guess why he, and Mr. Burn before him, call this wall the *pulcrum litus*. We can find no such name in any Latin writer, and it seems to have arisen from some misunderstanding of the *καλὴ ἀκρὴ* of Plutarch.* One is hardly less startled by Mr. Parker's notion that the Tarquins made some kind of dyke, to which Mr. Parker, no one can guess why, gives the name of *mænia*, on the site of the future walls of Aurelian. There can be no doubt that Aurelian, in tracing out his walls, worked in any buildings which suited his purpose, such as the walls of the Prætorian camp and those of the Amphitheatrum Castrense, as also several arches of aqueducts. Here and there the walls do look as if some early earth-works had been in this way made use of. There are several dykes and ditches mentioned by ancient writers—*Fossa Cluilia*, *Fossa Quiritium*, and the like—as to the position of which scholars have not come to any certain agreement, and it is an allowable guess, though nothing more, that some of these works, or other works of the same kind, may have been taken advantage of by Aurelian in his fortifications. But to suppose that all Rome was, from a time so early as that represented by the later kings, surrounded by a second defence, though only an earth-work, at so great a distance beyond the wall of Servius as the site of the wall of Aurelian, is a position which needs some very strong proof to support it. It certainly seems quite inconsistent with the direct testimony of Dionysios, who, though no evidence for mythical times, is good evidence for what he had seen himself, that the city in his day, when the Servian walls were covered up with houses, lay altogether bare and undefended.† It would really seem as if Mr. Parker had undertaken to put forth a new theory about the walls and gates of Rome, without once looking at what Becker had to say, either in his general work or in his special treatise on the subject. In the same way Mr. Parker gets almost pathetic about what he calls a corridor in the wall of

Aurelian, near the Porta Appia. He complains that nobody but himself knows anything about it, or cares anything about it. But if later people have forgotten it, it was perfectly well known to Bunsen fifty years ago, and will be found described at vol. i. p. 650 of the *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, to which one would have thought that any man would have turned before undertaking to write about Roman matters at all.

We do not fully understand Mr. Parker's meaning, when he twice, in one of his prefaces and in his dedication to Mr. Gladstone, claims to be the first to have applied to the buildings of Rome 'the excellent method of Rickman and Willis, the principles of the modern school of archæology.' Now the principles of any modern school of any kind are exactly what Mr. Parker does not apply to anything. For he falls back from all principles of modern scientific research into the old wives' fables of præ-scientific days. Nor can we understand what he means by 'the method of Rickman and Willis.' Rickman was a laborious inquirer of a past generation, who did some useful work in a narrow way in classifying the details of English mediæval architecture. But he seems to have been unable to take a general view of anything, and his line of research did not lead him across documents at all. Professor Willis, on the other hand, is the greatest master of combined antiquarian and documentary knowledge, who brings, as no one else can bring, a minute knowledge of written evidence to bear on the constructive appearances of buildings. In this way, by comparing the stones themselves with the contemporary records, he has been able to put together minute architectural histories of many of the great churches of England. It is hard to see any likeness between the method of Rickman and the method of Willis, or between either of them and the method of Mr. Parker. Rickman dealt with the succession of architectural styles. Professor Willis deals with the history of particular buildings. There is no place where there is more to be learned as to the succession of architectural styles than in Rome; but Mr. Parker has not as yet, in his own person, touched on that branch of Roman archæology. Professor Willis brings documents to bear upon buildings, but it is essential for his method that the documents should be trustworthy, and therefore contemporary; he would be the very last man to try to fix dates for præ-historic times on the strength of the stories which Livy and Dionysios copied, at the very best, from writers five hundred years later than the alleged foundation of the city. In the same

* Mr. Parker has much to tell us about this *pulcrum litus*, but he quotes no authority for the name, which seems to come from Plutarch, *Romulus*, 20. But there *καλὴ ἀκρὴ* (in which words Schwegler (i. 374) suspects a corruption in the text), does not mean the bank of the Tiber, but a slope of the Palatine.

† See the reference in p. 75.

way anyone would think, from Mr. Parker's way of speaking, that no one before himself had ever paid the least heed to the construction of the primæval remains. Now Mr. Parker has had the advantages of discoveries made since Reber wrote, but it is hard to pass by Reber's careful comments on this subject, as if they had never been written. Nor can we understand what Mr. Parker means when he tells us, directly after, that, when he began his researches, the site of the Porta Capena was not known, and that he was the first to find it out by digging. Mr. Parker nowhere tells us in his book whether he places it anywhere else than where scholars have hitherto put it: he speaks as if no one knew anything about it before himself. Now it so happens that this gate is one of those about whose position there has hitherto been no doubt at all among scholars. As Mr. Burn says (p. 59), 'The situation of no gate in the Servian walls can be determined so completely as that of the Porta Capena.' He and Bunsen, (*Beschreibung*, i. 637), Becker, (i. 167), Von Reumont, (i. 50), all put it in the same place in which Mr. Parker, so far as we can make anything out of his account, himself puts it, the only place in short where it could have been. To say that the site was not known, and to imply that he himself found it out, without a single reference to the many scholars who have spoken of it beforehand, proves, we are sure, nothing worse than the strange way in which Mr. Parker has neglected the most obvious sources of knowledge, but it certainly proves that.

We are sorry to have to speak in this way of a book which contains the record of really meritorious researches, a book from which, after all, there is a great deal to be learned. But no scholar can pass by without a protest the attempts made by Mr. Parker, and with more plausibility by Dr. Dyer, to overthrow all the results of modern scientific research, and to bring us back to the easy faith of our grandmothers. The thing will not do at this time of day. Real criticism has got too far for people who understand what they are talking about to go back to stories about wolves and twins. Still this kind of talk may do something more in the way of misleading uncritical readers when it is found, as it is in Mr. Parker's book, combined with a good deal of real and often fresh information. Mr. Parker may succeed better when he gets on further with his work. He understands architectural detail thoroughly, and he will be doing good service if, instead of trying to revive exploded fables, instead of putting forth as novelties things which scholars have known for the

last forty or fifty years, he would give himself to trace out in detail the changes by which, through the intermediate stage of the classical Roman, the architectural forms of ancient Greece were, without any sudden revolution, gradually changed into the forms, both Romanesque and Gothic, of mediæval England, Germany, and France.

We have done with Rome for the present. We have tried to give a picture of the city of Rome as distinguished from her Empire, her constitution, and her particular buildings. We have tried to show her growth, from the first fortress on the Palatine to the vast city girded by the walls of Aurelian. Over the days which separate his city from the city of Servius we have purposely passed lightly. They belong to an inquiry somewhat different from our own. But we should be glad at some future day to take up the subject at another point, and to draw a picture of what Rome was in those centuries which formed the crisis of her new birth, when her old creed and her old dominion were passing away to make way for her new dominion spiritual and temporal. From the Rome of Servius we leaped to the Rome of Aurelian; we shall need no such leap again. The walls of Aurelian, the defences raised against Teutonic enemies, lead us at once to the Rome of Diocletian, of Constantine, and of Theodoric, to the Rome for which Totilas and Belisarius struggled, and in which Charles and Otto received their imperial crown. E. A. F.

ART. VI.—*Far Russia* (Dalekaya Rossia). *The Oossoori Country*. With Map and Drawings. By M. ALIABIEFF. St. Petersburg: 1872.

THE reader will perhaps exclaim, with the opening paragraph of the book under review, 'What is this? Where? In what country is this town, village, or locality? What can induce an author to treat of a subject so devoid of interest?' and perchance will add, 'If devoid of interest to Russians, how much more so to Englishmen!' But if this country is shown by the author and others to be of the greatest importance to his countrymen, as furnishing them with a base for their future maritime operations, it is a logical consequence that the subject is of equal importance to us as an Asiatic power.

Turning to a map of Eastern Siberia, it will be seen that the district in question is part of the maritime province (sometimes

marked on the maps 'Primorsk*'); it forms an obtuse-angled triangle, whose base is the Sea of Japan, and sides the rivers Amoor and Oossoori, the apex being the confluence of the two. It was occupied by Russia in the period from 1854 to 1859, and formally ceded by the Chinese in the treaties of 1858 and 1860.

To show the importance that Russia attaches to her maritime position in this quarter, we shall now proceed to make an extract from an article on the maritime province in a Russian military periodical†:—

'Within the vast limits of Russia, so disadvantageously situated in the extreme north of the Old World, far from the highways of the universe, and close to the steppes of Central Asia, devoted by Nature herself to poverty and solitude, there is no locality which might have such a great historic future as her Eastern confines, from the mouth of the Amoor to that of the Toomen.‡ Here Russia possesses that open door to the ocean which is not accorded to her in Europe. *From these she will infallibly have to direct her forces in the great struggle with enemies who threaten to grasp universal supremacy.* From thence alone can she maintain her influence over her neighbours, Japan and China proper, who have already begun to revive from centuries of stagnation. Here may ports appear for untrammelled commerce with America and India, those still inexhaustible sources of riches for the whole world. In a word, whatever portion of Russian territory in Asia, or even in Europe, we take—be it the Gulf of Finland or the Black Sea, trans-Caucasia or the basin of the Oxus—not one presents such various and in general favourable conditions for a wide political influence and a brilliant economic future as the Maritime Province. And in no part of our vast empire would territorial loss be so grievous as here; to explain which, it needs only to imagine that England had in the island Askold a new Hong-Kong, or that China possessed the Gulf of Possiet. For these reasons the description of the maritime confines should be more detailed and circumstantial than those of any other part of the Russo-Asiatic borders.'

Having thus established, in our opinion, a reasonable ground for bringing this distant country before English readers, we proceed to the book itself, which, by the way, is only an installment, or, as it were, an advanced guard to the main body of M. Aliabieff's travels, which are in the press.

And, first, let us notice the very excellent map of Eastern Siberia with which the volume is provided; also the drawings; one of which depicts specimens of the native phy-

siognomy, and shows them to be a very lugubrious-looking and unprepossessing race, reminding one of the Esquimaux.

Perm is the starting-point for a voyage to Siberia:—

'A very important point for the traveller, in this respect, that he must here take leave of the European method of conveying the human body, and adopt one purely Russian.'

This purely Russian method consists in a *tarantass*. With regard to this vehicle, the author mentions with pride that there is no other appellation for it in any other language, and that a European has not even the faintest idea of it. A detailed account of its construction is not given, further than that it is composed of wood and iron, but it appears that even the Russian roads, accounted the worst in the world, are unable to destroy it. It has certainly one remarkable attribute—that its second-hand price is higher than the original one, a quality which all will appreciate; for it appears that we may purchase a tarantass at Perm, at a price varying from 100 to 250 roubles, and, on arrival at Irkoutsk, be surrounded by a crowd anxiously bidding for the coveted vehicle, and, to use the author's expression, 'almost snatching it from one's hands.' After how many journeys the value ceases to increase the author does not inform us, but we suppose that like everything earthly, the tarantass has after all but a limited existence.

After travelling 7,000 versts* in the tarantass, one arrives at Sretensk, on the river Shilka, a tributary of the Amoor. From this steamers run to Nicolaievsk at the mouth of the Amoor, a distance of 3,000 versts. But it must not be supposed that the traveller's troubles and discomforts are now at an end, as the following extract will amply prove:—

'Well, if you have in your pocket certain papers, given you in Irkoutsk, to secure an uninterrupted passage on the Amoor, then you will at once take your seat on the first steamer leaving Sretensk, and even though at the same time you place yourself at the entire disposal of the captain, yet, nevertheless, your future lot will depend entirely upon yourself. If you are prudent—i.e., unconditionally submit all the way to the orders and caprices of the captain; do not show, even in your bearing, the least annoyance if your steamer lies at anchor much longer than it steams on the river; then you may rest secure that, having grounded several times in the 3,000 versts, you will arrive safe and sound at Nicolaievsk. But if you cannot answer for it that your temper will sustain all these trials, then I am not sure that instead of Nicolaievsk you will not make

* Or "maritime."

† "Voenni Sbornik," April, 1872, p. 1.

‡ The southern boundary of the Oossoori district. Vide Keith Johnston's atlas map of Asia.

* A verst equals 1,167 English yards.

your appearance somewhere or other on the uninhabited shore in the company of wild boars, goats, and other wild animals.'

It further appears that the principles of equality are but little understood or cared for on the Amoor; for, whilst the unfortunate peasant, who has been induced to emigrate to these far-distant regions from Russia, carrying family and goods with him, not unfrequently takes *three* years in arriving at his destination, 'having lost children, cattle, and seed,' the Government official makes his yearly promenades 'with great comfort and pleasure;' and, what is more, the rôles of captain and passenger are completely reversed, the former 'unconditionally carrying out the caprices and wishes of the passenger.'

At Oust Strelka the Shilka unites with the Argoon, and forms the celebrated Amoor; from this point to Khabaroff, where the Oosoori joins the Amoor, is a distance of 1,700 versta. Seventy-three Russian villages are scattered along the banks, including Blagoveshchensk, the capital of the province. These are inhabited by Cossacks and Russian emigrants, who appear to live in a state of great misery and destitution.

'An unhealthy complexion and a want of energy of movement are manifest amongst these people, also a certain apathy and discontent with their condition. These are not at all those forms boldly delineated in our imaginations when we read of the colonizer of America, who, with indefatigable energy and extraordinary patience, axe in hand and gun on shoulder, cleared the virgin woods, sowed the ploughed fields, repelled the attacks of savage beasts and savage men, and eventually, in the course of twenty or thirty years, founded towns swarming with people, and flourishing with trade and commerce. Alas! this is not the race which in America colonizes the Far West, but a very different one, which in the Far East will do nothing of the kind.'

The author partially accounts for this state of things by the abhorrence which the Russian peasant has for the sea, leading him to undertake a long inland journey, often resulting, as above stated, in his arriving at his destination without 'children, cattle, or seed.' 'See,' he exclaims, 'how much energy the iron man of the Anglo-Saxon race would have left under similar circumstances!' But the question arises in our minds—Is it not possible to induce the gentle captains of the Amoor steamers to hasten their lagging pace, and refrain from landing passengers in lonely spots, amongst 'wild boars, goats, and other animals'? We believe such a task to be within the capabilities of the Russian Government.

Passing by Blagoveshchensk, the capital

of the province, and a great centre for the sale of corn, we pass on to Khabaroff, at the mouth of the Oosoori, and here, as a natural consequence of the above-mentioned disorders, we find the commonest necessities of life at famine prices; amongst these, a common small looking-glass, costing ten copecks* at Moscow, is sold here for two roubles; and a ream of writing-paper, original value two and a-half roubles, fetches eight at Khabaroff. The author justly concludes that the principal cause of this dearth is the risk the trader runs of being disembarked with goods and chattels on a desert shore.

One of the principal features of the Oosoori country is the Sikhota-Alin range; it is the great watershed of the district, and is thus described:—

'From Manchuria proceed mountains which, preserving their north-easterly direction, run close to the sea-shore, and reach as far as the Amoor. These mountains are the Sikhota-Alin range, and are much nearer to the sea than to the Oosoori. In consequence of this, the slopes of these mountains, which form transverse valleys, are not similar. Towards the sea they are steeper, and end in precipices and naked cliffs. The western slopes form elevations which cover with hills the interval between the principal ridge and the right bank of the Oosoori and its tributaries. The mean height of this ridge is small, but there are spots reaching 5,000 feet; but the height in general varies from 2,000 to 4,000 feet. In places the sea stretches into the land, forming a number of gulfs, of which the most important are those of St. Vladimir, St. Olga, and lastly, the broad inlet of the sea known under the name of Peter the Great, which consists of several gulfs, and on which we shall enlarge further on. The latter gulf is of so much the more importance that it contains the port of Vladivostok,† to which all our marine establishments on the Pacific have been transferred.'

It will reward the reader to glance at the map, and mark the position of this magnificent harbour; it will enable him to explain the extract with which this article commenced. The Golden Horn, the harbour upon which the town of Vladivostok itself is constructed, is in the shape of a bow, five versts long, one broad, and varying in depth from four and a-half to eleven sajens;‡ it is completely protected from all winds, and it will be shown further on that Russia does in reality look upon this port as her base for maritime operations in the East. It has, however, the disadvantage of being frozen up

* We may remind the reader that 1 rouble = 100 copecks = 3s. 1.53d.

† Or Mistress of the East.

‡ A sajen, or Russian fathom = 7 feet.

for three months in the year, though situated in latitude 43°.

The Sea of Japan and the Channel of Tartary are, it appears, subject to a very serious inconvenience and danger in the shape of thick fogs, which suddenly envelope a vessel, and render further progress dangerous. On one occasion the author, whilst on board a steamer, was surprised by one, which lasted from four in the afternoon to six on the following morning. The time of year most free from this annoyance is the autumn—the clearest month of all, September.

‘The sea itself which washes the Russian borders is not in the least like those seas which are described by travellers in more southern climes. A certain lifelessness and deep calm reigns over the watery element; marine animals of large proportions, proper to the ocean, are rarely met by the steamer; the commonest of them, dolphins, which follow every steamer in the Black and Azoff Seas in myriads, are seldom met with; small mollusks alone, emitting a phosphorescent light, remind you that you sail on the ocean. In a word, a sea voyage on the Pacific in these parts presents none of those distractions so much prized by passengers who have to kill their time on board a steamer. Of course, I do not mean to say that the sea which washes our coasts presents no products of the animal and vegetable kingdoms; on the contrary, there are products of both, but these are not very luxurious, and the use of them brings no advantage at present either to the Russian Government or individual, to whose lot this country has fallen.’

Amongst the production of the ocean is sea-weed, the collection of which employs a large number of Chinese, to the imaginary exclusion of the Russians. In the year 1869, as much as 360,000 poods* of this substance, in value 360,000 roubles, were exported from the ports of Novgorod, Vladivostok, and Olga. The author complains bitterly of this privilege enjoyed by the Chinese, and exclaims:—‘The supporters of free trade may at least rejoice over the supremacy of their principles in the dominions of Russia on the Pacific.’ But as we suppose that it is equally free to Russians to pursue this avocation, supposing they were present in sufficient numbers, we cannot help thinking that he displays a spirit somewhat akin to that of the dog in the manger in this respect.

It is interesting to be informed concerning the part the Russian fleet in this quarter is likely to play in any future war, which is ‘to destroy everywhere the defenceless colonies of the enemy, and maintain a struggle for life or death with his vessels encountered

on the sea;’ so let Australia and China look out!

Passing on to the consideration of the River Oossoori itself:—

‘The Sandogoo and Lowbi-khe, after their confluence, form the River Oossoori, which flows in a much more open valley, covered with larch woods; the coniferous trees and the mountains recede to a considerable distance, especially on the left bank, where the character of the country becomes more steppe-like as it approaches the Soongachi, a tributary stream. The river itself here changes its character; it loses the appearance of a mountain torrent, and flows more quietly, abounding in fish, which are caught by the various tribes of Toongooz.

‘Further on, the Oossoori receives the remarkable navigable river, the Soongachi. Its peculiarity consists in this, that it is difficult to find a river anywhere which makes so many bends in its course, and whose turns are so abrupt. Reckoning in a straight line from the source of this river to its mouth, it appears that its entire length does not exceed ninety versts; following its sinuosities, this is increased to 270 versts. It flows in a channel which is two feet* deep at the shore; in the middle of the bed it attains the depth of five feet, and in places even ten; meanwhile, its breadth is twenty sajens, in places twenty-five. The sinuosities of the river and the insignificance of its breadth render navigation (by steamer) difficult. Steaming along on a clear day, the sun appears every minute in a different direction; the bends are so abrupt, that sometimes after two or three hours’ steaming one returns almost to the same place, which is perhaps separated from one by a dozen sajens of dry land. At the same time the steamer, constantly turning in every direction, strikes the soft bank every minute, and cleaves the earth with its stem, forming what are termed in the locality “irons,”† or catches the opposite bank with its stern. Our soldiers always call these bends of the river *eights*.’

It is manifest that much patience, not to say a phlegmatic temperament, is indispensable for the Sisyphus-like task of navigating a river of this description; but when we come to the lake out of which it flows, we are not much better off, for Lake Khan-ka—

‘Having a circumference of about 250 versts, in length eighty, and fifty or sixty in breadth, occupies a space of almost 2,800 square versts. With such a vast surface, this lake is extremely shallow; up to the present time, nowhere has its depth been found to exceed twenty-four feet; near the shore, to the distance of half a verst from it, the depth is not more than four or five feet. With a broad surface and very small depth, the lake is constantly exposed to wind,

* The Russian foot=The English foot.

† We suppose from similarity in shape to the domestic utensil.

* A pood is equal to about 36 lbs. avoirdupois.

and extremely stormy, in consequence of which navigation is rendered very difficult for those steamers which are at present there, and it not unfrequently happens that a steamer must wait two or three days before it can sail out on the lake.'

Following the course of the Oossoori down to its confluence with the Amoor, we find that it receives several large tributaries, among which may be named the Mooren, the Biken, and the Nor. Mountains of about 4,000 feet in height follow the course of the river on either side; now hemming it in closely and ending in abrupt precipices, now receding to a greater distance. These mountains are clothed with rich forests of maple, acacia, walnut, oak, black birch, and cork; the further they recede from the river, the thicker and more splendid becomes the foliage, whilst the intervening plains are covered with the richest growth of grass. The river falls into the Amoor, near Khabaroff, forming two branches.

The breadth of the Oossoori at its confluence with the Lowbi-khe is seventy sajens, whilst forty versts above Khabaroff it is one verst and three-quarters. In the dry season its depth is sometimes as small as two and a-half feet, and it flows at the rate of from two to three versts per hour.

The chapter devoted to the geographical survey of the country is thus concluded:—

'It now remains to examine the animal and vegetable life, which has here been developed to the fullest extent, endowing this country with the most diverse forms of both animals and plants. Nature has constructed here, as it were, an exhibition, assembling on the Oossoori in a confined space the products of the extreme north, as the pine, the birch, the fir, the larch, with those of the extreme south, as the vine, the walnut, and the cork-tree. At the same time she has peopled the woods and waters with the most divergent specimens of animal life; there we find the great sturgeon, turtle, eagles, cranes, the Egyptian ibis, and a thousand other birds; here, in one and the same forest, we find the inhabitant of the extreme north—the sable; and close to him the panther and the Bengal tiger—not a visitor, by chance straying into this obscure country, but a native living constantly there, terrifying both the Russian soldier and the Tamboff peasant, who never before heard the name even of the animal. And all this in Siberia!'

The climate must be one of the most inclement in the world, considering its latitude; the mean temperature corresponds to that of places lying to the north of Vaza, Petrozavodsk, Vologda, and Kazan, notwithstanding that it lies six degrees to the south of these places. It is stated that Archangel, situated in latitude 64°, has a better climate than this country in the same latitude as

Perpignan. The frosts are very severe, the rivers and lakes being frozen for six months in a year. The causes of this inclemency are not far to seek. The Stanovoy Mountains, which divide the country from the frozen regions of Northern Siberia, are of considerable height, allowing the cold winds an almost uninterrupted passage, whilst the lofty Chan-bo-Shan range on the South intercepts the warm winds which blow from China and the Yellow Sea. A cold stream from the Sea of Okhotsk, drifting quantities of ice along with it, materially assists in depressing the temperature; whilst the prevailing winds in autumn and winter, blowing from the north-west, bring from the continent together with clearness and dryness, extreme cold; and those in spring and summer, proceeding from the south and south-west, bring humidity and rain, which also have a depressing effect upon the temperature.

The information about the gold and coal, which the country is said to contain, is very uncertain and vague; but this is of the less consequence, as the neighbouring island of Sagalin abounds in coal of good quality for the supply of a steam fleet.

The following description is given of the aboriginal population:—

'In moral qualities the Golds stand by no means at the lowest stage of human development; they are good-humoured, honest, display much affection in their domestic life; in short, respect the aged, whose opinion is always attended to in the management of social matters relating to commerce; lastly, their relations with the female sex are not barbarous. Though the heaviest labour, as among all savages, is consigned to the women, yet in domestic life, around the family hearth, she plays the part of a wife and a mother, not that of silent and resigned slave. In religion they are sorcerers*; in occupation, fishermen and hunters; agriculture is unknown to them, and only in summer, in the fishing season, they sow the gardens round their dwellings with a few fruits, and with tobacco, the use of which is indispensable, not only to men and women, but even to little children.'

The Bengal tiger is found in large numbers all over the Oossoori country, and is said to equal in size, ferocity, and strength those bred in the jungles of India. Such is the terror impressed upon the natives by this animal that they accord him divine honours; his effigies, painted black and red, are seen around their dwellings, whilst they carry smaller ones sewn on to their clothes; these are supposed by them to have the power of averting calamity, and especially the attacks of the beast himself. When a native is sur-

prised by a tiger he greets him, it appears, as a superior being, falls on his knees, and worships him. He does not, however, carry his adoration so far as to allow himself to fall an unresisting prey to this sanguinary deity, but, if armed with even so much as an iron-shod stick, his religious feelings give place to an endeavour to rip up the belly of his opponent, on the principle, we suppose, that self-preservation is the first law of nature.

Several interesting anecdotes of tigers are given, from amongst which we select the following, as showing the courage inspired in the breast of the most pacific animals by maternal love:—

'In one of our posts, in the vicinity of Manchuria, lived a few soldiers, and one of them had a cow with a young calf. One night a tiger crept up to the yard of the post, having sprung over a stockade, or railing, at least fourteen feet high. There he seized the calf, and began strangling it before its mother's eyes. The dying moans of her offspring overcame the sense of fear, and the cow rushed at the tiger, and plunged her horns into his flank. Meanwhile the soldiers, aroused by the noise, discharged their firearms, and the tiger, surprised, cast aside the calf and endeavoured to escape over the stockade; but the former, having made an unsuccessful spring, the cow, emboldened by victory, rushed again at the beast, and gored him. Meanwhile a fresh volley was delivered. The scared tiger, seeing the impossibility of escape, completely lost his head, and rushed, as if mad, from one end of the yard to the other, pursued by the infuriated cow. At last the beast made another spring, and leapt over the stockade. The valiant heroine then returned to her young one, but found it already dead. This anecdote was related to M. Prjevalski, by eye-witnesses, who even pointed out to him the brave cow.'

Another scourge of this country are the innumerable swarms of insects which torment the cattle under the burning summer sun. The Chinese keep their cattle under sheds during the day, and maintain fires of brushwood, the smoke of which drive away the insects; but it appears that the Cossacks, in many cases, take neither of these precautions, 'from indifference.'

In Siberia, the Russian soldiers play the same part, as pioneers of civilization, as in former times did the conquering legions of Rome; and indeed their versatility must be great, when we read that—

'If you travel on the post-cart in the South Oosoori country, a soldier drives you—not one who has served his time, but one who is actually in the service, and appointed to do the duty of post-boy; but your journey on dry land ends, and you take your seat in a boat—here again is the same soldier of the line, who,

having mastered the various nautical terms and appellations, manages the rudder and sails. You enter the telegraph station—it is guarded by a soldier; you enter a church, and you see that even here the soldier is both churchwarden, taper-bearer, and clerk; in a word, the soldier is employed on all duties and in all occupations, and constitutes the defence, basis of civilization, and working power of the country.'

These praises refer to the regular troops of the Russian army, *not* to the Cossacks, of whom more below.

The most numerous class of the Oosoori population is made up of Cossacks, transported by the Russian Government, in the year 1858, to settle the newly-acquired district; these emigrants were chosen by lot, and their history well illustrates the difficulties attending the compulsory settlement of a country. They were conveyed to their new home from the Baikal district on steamers, down the Amoor, and up the Oosoori, their goods and cattle being floated on rafts. As may be imagined, they did not reach their destination without suffering much loss. The sites for corn land were selected at haphazard, and generally lay on the low ground adjacent to the river, and the very first year they were inundated. The harvest was lost, and the Government had to feed the settlers till the following year, and to furnish fresh supplies of seed corn. The Government was thus placed between the horns of a dilemma: they were unable to sit still, and see the population perish of hunger, whilst the settlers themselves were too indifferent and assured of Government support to move much in the matter; and thus we find that whilst in the year 1860, 35,550 poods of corn had to be supplied by Government, chiefly owing to losses from inundations, yet up to the year 1868 so little had been done to remedy this state of things that 80,504 poods had to be supplied from the same source;* matters had even come to such a pass that the Cossacks ate the seed corn sent to them, and subsisted on fish for the rest of the year. It must be borne in mind that Irkoutsk, the seat of government, is at a distance of more than 3,000 versts, a circumstance which renders the task of supervision very difficult.

The Chinese, however, of a more industrious and self-reliant character, are more successful in the cultivation of the soil; so that whilst the Cossacks scarcely obtain thirty poods of grain per dessiatine,† the Chinese gather from eighty to a hundred

* A pood of corn costs in this country about 1½ roubles.

† A dessiatine = 2·45 acres.

from the same quality of soil, and in good years even 150 or 200.

The *foreign* population (as it is here termed*) consists of Chinese, Coreans, Tazes, and Golds. The first-named, owing to the feeble influence which the Russian Government exerts in those far distant portions of her dominions, have been necessitated to organize some form of government of their own. This consists of small village communities, presided over by an elder, who even holds in his hands the power of life and death. His trials are not always, however, in the most regular form, nor his sentences merciful,—

‘Durum telum necessitas,’

as the following anecdote will testify:—

‘Not far from the head of the Oossoori Bay, in close proximity to one of our military posts, a game of cards was proceeding in a hut. The Chinese are dreadful gamblers, and it not unfrequently happens that a wealthy Chinese merchant will gamble away all his property in one night, and become the labourer of the fortunate winner. One of the players having remarked that the other was cheating, got up without a word, as if he was going to prepare a piece of tobacco, seized his knife, and plunged it straight into the heart of the wretched man. The remaining players threw themselves immediately on the murderer, bound him, and sent him to the chief elder, who, with the others, was to pass sentence on him.

‘After long deliberation, the prisoner was at last adjudged to be buried alive, and the better to be able to execute this severe sentence, it was resolved previously to make the prisoner dead drunk.

‘Whether he would or no, he was obliged to drink brandy in sight of the fresh dug grave. The influence of fear overcame the intoxicating action of the spirit, and they could not make the prisoner drunk. Then, instead of the small cups from which the Chinese drink, they began to pour brandy down his throat from large cups, and succeeded in bringing him into a state of complete insensibility. Having attained this, they threw him into the pit, and began to fill in. In the midst of this operation, when the criminal was already tolerably well covered, he apparently came to himself, as he began to stir. Seeing this, some of the Chinese standing by threw themselves into the pit, and beat down the earth with feet and shovels until the unfortunate man was completely buried.’

After this astounding recital, what next? Although measures of some sort or other have been taken to put a stop to similar atrocities, M. Aliabieff cannot even assure us that they are not taking place at this very moment in the Oossoori country! He tells us proudly, in one part of his book, that the

great ruling passion of the Russian is ‘extent,’ or ‘vastness.’ Truly ‘vastness’ as applied to empire is no unmixed blessing, when the central and vital power is too weak to reach the numbed extremities.

The Coreans resemble the Chinese much in their industry and skill in agriculture, but are distinguished from them by their good qualities, as ‘cleanliness, neatness, and moral worth.’ They are of a pleasant type of countenance, do not shave their beards, and wear their hair. Since 1863 they have been emigrating into Russian territory in large and increasing numbers; they form good and desirable subjects, and some even have accepted the Christian faith.

M. Aliabieff comes to the conclusion that the advantages expected from this country, to obtain which so many and great sacrifices have been made, may be looked for only in part; and these in the distant future, and on condition of energetic administrative reorganization. But we imagine that he is looking at the economic and industrial side of the question; for turning to military writers, we find that they are assessed at a far different value. We know the Italian proverb,

‘Non istanno bene due galli in un cortile,’

which will apply as well to a continent as to a farm-yard. Russia watches our Asiatic possessions with scrutinizing attention, and scarcely a word of discontent is uttered or a British soldier mobbed in India but her papers resound with it. The smallest concentration of troops is represented as a preparation for a fresh career of conquest and annexation. As an example, it was but lately insisted by the Russian press that the Looshai expedition was but the preparatory step to the absorption of Burmah. Russia views our motives and actions in Asia through the same green spectacles which we apply to hers; and in truth there seems but small difference upon reference to history. But the dry fact remains that we have before us a persistent and vigilant opponent, and it behoves us to ascertain from whence, in case of rupture, a blow would probably fall.

We conclude this article by a quotation from the same source as that on page 83:—

‘As our position on the Sea of Japan composes part of the great ocean, and is united with it by five channels, which are difficult to blockade, we may say that it is the base of our fleet on the great ocean; it can here extend its activity on a much larger scale than on our European seas, the Baltic and Black. The numerous and excellent harbours of the country, its richness in wood, and the proximity of coal, may extraordinarily assist the development and activity of our naval forces in these

* By the Russians

waters, and perhaps the time of this development is not far distant. The ports Possiet, Vladivostock, Strelack, America, Vladimirski, Castries, and Nicolaievsk have peculiar importance, and ought, as opportunity offers, to be strongly occupied by us and even fortified. In particular, Vladivostock, as nucleus of our maritime forces, demands the most immediate attention. The force of our fleet should evidently be considerable in these waters, here even our neighbour Japan has a dozen or so warships, including some iron-clads. European powers maintain large squadrons in the neighbouring seas—for instance, England from thirty-two to thirty-five vessels of war.

We thus see that the importance of the country is by no means underrated by Russian military authorities.

tremble at the noise themselves have made. Having ascended the mountain, they look back in giddy amazement on the precipices they have scaled, and, sinking down in exhaustion, prepare to give up the ghost, imploring me, Disraeli, to play the part of executor and residuary legatee to the Whig party, to save its remains from Gladstone and the Radicals, and to gather them up for burial in a churchyard undefiled by the bones of Dissenters. The Whigs are dish'd indeed !'

Mr. Disraeli has a right to his exulting chuckle; but it is not without some feeling of irritation that the vanguard of the Liberal party can regard this placid abnegation of all that deserves the name of Liberalism by the historical Whig organ. We shall speak plainly. This is *not* Liberalism; this is the abjuration of Liberalism. There is a sentiment, a spirit, a moral and intellectual habitude, in which, more deeply than in formal creed, the character of every great party resides; and the sentiment natural to Liberals is trust in progress, frank satisfaction in contemplating the positions won, resolute intrepidity in casting the glance forward to the heights remaining to be gained, definite renunciation of the doctrine of political finality, and clear belief that the day can never dawn when the army of improvement will have no more worlds to conquer. This is very different from the precipitation of the simpleton, from the feverish heat of the rebel against society, from the rancorous greed and itch of destruction of him who is incapable of steady work and trades in agitation. The sentiment germane to true Liberalism is a fine blending of calmness and intrepidity, the force of passion in the heart, the poised scales of reason in the hand. Do you wish to see the spirit of Liberalism nobly illustrated? Turn to the pages of the *Edinburgh Review* in the earlier period of its existence. You will there find that the Whig writers who made the reputation of their party were not ashamed of the watchwords of Liberalism—did not shrink, as if afraid of burning their fingers, from the symbolic flags of progress. If you are in quest of lectures on the benefits of political caution, the beauty of things as they are, the risks of popular movement, the danger of being assisted by advanced Liberals, go elsewhere than to the *Edinburgh Review* when it was mewing its mighty youth. If you like to breathe an atmosphere of stifling complacency, avoid the literary demesne where the sentences of Brougham run like fire along the ground, and where Macaulay, in the heyday of his genius, flings the fine lightning of his scorn upon those who have

ART. VII.—*The Tory Administration and its Whig Admirers.*

Who would have said, six months ago, that a new part could be found for Mr. Disraeli, or that he was still destined to experience and afford the supreme surprise of his career? He had been a flaming young Radical; he had been a stiff-necked, middle-aged Protectionist; he had educated the Tories, or befooled them, into voting for household suffrage in boroughs. An admirer of 'Sybil' might have deemed it possible that he would resuscitate and pass the People's Charter; a reader of 'Tancred' might have predicted that he would disestablish the Church; but his most imaginative disciple could not have foreseen that he would live to be greeted by *ci-devant* Liberal reviewers as the model Whig. It would have been a task for Goethe or Balzac, wielding, with the skill of those consummate masters, the scalpel of psychological analysis, to discriminate and classify the elements in Mr. Disraeli's emotional mood when he had done reading this elaborate Whig tribute to his genius and statesmanship; but it is safe to say that one chief ingredient in the cup of his gratification was the pungent spice of triumphant contempt. There is one ambition from which, in all the zigzags of his political life, Mr. Disraeli has never deviated. Radical, Tory, or nondescript, he has always unaffectedly wished to 'dish the Whigs.' And now he must have felt that, on this score at least, he could die happy. 'What a set of poor-spirited fellows,' he might have said, 'have these successors of Jeffrey, Brougham, and Macaulay become! They

not the courage and the sense to believe that there is safety in progress. If you are in search of an opiate for all that is ardent and impassioned in Liberalism, avoid the *Edinburgh Review* as it was, and confine yourself to it as it is.

We peremptorily deny that the Gladstone Cabinet was intemperately, impatiently, or precipitately Liberal. Every one of the great measures which it passed was due to justice and the requirements of a nation, and not one of them was passed a day too soon. The pace of the Gladstone ministry can be called rapid only when compared with the customary pace of English cabinets. The disestablishment of the Irish Church was a bold measure; but is it not one of the fundamental principles of Liberalism that no convicted wrong shall be permitted to endure? and had not the incurable injustice of the Irish Church been pointed out so lucidly and so logically by Whig writers that its existence had been, for at least a quarter of a century, a standing reproach to the party? Mr. Gladstone's Irish Land Act was original and masterly; but did it come too soon? Was English legislation on Ireland to be for ever of that trifling and superficial kind which merely fomented the exasperations of her people and played into the hands of rapacious demagogues? Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues neither did too much for the country nor did it alarmingly fast. On the other hand, we cannot agree with those who make light of Mr. Gladstone's services. His was indeed a magnificent innings. His score made up for long years of languid play on the part of the Liberals. He dissipated the somnolent traditions which had come in with parliamentary success, and which accorded well with a mild aristocratic Whiggism. Lord Palmerston, admirable as an administrator, made no claim to the possession of legislative ability. Earl Russell, always a vigilant Liberal when out of office, has in office cultivated the virtues of repose. From lack of aggressive energy, from excess of intellectual patience, he saw the honours of the field swept from his hand—those of free trade by Peel, those of household suffrage by Disraeli, those of the complicated Irish problem by Gladstone. Had Earl Russell been as energetic as he is honest, and had his powers of constructive legislation been consummate, the Irish Church might have been disestablished twenty years ago; but had Mr. Gladstone not been impatient of injustice, quick to embody his principles in action, and gifted with a rare genius for constructive legislation, the Irish establishment might have stood for another quarter of a century. And

have not Liberals been hearing, for at least half the lifetime of a generation, that the ballot ought to be introduced and purchase in the army to be abolished? To blame Mr. Gladstone for having done too little is as unreasonable as to blame him for having done too much.

It has become customary for advocates of religious equality to dwell upon the defects of Mr. Gladstone's Irish Church legislation. We are under no temptation to overpraise it, seeing that we published a severe exposure of the laxity by which disendowment was permitted to become too nearly equivalent to re-endowment. But it now appears that, indulgent as were the terms granted to the Irish clergy, the surplus accruing to the nation after the arrangement has been carried out, will amount to about five millions sterling. Nor can it be affirmed that the liberality extended to the Irish incumbents and curates was based upon a false principle. No one has ever maintained that personal loss should be inflicted upon the clergy of a disestablished Church. The personal property of each incumbent could not be set at less than an annuity equal to his living, for the term of one life. If these two propositions be granted, on what ground can it be held that incumbents should have been refused permission to capitalise their annuities? It would incalculably aggravate the difficulty of Anglican disestablishment if the idea got abroad that the advocates of religious equality are determined to deal with the Church in a harsh and revengeful spirit, and to inflict suffering upon incumbents. We shall not say that Anglican disendowment ought to be arranged on the Irish pattern, but we invite earnest attention to the fact that, if it were so arranged, the clear annual gain to the nation would amount to about four millions. This can be demonstrated by reference to unimpeachable figures, almost in a single sentence. The net annual income of the Established Church, as estimated about forty years ago by the *Quarterly Review*, was almost exactly six millions and a half. It has constantly been growing in monetary value from the rise in the value of real property, and at this date, cannot be put under eight millions. Mr. Gladstone's estimate of the sum required to satisfy all claims to compensation in the event of disendowment in England is ninety millions. This amount could be instantly raised at 4 per cent. interest or less, that is to say, for an annual payment of less than four millions. The Church revenues, handed over to national Commissioners, would yield eight millions annually. After payment of the yearly interest on the

Church Disendowment Debt, four millions at the lowest would remain, to form, with the profits of the Post-Office and the Telegraphs, a considerable item on the credit side of the nation's annual balance-sheet. We regard it as an important part of the general argument in favour of disendowment, that it will put a large sum into the national exchequer; but since the nation must gain, it would be bad policy to arouse the enormous opposition which an attempt to deal ungenerously with the Church would produce. It is in its justice that the strength of the disestablishment cause resides, and we would not have our opponents even seem to sit in the shadow of that great rock. For the same reason, we deprecate any expression of opinion which betrays a desire to utilise disestablishment in the interest of any Nonconformist denomination. One day we are treated to a scheme to introduce into the Church the Presbyterian system; another day we are reminded of the antiquity and picturesque handiness of parochial administration, and are advised to resolve the Anglican Church into twenty thousand independent congregations. These random shots can serve no good purpose. If Nonconformists have been speaking honestly, they do not grudge to any Englishman the right to be an Episcopalian; they do not hide in their hearts any mean proselytizing motive in demanding that every subject of Her Majesty shall stand, with every other, on a footing of perfect religious equality. Mr. Miall and the rest of us have uniformly declared that, in advocating disestablishment, we desire the well-being, not the destruction, of the Church; and by this statement we must, in fairness, be understood to mean that we are willing to afford it scope for organization and government on its own principles. A thin veil of cloud suffices to impede the clear hot sunbeam, that gives quality to the wheat and crimson the apple, and the faintest suspicion of disingenuousness breaks the force with which a great party can bring its principles to bear upon a nation's heart.

Might we suggest, in this connection, that one obvious and effective method of convincing the public that it is the disestablishment, not the destruction, of the State-Churches that we desire, is the exhibition of frank sympathy with Episcopalian Churches which are free? However defective may have been the scheme of disestablishment in Ireland, the Irish Church has been severed from the State. Does it verify or falsify the predictions of those who said that disestablishment would do it good? It conspicuously verifies them. We make no attack

upon the Roman Catholic Church, and would, on no account, say anything offensive to our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen; but we hold that Popery and Protestantism are incompatible, that any union between them can be but sham union, and that such union, wherever cemented, ought to be dissolved. It speaks, therefore, in favour of disestablishment, that more has already been done by the free Episcopalian Church of Ireland to detach her Protestantism from her Popery, than had been done by any Episcopalian Church since the Reformation. The free Episcopalian Church of Ireland has decided that the presence of Christ in the sacramental bread and wine is not objective, a statement which goes to the root of every opinion on the subject that is either Romish or semi-Romish. When we reflect for a moment on the interminable efforts of Lords Ebury and Shaftesbury, and other excellent but visionary persons, to have Popery turned out of the Anglican Prayer Book, all which have been as futile as the moaning of churchyard winds to erase inscriptions from the grave-stones, are we not helped, by the contrast presented, to realize the difference between a Church in freedom and a Church in servitude? It is not merely the spectacle of the Irish Church ridding herself of Popery that is novel and refreshing, but also, and still more, the scarcely credible phenomenon of a Church bound hand and foot with formularies daring to adjust those bandages so as to suit vital and progressive movement. In one word, the spiritual energies of the Irish Episcopalian Church have been disimprisoned, and in all religious, political, and social respects, the Irish experiment of disestablishment has been successful.

Might we suggest further that the Episcopalian Church of Ireland and the Episcopalian Church of Scotland are likely to afford favourable recruiting grounds for the disestablishment army? What reason can be imagined, except the pitiful one of count of heads, why episcopacy should be specially privileged in one, and but one, of the three kingdoms? So long as the Church of England is arrayed in the ornaments, however meretricious, of State connection, her attractions will act detrimentally upon the Episcopalian Churches of Ireland and Scotland, by drawing from them the more talented and ambitious of their clergy. It seems natural that Episcopalians, whom the State leaves to shift for themselves, should feel with exceptional keenness the injustice of State favouritism enjoyed by one Episcopalian communion. The same train of reasoning applies with great force to two-thirds of the Presbyterians of Scotland, who, while as

loyal to the State as subjects can be, and not costing the State one penny, are compelled to stand by and behold one-third of the Presbyterians of Scotland established and endowed. Hitherto, in the contest for religious equality, the Congregationalists (including the Baptists) have borne the burden and heat of the day; but there is no reason why every free Church in the United Kingdom should not be as well organized for the common enterprise as are the Congregationalists. Were this once effected, the moment of victory could not be remote. The Congregationalists, like the British squares at Waterloo, have long looked for the heads of the allied columns to emerge from the wood, and now that there are signs of their emergence, the Congregationalists bid them welcome, and begin to dress the line for the final charge.

The recent conference of the Liberation Society, universally felt to be one of the most important it has ever held, afforded ample evidence that the most ardent and intelligent advocates of religious equality are impressed with the idea that the working principles of the Association must be simplicity of basis and comprehensiveness of membership. Speaker after speaker declared, amid the warm sympathy of the audience, that the ground common to the party was not limited by any theological or anti-theological line of demarcation, and that those who occupied it primarily under the influence of religious conviction could stand side by side with those actuated by purely political motives. Our common ground is this, that no man is naturally or justly responsible for another man's Church; that no reason can be shown why two religious sects should be established and endowed while other sects, deserving in all respects as well of the State, are not so; and that the part proper to Parliament is not to produce a farcical travesty of the proceedings of an ecclesiastical synod, but to guard the interests and rights of the nation. Putting the extreme case, that a man believes in no God, and thinks it would be beneficial to mankind to reject faith in a Divine Being, can we refuse to admit that he is unjustly treated in being forced, directly or indirectly, to maintain a particular form of Christianity? If his reasonings against a State-Church are valid, would it not be the narrowest bigotry to decline to recognise their intrinsic worth because they come from his lips? One of the main batteries, so to speak, in our general battle against State Church ascendancy and monopoly, is ammunitioned with the argument that a perfectly Erastian State Church, like the Church of England, must

involve a subtle give-and-take between worldliness and moral rectitude, between political expediency and the cross of Christ; and may we not, though profoundly disagreeing with them on many points, acknowledge the vigour with which certain well-known writers, pointing out the equivocation of Broad Church theology and the danger of compromise in the moral province, have brought the fire of this battery to bear upon the opposing line?

While, however, we cordially approve of the boldness with which the extreme left of the party was welcomed to the platform of the Liberation Society, we think that a more tender comprehensiveness might, with great advantage, be applied to those who may, with allowance for exceptions, be described as the right of the disestablishment host. There is one kind of fear which no member of a party whose principles are justice and patriotism ought to be ashamed to avow—the fear to offend and drive from the standard those who are right at heart. Rather would we meet in the field ten fierce enemies than one friend, who would prefer to be fighting by our side, but who had been driven away by our scorn for his scruples. Is it a mere vision of impossible sweetness—a calenture of green fields and willowy brooks, such as rise before storm-wearied mariners in mid sea—that the divisions which have arisen among us on the subject of education may once more give place to union and to peace? Mr. Goldwin Smith, staunch to the core on disestablishment, declared from the chair of the great Liberation meeting in the Metropolitan Tabernacle that, in Canada, where all Churches are free, the educational difficulty is unknown. Several years ago the same high authority, whose lucid and penetrating intellect, lofty character and intrepid sympathy with progress have justly lent weight to his words, solemnly impressed it upon the Liberal party that their next grand work must be the abolition of religious monopoly and of privileged ecclesiasticism as incarnated in the State Churches. On this question all who advocate religious equality, from Primitive Methodists to anti-theists, can speak a word of articulate agreement. On this question Nonconformists almost to a man and an influential and increasing body of Churchmen are as one. Can we not arrive, at lowest, at a distinct understanding that he who is right on this point is to be accepted as an ally, and that the bold and united advance of the party against the State Churches is not to be postponed until every brother, weak-kneed or strong-kneed, can keep step with every other on the education question? gle

It is, of course, desirable that, in educational matters, the action of the party should be as harmonious as possible; and the most earnest and considerate efforts of the leaders ought to be directed to the problem of constructing such an educational programme as might, without sacrifice of principle by any section, enable us to realise that, here also, as well as in our character of crusaders against the State-Churches, we are animated by a common enthusiasm. In how much do we agree? This is the first thing to be ascertained in order to our determining whether there is really any essential matter on which we differ. The 25th clause has been given up by Mr. Gladstone; all Liberals, let us hope, will concur in a devout *requiescat* respecting it. In the second place, we can count on unanimity on the proposition that there ought to exist no endowment of religion, expressly as such, in school any more than in Church. In the third place, it may be laid down that no one is a genuine Liberal who has not honestly divested himself of all wish that schools should, indirectly or directly, be used as part of the machinery of ecclesiastical proselytism. On these abstract principles there is, we take it, no discrepancy of opinion in the anti-State Church party.

The difficulty begins when we ask what is an adequate guarantee that religion shall not be endowed, and that proselytism shall not be permitted in schools. No one, we presume, is disposed to retrograde; and by the Elementary Schools Act the teaching of denominational formularies is forbidden. So far well. No one can fairly object to its being pressed upon Government that school inspectors should vigilantly enforce the provisions of this Act. In the next place it is matter of statute that no grant of public money shall be made to any school except for secular results; and care must be taken that this provision likewise shall not become a dead letter. Up to this point we may count, if not upon perfect unanimity, at least upon such a measure of acquiescence as would preclude those vague terrors and apprehensions of a Bible dishonoured and a nation educated in atheism, which have caused so much wavering in the disestablishment ranks. Englishmen, in all cases, dread absolute prohibitions and hard-and-fast lines; and when we insist that the Bible *shall not*, whether parents like it or not, be taught in school hours, and that the school-master shall, during the same hours, be peremptorily forbidden to open his lips on a religious subject, we find that our way is amid thorns and briars. An ideally perfect state of matters is impossible. It is easy to

speak of a thoroughly national system of education; but no scheme of education will be worth the paper on which it is inscribed if it has not the advantage of vigorous local oversight; and vigorous local superintendence is out of the question, if the managers are to be shackled by minute and inflexible rules drawn up in London. Why should a plan of universal School Boards, exercising large though well-defined powers, offend anyone? Parishioners dread the idea of their introduction mainly because it is feared that they would be expensive; but what necessity is there that the election of a School Board by the ratepayers should be more expensive than the constitution of a vestry by the ratepayers? In some localities Dissenters are in an overwhelming majority; in some localities almost all the inhabitants are Churchmen; the composition of the Boards must vary accordingly; and it is perfectly certain that sectarian influences would, more or less, act upon the schools in both instances. This is to be deplored; but even this is a less evil than that the people of localities should take no interest in the schools. Life is languid in English country parishes, and the practical difficulty would be to get the members of the School Board, even if one Board served for several parishes, to attend the meetings.

The essential thing, however, is not that a particular solution of the educational problem should be agreed upon, but that it should be understood that the rallying cry, the test question, of the party is disestablishment of the State Churches. This is a simple object, and any man can say whether he is content to aim at it, yea or nay. The education question, except in respect of those general principles which we have stated, is complicated and perplexing. It is weak and illogical, on the one hand, to be startled into misgivings as to the result of disestablishment because an able and influential section of Liberationists advocate a purely secular system of national education; but it is not more logical, and it is harsh and imprudent, to fling disparaging epithets at those who, though strongly in favour of disestablishment, cannot help regarding the Bible as the best of all possible school-books, and whose faith is not strong enough to remove for them the mountain of difficulty (now lying in the way of an educational system that would absolutely dispense with denominational machinery) which has been reared by denominational energy and denominational liberality during at least a quarter of a century. We shall hope to see both sections find a way out of their perplexities; but the one thing to be inexorably required

of them in the present stage of the business is their vote against the State Churches.

The part of the session which has gone by affords an earnest of the kind of government we are to expect from the Conservative Cabinet and its admirers. It would be absurd to be angry with Tories because they are Tories, or to blame Mr. Disraeli for gratifying the drowsy Whigs, who asked of him no boon but sleep. An accommodating statesman, he once educated the Tories to do the work of the Radicals; and he now, with bland composure, permits himself to be instructed by way-worn Liberals, in the political art of doing—with one important exception—almost nothing at all. The nature of the exception we shall sufficiently characterize, when we say that this might be called the *ecclesiastical* session. Being required to describe it by this epithet, we do not hesitate to add that the kind of legislative work which it exemplifies appears to us to be intensely bad. The brain and the heart of Parliament have been thrown into matters ecclesiastical, and little has been effected in any other province. Some creditable work, of a preparatory nature, has been done in simplifying the law regulating purchase of land; but it cannot be alleged that the restrictions by which landed property is artificially distinguished from other property have been decisively dealt with, or that the land has been placed in its normal position and relations as part of the industrial system of the country. At no period in English history was it more conspicuously evident that the unimpeded outflow of the nation's capital towards the land is essential to the general prosperity. A large proportion of the energy of the party of progress must always be expended in the obliteration of the irrelevant, confusing, and vexatious lines of distinction drawn by immature legislation; and many such lines remain to be removed from the old legislation on land. The task, when thoroughly executed, will reinforce, instead of impairing the security of property; and we hold it to be a first principle of all sound reform in this province, that it shall be based on the inductive reasoning of scientific economists, not on the foolish dreams of communists, or the raving and reciting of charlatans. English agriculture has a severe battle to fight; and it cannot fight it in the rusty armour of obsolete enactments. Lord Cairns and Lord Selborne have made a beginning, but hardly more than a beginning. All powers of entail, all legislative provision that the rich man's acres shall be less liable to be sold to pay his debts than the poor man's cows and sheep, all distribution of the responsibilities of ownership

between possessor and heir, all putting of sceptres into dead men's hands wherewith to rule the living, are inconsistent with the highest possible utilization of the land in the interest of the community. In so far as the legislation of the Tory Government facilitates these reforms it has our warm approval. We may say the same of the measure by which, working on the lines of the Gladstone Cabinet, the Lord Chancellor has supplemented the Judicature Bill of last session.

Mr. Cross is a hard-working Home Secretary, anxious to make himself useful, industrious in the mastery of details. But his proceedings, in relation to Lord Aberdare's Licensing Bill, have furnished, all things considered, a pitiful example of legislative trifling, and of incapacity to apprehend a principle. The speech in which he brought the subject before the House of Commons suggests to us the idea of a commonplace and rather listless pupil repeating a lesson learned from a master possessed of originality and power. He had got up his figures, he had pottered over facts, but the point and principle of the whole thing he missed. The principle of the Licensing Bill of the late Government was, we should have said, perfectly clear in itself, and broadly inscribed on the measure; yet Mr. Cross was not alone in misconceiving or ignoring it. Strange to say, the *Pall Mall Gazette* mistook it for that which, expressly and antithetically, it was *not*. The *Pall Mall Gazette* is strongly impressed with the importance of the opinion, which we cordially endorse, that it is not for governments to teach virtue, and that Acts of Parliament ought to repress not vice but crime. Perceiving that the philanthropic section in the House of Commons supported Lord Aberdare's bill, the *Pall Mall Gazette* leapt to the conclusion that his lordship and Sir Wilfrid Lawson rowed in one boat, and that the object of the Licensing Bill was to make people sober. Had the able editor been more exact in his information he might have known that the Licensing Bill had its origin in a movement based on the conviction that the notion of making people sober by Act of Parliament was chimerical. A number of thoughtful and intelligent philanthropists, feeling that, laudable as were the motives of Sir Wilfrid Lawson and his allies, their plan of having the sale of intoxicating drink prohibited was absolutely impracticable, fell back upon the principle of regulating the sale in the interest, not of personal virtue but of public order, convenience, decency, and safety. Regulation, as substituted for and contrasted with prohibition, was the principle of Lord Aberdare's measure; and

the soundness of this principle is beyond dispute. Prohibitive legislation on the subject of strong drink is an idea of modern times, and has been embraced chiefly by those whose ardour in the cause of human improvement somewhat exceeds their patience, coolness, and command of the dry light of Baconian logic; but the principle that dangerous trades are to be regulated in the interest of social order is as old as civilization, and we can argue with no one who denies that the drink traffic is dangerous. To discern perfectly, however, the character of the Gladstone legislation on this subject, we must not merely apprehend its theoretic principle—regulation, not prohibition—but grasp firmly the practical fact on which its regulative method was grounded. That fact is the enormous augmentation of every peril connected with the sale of strong drink, when that sale involves *public drinking by night*. Drunkenness, be it recollected, is expressly recognised as a statutory crime; and, if we compare, in respect of being productive of drunkenness, the drink consumed in the family circle with the drink consumed in the public-house, we cannot refuse to admit that the home consumption yields a mere fraction of drunkenness compared with that arising from the consumption of the tavern and the gin-palace. At home strong drink is practically a food; in the tavern it is used, in a large proportion of cases, for the express purpose of producing that excitement which, in the extreme form, is intoxication. At home a man is under the immediate influence of his wife and children; and nature and Christianity combine to assure us that this influence will tend to prevent him from turning himself into a raging brute. We submit that, apart from all moral considerations, with a view simply to the diminution of that violence and that pauperism for which society must pay, it is competent to legislation to encourage the consumption of drink as a food, and to discourage its consumption for other purposes.

The effects of the measure of the late Government had strictly corresponded to this view of its object. A larger amount of beer and spirits had been consumed since its enactment than ever was consumed before; but less disturbance and criminality had occurred in connection with the consumption. If public drinking by day is questionable, public drinking by night is inseparable from precisely those accompaniments against which society has a right to guard. For our own part we cannot imagine how any one who has been abroad in London by night, and has observed the condition of those creating tumults on the pavement, or

being carried to the police stations on shutters, or who has been abroad in a village by night, and noticed who were cursing and fighting before the public-house, can doubt that public drinking by night is promotive in the very highest degree not merely of the vice by which homes are desolated, and wives and children condemned to chronic misery and semi-starvation, but of the social disorder with which legislation expressly contends. To open one's eyes is to see how this matter really stands; but were it not pedantry to buttress common sense with precedents, the curtailment of the hours of public drinking by night could, we have no doubt, be shown to be consistent with the practice of English Governments from the days of the curfew bell. Happily the *Times*, with its sturdy instinct of what's what, saw that Lord Aberdare's bill had been a public benefit, promoting quiet in the streets, and emptying prison cells; and the *Lancet* did seasonable and admirable service by pointing out that under the Act night accidents, occasioned by drink, have notably decreased. Mr. Cross was compelled, by the indignant protests of all who had a right to speak with authority on the subject, to recall the beggarly surrender, which he had originally purposed making to the publicans, of part of the time which had with difficulty been won from public drinking by night. Little or no evil has for the present been done; but we would earnestly press it upon Liberals to apprehend the principles, theoretic and practical, of Lord Aberdare's important measure, and to make up their minds that those principles have not yet obtained by any means adequate recognition and enforcement. It ought to be one of the clearly apprehended aims of the party to diminish still further the hours of public drinking by night. The grounds on which such diminution can be argued are distinctly and unanswerably social; but it is no argument against such legislation that its indirect effects are auxiliary to personal and domestic virtue. Since every magistrate and policeman, and the records of every police station, bear witness against public drinking under cloud of night as productive of criminality, our ardour in curtailing it may be raised to the due passionate heat by recollecting that it does more than any other thing that could be named to promote private vice, to extend prostitution, to facilitate the villainy of the seducer, to promote discord and ruin in the households of the poor.

But we have not yet done with Mr. Cross's attempt to mar the Liberal legislation on public drinking. What, we have still to ask, was the motive which impelled him to

lay his finger in any wise on Lord Aberdare's measure? In his speech he explicitly declared that the act had worked well, and it is the maxim of all rational Governments, pre-eminently we should have said of rational Conservative Governments, to leave well alone. There is no trace of a better reason for Mr. Cross's intermeddling than this,—that sundry deputations of publicans and beer-sellers had come complaining to him, and that the said publicans and beer-sellers had bribed the Tories to do their dirty work by deserting the Liberal banner at the general election. The prominence of the drink interest in the electoral struggle is suggestive of grave and melancholy reflections. It is a first principle of all political philosophy that legislation ought to be based on regard to general and common interests, and that the most powerful influence to incapacitate men from apprehending those national interests, is consideration of some personal or class interest. It is really not too much to say that the Minister of a great representative State who does not know this is as incompetent and unsafe as the captain of an East Indiaman would be who did not know that parcels of nails or rods of iron were to be kept out of the neighbourhood of the ship's compass. A regard for private interest is entirely legitimate in its own sphere; it is fair, also, nay it is indispensable, that no avoidable inconvenience shall be inflicted, for the general benefit, on a particular class; and it follows that no wise Minister will legislate respecting any private interest without listening to its spokesmen: but the very reason why Governments exist is to prevent personal and class interests from over-riding the general interests and from devouring one another. The most wise, just and noble-minded man in the world cannot be judged in his own suit; and there was something astounding and portentous in the spectacle of a Minister standing up and virtually saying that, though a measure worked well, he proposed to tamper with its most salutary provisions because an outcry was raised against it by those interested in the evils which it checked. 'Gentlemen,' Mr. Cross ought to have said to the deputations, 'we are not legislating for you but for England. It is a matter of course, on which all talk is irrelevant, that you shall be subjected to no humiliation and to no annoyance which can be avoided consistently with the public benefit; but the fact that you are personally interested in this matter ought to impose upon you a modest reserve.' Thus would a clear-brained, high-spirited Minister have met the publicans; and had Mr. Cross so met them, he would have earned the thanks of the pub-

lic for calling attention to a principle of the highest practical importance. This is the age of organized and potent interests, railway interests, monetary interests, professional interests. Unless it be understood that in all such cases the interested party is a prejudiced witness, Parliamentary Government will run the risk of becoming a mere conflict of antagonist cupidities. The evil has shown itself in an extreme form in America. The consummation towards which things seemed to be tending in the great Republic was the conversion of the legislature into a mere machinery for registering the decrees of rings of impudent and greedy speculators. The maxim *cuique in sua arte credendum* is sound in respect of the methods of all arts and callings; but it is a poisonous mistake to confound the methods by which a calling is carried on with the conditions under which it may be most beneficial, or least injurious to the nation. When Parliament wants instruction in brewing and distilling, the information of brewers and distillers will be valuable; when the question is how intoxicating drink may be sold with a minimum of disorder, commotion, and criminality, they must be told to stand aside.

Prevented by the hootings of a scandalized community from throwing the nation backward in the matter of the Licensing Act, the Tories have succeeded in bringing us in political progress, strictly so called, to a standstill. The step which, in the order of gradual, pacific, almost insensible development of our political institutions, fell to be taken this session, was the extension to counties of the household franchise. This extension is distinctly inscribed on the Liberal programme, and can be defended by arguments so obvious and conclusive that it were idle on our part to touch upon them. The refusal of the so-called country party to do for the working class in counties what they formerly did for the working class in boroughs, is deeply significant. It proves how thoroughly false and affected was that zeal for electoral reform, in which Mr. Disraeli taught his party to mask their heart-hatred of every thing of the kind. It proves that, after having had the working classes in counties under the tutelage of themselves and their clergy all these centuries, they have no real trust in the agricultural population. We rejoice that Mr. Gladstone has availed himself of the opportunity afforded by his address to the labourers at Aston Hall Colliery, to assure the country that he is keenly interested in this question. 'I have a very strong opinion,' he said, 'which I have declared elsewhere, that the householder who, if he lives in a borough has a

vote, ought to have a vote if he lives outside a borough.' It is one of the characteristics of vital and vigorous Liberalism, as contrasted with the cast iron creed of finality Whiggism, that it contemplates the gradual broadening of the basis of the constitution until no class whatever shall be beyond the pale.

Disheartening as the result of the last general election in some respects was, it dates at least one important and encouraging fact in the history of the Liberal party, namely, that two working men, Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Burt, were returned to the House of Commons. One would have thought that the most timorous and narrow-minded of those persons, who never hear the trampling of a street-mob beneath their windows but they think it the presaging tread of revolution, might have learned ere now that to introduce a new section of the community into Parliament is to enlist force *against* social disturbance. Not only is numerical extension of the suffrage desirable, but its distribution, so as to give the intelligence of the country, as represented by its advancing towns, a fairer representation, is to be kept in view. Absolute uniformity in the size and composition of constituencies, we should strongly deprecate, but it will be time to guard against that danger when something serious has been done to rescue us from the opposite extreme. There is a connection, deeper than that of paper logic, between the extension of education and the extension of the suffrage. The body of the population may be taught to read, but they will make small use of their reading unless you give them the conscious responsibilities of citizenship. Awaken them to an interest in the affairs of their country, and you may trust to the daily newspaper to continue the education of the elementary school.

In finance the Conservative Cabinet has shown a desire, which to Liberals must seem mildly commendable, to walk with deferential caution in the footsteps of Mr. Gladstone. It was manifestly the ambition of Sir Stafford Northcote to bring in a Budget which would not contravene any statement made by Mr. Disraeli at the time of the elections, and yet be pronounced a creditable exercise by the great master who taught him the elements of finance. The grand principle of Mr. Disraeli's policy is to do nothing which might recall Achilles to the fray; and any spurt of aggressive originality or critical impertinence, made on his own side, he has earnestly disclaimed or severely repressed. The possession of a majority has had a sobering effect upon the

Conservative chief; and he who, as the leader of a forlorn hope, was the most eccentric and audacious of politicians, has been turned, by the possession of a working majority, into a Premier far less bold than Peel and far more dull than Palmerston.

It is, however, in respect of its ecclesiastical legislation that the session illustrates most vividly what, in our opinion, Parliament ought *not* to be. Mr. Miall being no longer in the House of Commons, and no new leader of the anti-State Church party having stepped forward to tell the Tory Parliament that those who have resolved to turn the world of obsolete ecclesiasticism upside down had come thither also, extraordinary vivacity has been displayed, by the Lords especially, in the attempt to introduce order into the chaos of the Anglican establishment, and to prop the weather-beaten fabric of the Scottish State Church. It is melancholy work; we do not pretend to look upon it in an indulgent spirit. To glance first beyond the Tweed, must we not say that a change has passed over the Church of Scotland when its representatives in the General Assembly express their thankfulness for the favour with which the Scottish nobility, though not belonging to its communion, condescend to treat it? They think it, says the grateful Dr. Gillan, very well adapted to dispense religious ordinances to the body of the Scottish people. When we recall the indomitable spirit that once dwelt in the Church of him who 'never feared the face of man,' and remember how it used to stand erect and unquailing before the civil power, we cannot help asking whether it is indeed the Church of Knox that we behold. When the lion had slain the prophet of Bethel, it relaxed in its hostility and did not tear the ass! The old fiery and prophetic spirit of Scottish Presbyterianism has not, however, been slain. In the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church it survives, and shows no lack of vitality. And now the British Parliament, which had riddled from the Scottish Church all that was most characteristically and disinterestedly Presbyterian, makes to the inoffensive establishment which remains that concession of congregational liberty in the choice of pastors which had formerly been pertinaciously refused! Is it astonishing that, under these circumstances, the Free Church General Assembly should have passed a resolution by a very large majority in favour of disestablishment, or that it should have been repeatedly remarked, in the course of the debate in the House of Lords, that the passing of the Duke of Richmond's bill for the abolition of patronage in the

Church of Scotland is likely to prove the first step towards the severance of its connection with the State?

It is an easy matter to fling to Scottish congregations the right to choose their own ministers; but it is a much more difficult affair to introduce any ray of light, any principle of order, into the chaotic welter and conflict of the Anglican Church. It is not an exhibition of right human patience, it is an exhibition of perversity and obstinacy, which we recognise in the attempts of these lords and bishops to legislate for what the anxiously State Church *Spectator* calls 'a more or less accidental conglomerate of a good many different Churches.' What good has such legislation ever done? Has not the work of tinkering been going on from time immemorial? and is not the confusion worse confounded than ever? It is an insult to the human understanding to ask us to expect that the furious battle of exasperated sects can be composed by the new nostrum of strengthening the hands of the bishops. By mere accident the bishops are at present opposed to the excesses of the Ritualists; but on which side were the bishops in the days of Laud? And if, through some turn of the political weathercock, Ritualistic bishops should be named by Her Majesty's ministers, on which side would they be again? Is it not amazing that it seems never to occur to these lords, as they talk by the hour and the week on the calamities and quarrels of the infuriated sects which are bound together in sham union by establishment and endowment, whether the business of an ecclesiastical synod is appropriate to the Parliament of England? 'The Lords,' remarked the *Spectator* one day in June, 'devote all their time now to ecclesiastical subjects.' 'Last night,' said the *Daily Telegraph* about the same time, 'the House of Lords was again transformed into an ecclesiastical conclave; but instead of being Convocation, it was the General Assembly.' Do the Lords think that the people of England expect no work at their hands except a wretched parody of the professional talk of Presbyterian and Episcopal parsons? Did the 'Constable of the Destinies,' as Mr. Carlyle says, never whisper to their Lordships that, if they have nothing better to do than adjust an expensive and elaborate machinery by which Anglican preachers shall be made to stand face foremost in presence of their congregations, or to wear this kind of ecclesiastical toggery or that, they may be themselves falling into the sear and yellow leaf? Shall we be told that the State Churches are national institutions, and that Churchman and

Englishman are convertible terms? Moonshine! A legal fiction or a sentimental illusion cannot do duty for a fact. The Scottish State Church embraces, at the utmost, a third of the population of Scotland. The estimate made by the *Times* of the number of the English Dissenters is probably below the truth, but the *Times* calls them seven millions. The nine or ten millions of Englishmen and Scotchmen who have no part or lot in the State Churches are not likely to be reconciled to the frittering away of the nation's time in discussing the internal affairs of those institutions by being assured by weak-brained enthusiasts that they are national Churches, and that national Churches are extremely useful and sublime affairs. The *Times*, which is not weak-brained or enthusiastic, knows that the only real sense in which the Church of one sect of Presbyterians and the Church of one sect of Episcopalians are national is that they alone profess to require those swaddling bands of establishment which all other Churches have discarded; and the *Times* has at last, in a notable and memorable article, ventured to ask whether, after all, John Bull—it should have said the Anglican John Bull—is so impotent in the management of his ecclesiastical affairs as every one, himself most decisively, takes for granted. Do the ecclesiastical affairs of the nine or ten millions of Dissenters cost the nation one farthing of money, one hour of time, or one grain of trouble? Can any sane man affirm that a single disadvantage would accrue to the public if Episcopalians, like all other religionists, washed their ecclesiastical linen at home and paid their own way? The answer is so obvious, so irresistible, that the principle of disestablishment is spreading with immense rapidity. There is really no such thing as State Church logic; it is as obsolete as the locomotive apparatus of the pterodactyle. There is a State Church habit of thought and feeling, a condition of mind produced by having been brought up from infancy in a State Church, having always looked upon its arrangements as unalterable, having loved its services, respected its clergy, reverently worshipped and wondered in its cathedrals. This state of mind is present with able men—with men like the Marquis of Salisbury and Lord Selborne. They do not analyse it; they fancy it is reasonable; but it is a thing of the illusive faculty. It is analogous to the vague sentiment of regret with which we look upon the autumn leaves that comforted us, that were green and beautiful to us, that softened for us the sunlight, in the old summer days. There is a

sadness in all great change; but you cannot keep the October leaves upon the branch.

Among the vain shows of argument which, in default of logical reasoning, the defenders of the State Churches put forward on their behalf, we may note the constant assertion or assumption that, if they do no good, they at least do no harm. Englishmen, it is added, do not care about ideal wrongs. We answer, in the first place, that, if the State Churches occupy the time of the legislature with what might be better managed elsewhere, this is gross practical harm. We answer, in the second place, that, since the capacity of Churches to govern themselves and to maintain their clergy has been abundantly demonstrated, it is an offence to reason, and an infraction of justice and equity, that two sects should be administered and paid by the State. We deny that this is an ideal wrong; but if it were such, it would none the less deserve to be put an end to, and none the less would the precedents of English history warrant its being abolished. It is not historically true of Englishmen—it is true of them only in their moods of torpor and indifference—that they are heedless of all wrongs but those which pinch and pain them. Cavalier historians love to expatiate on the material prosperity and perfect peace enjoyed by the people of England before the outbreak of the great Civil War. It was but a limited number of Puritan ears that were cut off, and the taxation was light. Clarendon and Hume are elegantly indignant with a nation which, for mere ideal grievances, such as that Parliament was in abeyance, and supplies raised in contravention of law, appealed to the sword. Had Englishmen been indifferent to ideal wrongs, they would have winked at these things, and the ancient liberties of England would have sunk into the pit which engulfed those of Spain and France. Thank God, our fathers found them intolerable. It is strange that the nation which reveres the memory of Hampden, and does not think that he was a peevish or sentimental fool in trying his twenty shillings' case against the Crown, should be pronounced indifferent to theoretic injustice. There is, however, nothing abstract or theoretical about the proposition that the monopoly of status and endowment by two religious sects is an injustice to all others. We fail to realize how anyone acquainted with the state of English society, can honestly affirm that the existence of privileged ecclesiasticism is no practical evil. Is not the harmony of classes the grand condition of stability in modern society? And does not the distinction between Church and

Dissent diffuse unutterable bitterness in every town and village in England? Episcopalians, doubtless, though their Church ceased to be privileged, might still look down upon other religious denominations; but this is the reverse of a reason why the State should countenance and exaggerate their unsocial pride; and, as a matter of fact, we have De Tocqueville's word, for the United States, and Mr. Goldwin Smith's (inferentially, at least) for Canada, that, when all Churches are free and equal, the corrosive bitterness which afflicts English society is conspicuously absent.

Advanced Liberals have, without question, been somewhat irritated against Mr. Gladstone. We do not say that the irritation was causeless. Mr. Gladstone seemed to hold the support of those who, in 1868, had been his most energetic allies, contemptuously cheap. Their earnest representations failed to draw from him so much concession on the 25th clause as was granted, seemingly without an effort, to the pressure of an election. Of Mr. Forster's administration of his department, we shall say no more than that it disappointed his old friends, and won applause from his old enemies. But though the advanced Liberals have complained and complained justly of much of what they experienced from the late Cabinet, it is felt by the brain and heart of the party that Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Gladstone alone, is the Liberal leader. No man can do the work required by England so well as he. No man, in particular, can do the work of disestablishment and disendowment so well as he. He has but to return from his Homeric recreations, in the course of which, by the way, he tells us he has learned that Homer 'lived under the voluntary system,' and to let his followers know, by a few clear bold words, that he is about to undertake that great enterprise to which all the achievements of his career have led up, in order to rekindle the enthusiasm of 1868. He is not the man to be deceived by the misreadings of our political history which comatose Whiggism enunciates. It is not true that the Whig ascendancy of 1832 was lost because the country distrusted the party on account of its too daring reforms. The reverse is far nearer the truth. It was because the Whigs nodded around their camp-fires, instead of pressing on to further conquests, that the nation grew tired of them. It was only in part indeed that the Whigs were to blame. They were placed in circumstances of great disadvantage. What power they had was in the House of Commons; the Tories ruled the Lords; and the Tory op-

tage of the skill, cleverness, and splendid eloquence of Lyndhurst. Cargo after cargo of good legislative ware did the Whigs despatch from the port of the Commons, only to see ship after ship cast away on the Goodwin Sands of the Upper House. During each session, Lyndhurst used his superlative talents to wreck their measures; and at its close, in a retrospective oration burning with the keenest sarcasm, and sparkling with the most brilliant wit, he held up the Whigs to public scorn for not having passed the measures which he had wrecked. But in part it *was* owing to the fault or the failing of the Whigs that they gained the character of inefficient. In Brougham alone dwelt that impassioned faith in progress which ought to have animated the whole party. Had Brougham been Premier, the political progress of the country might have been anticipated by a quarter of a century or more. But here again the Whigs were unfortunate, for Brougham was a man with whom it was extremely difficult to work. He was utterly devoid of tact and prudence, made himself ridiculous, put it out of the question that he should be Prime Minister, and incensed Melbourne by his condescending patronage. Brougham was shelved; and with him the aggressive and impetuous energy of the Whigs of 1832. Melbourne, the most respectable of politicians, had neither the intellectual gifts nor the impassioned ardour of a great Liberal leader; and Earl Russell, the Lord John of those days, was always a stage too late. The nation became gradually convinced that Sir Robert Peel and the brilliant band that called him leader could and would do more for the country than Lord John and the finality Whigs; and the public were right, for Peel gave us free trade, and one of Peel's followers was Gladstone. The depression of the Whigs in 1841 was due to defect, not to excess, of reforming energy. Mr. Gladstone's own experience in the autumn of 1868, as collated with his experience in the spring of 1874, may suffice to convince him that the most potent appeal which can be made to the constituencies of England is an appeal for strength to do bold and thorough work. He called to the people of England to enable him to disestablish the Irish Church, and they gave him a magnificent majority; he dangled before them a bag of gold—he promised to abolish an annoying tax—and his own enthusiastic admirers were almost ashamed of him.

Were Mr. Gladstone to appeal again to the nation in the spirit of his appeal of 1868, his words would again tell with electric effect. We say frankly that his trumpet must give no uncertain sound. The Liberal party

can be reconstituted and led to victory only on the clear understanding that the next great work to be done by the statesmanship and patriotism of the country is to bring England to a level with the civilization of the time by the enrolment of perfect religious equality among the fundamental principles of the State. No generous and candid Liberal will think ill of Mr. Gladstone, because the associations of his early training have rendered it difficult for him to emancipate his intellect and his heart from the spell of feudal ecclesiasticism. But a mind like his cannot remain shut against the light of those ideas which are the beacon-fires of progress. He is still in the freshness of his intellectual power, and no one can compare with him in administrative experience or legislative capacity. It will be with a friendly hand that he will helm the Church across the bar of disestablishment; but if it be a firm, is it not well that it should be a friendly hand? Is it not inexpressibly desirable that the enterprise should be effected with a *minimum* of disturbance, and should leave behind it a *minimum* of heart-burning? If we aimed at the destruction of the Church—if we wished to lay the axe to her root—we might seek a less friendly hand to strike the blow; but if our honest wish is that the ground-ivy which has crept over her boughs, and been for centuries shutting her in from the light of heaven, and drinking up her vital juices, should be cut down, can we not commit the knife to one who, while lopping the ivy, will not wound the tree?

Not only is Mr. Gladstone the man beyond comparison best fitted to effect the disestablishment of the State Churches, he represents, on the most important questions of foreign and colonial policy, those principles which are identified with the best because the most thoughtful, humane, and thorough-going Liberalism of England. By natural disposition and by largeness of intellectual vision, he is beyond contagion from the barbaric ambitions of the sword. The Coomassie expedition proved him to be alert and resolute in vindicating the honour and maintaining the interests of the empire. He may be trusted to confront with determined hostility, if such shall be required, what seems to be the subtle and perilous advance of Russia upon our Indian empire. But he did not accept in the days of Lord Palmerston, and he consistently refuses to accept at present, on behalf of this country, the task of artificially protracting the political life of European Turkey or of barring out Russia from a sea that washes her shores. If our principles are those of free trade, they ought to be those also of free oceanic loco-

motion, and we ought to welcome Russia not only into the Black Sea, but into the Atlantic and the Mediterranean.

Mr. Gladstone has consistently preferred arbitration to war, and he can despise the meanness of those who, having read, or being too indolent and dishonest to read, the astounding exposure of the negligence of the British Government in the case of the Alabama, as made, not by the Americans, but by England's representative in the arbitration, Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, continue to mutter and whine about the Geneva award. We must say that the grumblings of the old Whigs as to that matter are strangely unjust and unreasonable. There were three possible courses in connection with the Alabama dispute,—first, a war; second, a state of chronic and bitter exasperation between Great Britain and America; third, reference to arbitration. Consent to arbitration, of course, implied acceptance of the award. Do our Whig Mentors intend to say that we ought to have preferred the first or the second of these alternatives to the third? They do not, they dare not. And have they not sense to see that, if nations could, *without* a fine, display the all but incredible negligence displayed by us, on Sir Alexander Cockburn's showing, in letting the Alabama escape from the Mersey and ship her equipment and crew, England, as the greatest of maritime Powers, would, in the event of war, suffer incalculably from the fact? It is literally and strictly true that, if it were consistent with international law and usage to let Alabamas escape as we did, every port in America, in Spain, in Russia, in France, might, in the event of our being engaged in war, be used for the fitting up of privateers against us. Let us have the honour and manliness to say that we were justly fined for doing what our own advocate confesses in our name; and let us console ourselves by reflecting that it is to our enormous advantage that all nations who follow our example in the future will be liable to similar punishment.

To young Liberal politicians, to the vanguard of the Liberal party in general, we would say Work, work, work. Not only is it their duty to educate the country and the party in the principles of religious equality, but they are bound to attain mastery in relation to the administrative work of the departments. Not only ought they to be vigilantly on the watch to prevent the Tories from undermining, or flanking, or in any way neutralizing the system of open competition, by which alone favouritism can be kept out of the Services and a way

into them opened for unfriended talent and worth, but they ought to be consummate critics of every branch of the administration. A party of mere orators, be they the most eloquent in the world, will never hold successfully or hold long the reins of administration in England. Mr. Gladstone could not more usefully for his country or his party employ the period of his absence from office than in enlisting and drilling such a band of administrative recruits as Peel brought with him to Downing-street in 1841.

ART. VIII.—*Finger Rings.*

Rambles of an Archæologist among old Books and in old Places. By FREDERICK WILLIAM FAIRHOLT, F.S.A. London. Virtue and Co. 1871.

ORNAMENTS of various kinds have been worn from all ages, both by civilized and uncivilized nations, but it would probably be impossible to point to any single ornament connected with which so much interest attaches as to the finger ring. It is of great antiquity, and during centuries of years has been associated with the most important concerns of life, both in matters of ceremony and affairs of the heart. It has been used as a means of recognition, as a credential, and as a form of introduction which insured hospitality to the bearer of it. Royal edicts were promulgated through its medium, and power was transferred by its means.

When Pharaoh committed the government of Egypt to Joseph he took his ring from his finger, and gave it to the young Israelite as a token of the authority he bestowed upon him. So also when Ahasuerus agreed to Haman's cruel scheme of killing the Jews in all the king's provinces, he took the ring off his hand and gave it to Haman as his warrant, and afterwards, when he commanded Mordecai to write letters annulling the former decree, he ordered them to be sealed with his ring.

A ring formerly marked the rank and authority of a man, and the king's ring was as important a part of the insignia of royalty as his sceptre or his crown.

The form of the ring is emblematic of eternity and its materials of pricelessness. Lovers are united by a ring, and departed friends are often kept in remembrance by the same token of affection. All these qualities sufficiently explain the reason why in old tales and legends the power of the ring

is a fruitful source of interest. The celebrated Sanscrit drama which Kalidasa wrote upon the beautiful Sakuntala turns upon Dushyanta's recognition of his wife by means of a ring which he had given her; and golden rings have frequently been used by fairies and beautiful demons to seduce men from allegiance to their human loves. The known fact that fish greedily swallow any glittering object thrown into the water has been taken advantage of by old storytellers, who never tire of relating how lost rings have been found at the proper nick of time in the stomach of a salmon or a mackerel.

In old times the motto of to-day that 'nothing is so successful as success' was by no means universally held, and Polycrates the Samian was so uniformly fortunate that he himself began to fear that the gods did not love him. The wise Egyptian king Amasis persuaded him to propitiate Nemesis by making away with one of his most valued possessions, so he took the advice, and putting out to sea, threw into the gaping wave his beautiful emerald signet ring, engraved by Theodorus, the son of Telecles, a native of Samos. A fish of remarkable size snapped up the ring as it sank, and soon afterwards this fish being served up at the king's table restored to him his ring. Amasis hearing of this last proof of Polycrates' inevitable good luck solemnly renounced his alliance. At last, however, fortune turned, and being taken prisoner by the Persians, Polycrates suffered death by impaling. In the life of Kentigern, related in the *Acta Sanctorum*, there is a legend of a recovered ring. A queen who had formed an improper attachment to a handsome soldier, gave him a ring which had previously been given her by her lord. The king finding the soldier asleep with this ring on his hand, snatched it off and threw it into the river. He afterwards went to his wife to demand it, and she sent secretly to the soldier, who of course could not return it. She now sends in great terror to ask the assistance of the holy Kentigern, who knew the whole affair before, but to help the queen he goes to the river Clyde, and having caught a salmon, takes from its stomach the missing ring, which he sends to her. She joyfully takes it to the king, who, thinking he had wronged her, swears he will be revenged upon her accusers, but she beseeches him to pardon them. As absolution for her sin she confesses it to Kentigern, and vows to be more careful of her conduct in future.

Finger rings are mentioned in the first book of the Bible, and they appear to have been much worn by the Jews in all ages.

The ladies of Palestine adorned their hands with glittering rings, and chiefly valued those which were set with rubies, emeralds, and chrysolites.

Signet rings of gold, silver, and bronze were much worn by the ancient Egyptians, and these were frequently engraved with representations of the sacred beetle or scarabæus. This insect was venerated in Egypt when alive, and was embalmed after death. It was worshipped both as the emblem of the sun and as the symbol of the world. The rings of the lower classes were usually made of ivory and blue porcelain.

Sir Gardner Wilkinson describes a ring in the possession of a Frenchman at Cairo which was one of the largest he had ever seen. It contained twenty pounds' worth of gold, and amongst other devices engraved upon it was the name of a king, the successor of Amunoph III., who lived about 1400 B.C., and was known to the Greeks as Memnon.

There is no reference to rings in Homer, and they do not appear to have been introduced into Greece till a later age than his. The fashion, however, once set, spread fast, and in the time of Solon every freeman throughout Greece wore one signet ring either of gold, silver, or bronze. That statesman to prevent counterfeits, made a law that no seal engraver was to keep in his possession the impression of any seal ring that he had cut for a customer. At a later period the Greeks used rings set with precious stones, and wore two or three at the same time. They were therefore considered as ornaments, and their use extended to women, who wore them of ivory and amber. Demosthenes wore many rings, and he was stigmatized as unbecomingly vain for doing so in the troubled times of the state. The Spartans took a pride in wearing plain iron rings.

The ancient Romans wore iron rings, and purists continued to wear them long after more precious metals were commonly used. Ambassadors wore gold rings as a part of their official dress, and afterwards the privilege was extended to senators, chief magistrates, and the equestrian order, who were said to enjoy the *jus annuli aurei*. The emperors assumed the right of granting this distinction, which was coveted as a sort of patent of nobility. In time, however, its value declined, and the Emperor Aurelian gave the right to all the soldiers of the Empire; and in the reign of Justinian it had become so common that all citizens were entitled to it.

The introduction of sculptured animals upon the signets of the Romans is said to

have been derived from the sacred symbols of the Egyptians. Afterwards, when the practice of deifying princes and venerating heroes became general, portraits of men took the place of the more ancient types; thus the figure of Harpocrates was a fashionable device at Rome in the time of Pliny. Roman rings were massive and of immoderate size, and were consequently found by the effeminate to be too hot for summer wear, so that different kinds were introduced for the various seasons,—

‘Charged with light summer rings his fingers
sweat,

Unable to support a gem of weight.’

—Dryden’s ‘Juvenal.’

In times of sorrow the Roman changed his gold for iron rings; and when he died his rings were often burnt with his corpse.

Rings were placed upon the statues of the deities and heroes, and were put on or taken off according to the festival that was celebrated. Roman rings were often of great value, thus that of the Empress Faustina is said to have cost the immense sum of £40,000, and that of Domitia the still larger amount of £80,000.

The early Christians did not imitate the often indelicate symbols of the Romans, but took devices connected with their faith for their rings, such as the dove, the anchor, fish, palm branch, &c. Ring making was an important branch of the goldsmith’s art in the Middle Ages, and a body of artists were called by the French *aneliers*. Rich enamel in curious devices usurped for a time the place of gems, and the workmanship was often of the highest character, Benvenuto Cellini being the chief artist in bringing the art to its greatest perfection.

In our own country rings have been worn by all the races that have successively inhabited it.

‘Lo! here is a red gold ring,
With a rich stone;
!The lady looked on that ring,
It was a gift for a king.’

—‘Sir Degrevant.’

(*Thornton Romances*.)

The old Celtic rings were usually of gold wire. Aildergoidh, son of Muinheamhoine, monarch of Ireland, who reigned 3070 A.M., is said to have been the first prince who introduced the wearing of gold rings in Ireland, which he bestowed upon persons of merit who excelled in knowledge of the arts and sciences.

Fynes Moryson tells us in his ‘Itinerary’ ‘that the English in great excess affect the wearing of jewels and diamond rings, scorning to weare plaine gold rings or chaines of gold.’

In one of Bishop Hall’s Satires we read:—

‘Nor can good Myson wear on his left hand
A signet ring of Bristol diamond;
But he must cut his glove to show his pride,
That his trim jewel might be better spy’d.’

Modern rings owe all their beauty to their stones, for goldsmithery is no longer an art, and little attempt is made to obtain elegance of workmanship in the goldwork. In the seventeenth century sharply-pointed pyramidal diamond rings were much used for writing names and verses on glass, and few of the wits and fops of the day were without one.

Among the Jews the middle or little finger of the right hand was that upon which the ring was worn, and the signet was always upon the right hand, as appears by the passage in Jeremiah,—‘As I live, saith the Lord, though Coniah, the son of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, were the signet upon my right hand, yet would I pluck thee thence.’ Bishops, probably following Biblical precedent, wore their official rings upon the right hand. This, however, was opposed to the practice of the Egyptians, who considered the fourth finger of the left hand as the ring finger. Still they did not confine themselves to that finger, for there is a figure of a woman on a mummy case in the British Museum in which the fingers and thumbs of both hands are covered with rings.

Among the Romans plain rings were worn originally on either hand at option, but when gems and precious stones were added they were worn by preference on the left, and it was considered exceedingly effeminate to wear them on the right hand. At first only one ring was worn, then one on each finger, and, lastly, one on each joint. Charinus, according to Martial, wore sixty rings daily, or six on each finger, and did not take them off at night, but slept in them. This was an extreme case; but rings were often worn on every finger and also on the thumbs. In Germany rings were frequently worn upon the joints, as was the Roman custom. The wife of Sir Humphrey Stafford (1460) is sculptured in Bromsgrove Church, Worcestershire, with a ring on every finger but the last one of the right hand. Massive thumb rings were supposed to tell of wealth and importance, and Falstaff declared that when young he could have crept into an alderman’s thumb ring.

The annular finger is now always the fourth finger, counting the thumb as the first, and it is necessary to bear this in mind, for sometimes the mistake is made of counting from the forefinger.

Rings have played an important part in the history of the world. They have been used by the king to unite him to his kingdom, by the bishop to his see, and the abbot to his monastery. Special interest attaches to the ring with which the Doge of Venice married the Adriatic on Ascension Day, when he addressed it in these words:—'We espouse thee, O Sea! as a token of our perpetual dominion over thee'—a vaunt that has long been proved to be groundless.

We will now, before proceeding further, stop to make note of a few historical rings. One of the most interesting that has come down to our times is the signet ring of Mary Queen of Scots, now in safe keeping among the treasures of the British Museum. Sir Henry Ellis was of opinion that this was Mary's nuptial ring when she was married to Darnley, and that it affords the earliest instance of her bearing the royal arms of Scotland alone after having discarded the arms of France. When Dauphiness, she and her husband had quartered the arms of England, which gave great offence to Queen Elizabeth. Within the ring is a monogram formed of the letters M and A, which is of great historical interest, because Sir Henry Ellis has pointed out that in a letter from Mary to Elizabeth, written just before her marriage, she used the same monogram, probably as a puzzle for the Queen of England and her Councillor Burghley. The clue was, however, given to them when Darnley was created Duke of Albany. Another interesting ring is the one which Queen Elizabeth is supposed to have sent to the Earl of Essex, but which was never delivered to him. It is of gold, with the head of the queen cut on hard onyx, and it is now in the possession of the Rev. Lord John Thynne, who is descended from Lady Frances Devereux, Essex's daughter. Aubrey relates that Queen Elizabeth had a double ring, made with two diamonds, which formed a heart when joined. She kept one-half, and sent the other to Mary Queen of Scots, as a token of her constant friendship; but, as Aubrey adds, 'she cut off her head for all that.' Mary commissioned Beatoun to take back her ring to Elizabeth, when she determined to seek an asylum in England. Before dismissing the maiden queen we may mention that her coronation ring was filed off her finger a little before her death, on account of the flesh having grown over it.

In 1765 a very beautiful and perfect gold ring was found by a workman among the ruins of the North Gate House, on Bedford Bridge, when that building was pulled down. In this prison the world-famed dreamer, John Bunyan, was confined, and there is

little doubt that this was his ring. It bears his initials, *J. B.*, and is engraved with a death's head, and the words '*memento mori.*' The ring was sold to Dr. Abbot, chaplain to the Duke of Bedford, and presented by him, in his last illness, to the Rev. G. H. Bower, perpetual curate of Elstow, where Bunyan was born.

In the Londesborough Collection is the identical ring which the Prince of Orange (afterwards William III.) gave to the Princess Mary. It is made of gold, set with diamonds, and enamelled black. Outside is engraved '*Honi soit qui mal y pense,*' and inside is the posy, '*I'll win and wear you if I can.*' It is doubtful whether this ring was presented before marriage or after; if the latter the motto may be understood as referring to William's design of contesting the crown of England with his wife's father.

The signet ring of Cæsar Borgia was exhibited a few years ago at a meeting of the British Archæological Association, by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne. It is of gold, slightly enamelled, with the date 1503, and round the inside is the motto '*Fays ceque doys avien que pourra.*' A box dropped into the front, having on it *Borgia*, in letters reversed, round which are the words '*Cor unum una via.*' At the back is a slide, within which it is related he carried the poison he was in the habit of dropping into the wine of his unsuspecting guests. Hannibal carried poison about him in a ring, and when all his hopes were gone he swallowed the poison and died. Pope Alexander VI. (Borgia) possessed a key-ring such as was used by the Romans, which contained poison. When he wished to get rid of an objectionable friend he gave him his ring to unlock a casket, and as the lock was a little hard to open the pin concealed within gave the fatal prick. Rings of the same kind of workmanship, but not with so deadly a design, have been common, and keys intended to open invaluable caskets were often attached to rings. In referring to these singularities, we ought not to omit the mention of a ring made with a watch in the boss, which could be so wound up that it would make a small pin prick the person who wore it at any hour of the night he pleased.

Ladies have always been ready to give up their valuables in times of national distress, but they have perhaps never been so nobly rewarded for their devotion as during the great war of Liberation in Germany. The ladies sent their jewels and ornaments to the treasury for the public service, and they each received in return an iron ring, with the emphatic eulogy, '*Ich gab Gold um Eisen*' (I gave gold for iron).

We must now turn to the consideration of some official rings. Episcopal rings are of great antiquity, and the newly made bishop in the Roman Catholic Church is invested with a ring by which he is married to the Church, as a part of his consecration. In the romance of King Athelstan, printed in Hartshorne's 'Ancient Metrical Tales,' the king says to the offending archbishop :—

'Lay down thy cros and thy staff,
Thy myter and thy ryng that I thee gaff—
Out of my land thou flee.'

In 1194 the fashion of the episcopal ring was settled by Pope Innocent III., who ordained that it should be of solid gold, and set with a precious stone, on which nothing was to be cut. The stones usually chosen were ruby, indicating glory, emerald for tranquillity and happiness, and crystal for simplicity and purity. These rings were usually signets, and were sometimes used for special objects; thus in Spain and France the bishops sealed up with them the baptismal fonts from the beginning of Lent to Holy Saturday.

Before the ring is conferred it is blessed, and the ceremonial of investiture takes place before the pastoral staff and mitre are received. If a new pope is already a bishop, as is usually the case, he does not receive a ring, but if not one is presented to him with the usual formula. The ring was formerly worn on the index finger of the right hand when the blessing was given, and then changed to the annular finger at the celebration of mass. It is now always worn on the annular finger of the right hand. As the ring was made large enough to be worn over a glove, a guard ring was often necessary, to prevent it from falling off, when worn without one.

The Pope's seal ring is not worn by him, but has been used for sealing briefs apostolic from the fifteenth century. Prior to that period it was employed for the private letters of the popes. The ring of the fisherman, a signet ring of steel, is in the keeping of the cardinal chamberlain, or chancellor, and is broken with a golden hammer on the death of every pope, and a new one made for the new pope. The use of the ring was granted to cardinals about the twelfth century. A cardinal's ring is set with sapphire, to denote the high priesthood, and is given when a title is assigned to him. The gift, however, is not free, for the new prince of the Church has to pay a large fine on receiving it. The cardinals wear their rings at all times, but on Good Friday they lay them aside, as a sign of the mourning in which the Church is placed for her spouse. It was

the custom to bury the cardinal with his ring on his finger, as was done with the king and other great men. When tombs have been opened the ring has usually been found upon the finger of the defunct. Thus it was with our Henry II., Richard II., and Matilda, wife of William the Conqueror; and in France the body of Childeric was discovered with his regalia and coronation ring. Graves were sometimes violated by robbers, in order to obtain the treasures within, and assaults were even made upon the corpse as it was carried to be buried. Most ornaments have at different times come under the ban of the religious as vanities and snares, but rings have always been looked upon with favour by the Church. Decade rings have sometimes been used in place of the ordinary rosary of beads. They were mostly made of ten, but sometimes of more knobs. Ten knobs or bosses indicate the number of aves; eleven bosses, ten aves and a paternoster, the last being marked by a larger boss than the others. Twelve knobs were intended to express that the creed was to be repeated at the twelfth. Reliquary rings, in which some sacred relique was inclosed, were at one time in common use.

To pass from the Church to the law we must not omit to mention the well-known serjeant's ring. Every serjeant-at-law, on being sworn in, presents rings of pure gold, with a motto on them, to such persons as come to the inauguration feast, to the law officers, and certain other officials of importance. The values of the various rings are proportioned to the rank of each recipient, and one of very large dimensions, with the motto inscribed in enamel, is given to the sovereign. On the admission of fourteen serjeants, in 1737, 1409 rings were given away, at a cost of £773, and besides this number there were others made for each serjeant's own account, to be given away to friends at the bar, attorneys, &c., which came to more than all the rest of the expense. Lists of the mottoes on many of these rings have been printed in 'Notes and Queries,' but as they are not of any great interest, we do not insert them here, merely mentioning Lord Brougham's suggestion of a motto on a certain occasion. Some barristers that Brougham did not think much of wished to be made serjeants, and the ex-chancellor suggested that the most appropriate motto that could be found for their rings would be the old legal word '*scilicet*.'

Rings with punning devices or rebuses, heraldic emblems, &c., engraved upon them, were introduced early in the fifteenth century, and soon became very common. In the old newspaper, *Mercurius Publicus*, for

November 29th, 1660, there is a curious and interesting story which illustrates our subject. On the disbanding of a certain regiment at the Restoration, the men were given a full week's pay in addition to their arrears, when they all unanimously resolved to buy each man a ring with the week's pay, the poy of which should be the *King's Gift*. Certain stones were set in rings, with a special meaning in superstitious times, as we shall see further on, but in later days all kinds of stones have been used, to suit the varied fancy of the wearer. Giardinetti rings, of a floriated design, in which coloured stones represented flowers, were used at one time as keepers. At the commencement of the nineteenth century harlequin rings, which were set with several variously coloured stones, were fashionable. Swift, writing to Pope, respecting Curll and the 'Dunciad,' says:—'Sir, you remind me of my Lord Bolingbroke's ring, you have embalmed a gnat in amber;' and Pope himself refers to this substance, which is one of the most ancient of ornaments, in the following lines:—

'Pretty! in amber to observe the forms
Of hairs, or straws or dirt, or grubs or worms;
The things we know are neither rich nor rare,
But wonder how the devil they got there.'

Rings, which are now looked on merely as ornaments, without meaning, except in the cases of the wedding and engaged rings, were formerly considered to be full of occult significance. Certain stones represented virtues, and others were famed for their magical value. The Poles believe that each month of the year is under the influence of a precious stone which exerts its power over the destiny of any person born during the period of its sway. It is therefore customary among friends and lovers to make reciprocal presents of trinkets ornamented with the natal stones. The following is a list of the stones peculiar to each month with their meanings:—

January.—Garnet: Constancy and Fidelity.
February.—Amethyst: Sincerity.
March.—Bloodstone: Courage and Presence of Mind.
April.—Diamond: Innocence.
May.—Emerald: Success in love.
June.—Agate: Health and long life.
July.—Cornelian: Contented mind.
August.—Sardonyx: Conjugal felicity.
September.—Chrysolite: Antidote against madness.
October.—Opal: Hope.
November.—Topaz: Fidelity.
December.—Turquoise: Prosperity.

As might be expected in so fanciful a matter, the moral qualities attributed to the stones vary greatly according to different

authorities, and moreover, other gems than those mentioned above have been set apart as emblems of the different months.

Rings, which were supposed to charm away all the ills of life, were once worn, and the Arabians have a book written exclusively on magic rings called 'Salcuthat.' The most wonderful of all these rings was that one, which is said to have been found in the belly of a fish, and was transferred in regular succession from Jared, the father of Enoch, to Solomon. This ring of Solomon's was that with which refractory Gins were sealed up in jars before they were thrown into the sea, as we read in the 'Arabian Nights.' The ring of Gyges, king of Lybia, was also of great note. He is said to have found it in a grave, and when he wore it with the stone turned inwards, he was rendered invisible to human eyes. Many other rings, however, have been supposed to possess the same power as that of Gyges, and it was a belief in the Middle Ages that rings with certain cabalistic words upon them rendered their wearers invisible.

Rings were used among many different nations as charms and talismans against the evil eye and demons, against debility, the power of the flames, and most of the ills inherent to human nature. Sometimes the virtue existed in the stone, and sometimes in the device or inscription or magical letters engraved upon them.

Magic rings made of wood, bone, or other cheap material were manufactured in large numbers at Athens, and gifted with whatever charm was required by the purchaser. Execetus, the tyrant of the Phocians, carried about with him two rings, which he struck together to divine by the sound emitted what he had to do or what was to happen to him.

The Gnostics engraved gems with mystic figures, all of which were supposed to have their value. The word *Ananizapta* was a favourite inscription, and the names of the three kings of Cologne, or the wise men of the East, viz., *Jasper*, *Melchior*, and *Baltazar* were used as a powerful charm. Reynard the fox boasts of the virtues of the ring he possessed with the three names that Seth brought out of Paradise when he gave his father Adam the oil of mercy, and tells how, whoever bears these three names, shall never be hurt by thunder or lightning, nor by witchcraft, nor be tempted to sin, nor catch cold, though he lay three winters' nights in the fields in the snow, frost, and storm.

Devotional rings, with the names of Jesus, Maria, and Joseph engraved on them, were used as a preservative against the plague. The various figures engraved on rings all

had their hidden meaning. Thus Pegasus or Bellerophon was good for warriors, as it gave them boldness and swiftness in flight. Orion made the wearer victorious in war, and Mercury gave wisdom and persuasion. The representation of St. Christopher was an amulet against sudden death, particularly by drowning, and that of Andromeda conciliated love between man and woman. Hercules strangling the Nemean lion cured the colic, and protected the combatant who wore it.

A copper ring with the figure of a lion, a crescent and a star worn upon the fourth finger, was considered to be a cure for the stone. A dog and a lion together preserved the wearer from dropsy or pestilence, and the hare was a defence against the devil.

A figure of the imaginary cockatrice was worn as a talisman against the evil eye. This creature was supposed to be produced from a cock's egg, and is described by Sir Thomas Brown in his 'Vulgar Errors' as having 'legs, wings, a serpentine and winding tail, and a crest or comb somewhat like a cock.' Its eye was so deadly as to kill by a look:—

'Say thou but "I," [aye]
And that bare vowel "I" shall poison more
Than the death-darting eye of cockatrice.'
— *Romeo and Juliet*, iii. 2.

In the Londesborough collection is a very remarkable ring, on which is represented a toad swallowing a serpent, which illustrates an old superstition. There is a proverb that 'a serpent to become a dragon must eat a serpent,' and the same metamorphosis was supposed to take place with other crawling creatures, as appears in many allusions in the poets, so that this toad may be expected to turn into a dragon.

Rings composed of different substances have been commonly employed for superstitious purposes. Thus rings of gold were thought to cure St. Anthony's fire; and Marcellus, a physician who lived in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, directed the patient afflicted with pain in the side to wear a ring of pure gold, inscribed with Greek letters, on a Thursday at the decrease of the moon. The ring was to be worn on the right hand if the pain was in the left side, and on the left hand if the pain was in the right side.

Brand acquaints us that in Berkshire a ring, made from a piece of silver collected at the Communion, is a cure for convulsions and fits of all kinds. If collected on Easter Sunday, its efficacy is greatly increased. A silver ring made of five sixpences collected from five different bachelors, to be conveyed by the hands of a smith, who is a bachelor, will cure fits. None of the persons who

give the sixpences are to know for what purpose they are collected. A ring made from silver contributed by twelve young women, constantly worn on one of the fingers, cures epilepsy. Trallian, in the fourth century, cured the colic with the help of an octangular ring of iron on which eight words were engraven, and by commanding the bile to take possession of an unfortunate lark.

Rings made from the chains of criminals and iron taken from a gallows were once in great repute for curing divers diseases. In Devonshire, rings were made of three nails or screws that had been used to fasten a coffin, or had been dug up out of a churchyard. Lead mixed with quicksilver was used as a preservative against headache. Rings were sometimes made to enclose a herb famed for healing virtues which was cut at certain times; and Josephus relates that a man drew devils out of those possessed by putting a ring, containing a root mentioned by Solomon, to the nostrils of the demoniac.

Most precious stones were formerly supposed to be endowed with medicinal properties and virtues, and among them jasper took the lead in value, Galen himself vouching for its admirable qualities from his own ample experience. It cured fevers and dropsies, stopped hæmorrhages, baffled the effects of witchcraft, and promoted parturition. Emerald jasper was pre-eminent in these qualities, and, moreover, insured chastity and continence to the wearer, on which account ecclesiastics wore emerald rings.

In T. Cutwode's 'Caltha Poetarum; or, the Bumble Bee' (1599) is the following reference to this quality:—

'She ties a necklace underneath her chin
Of jasper, diamond, and of topa-le:
And with an emerald hangs she on a ring
That keeps just reckoning of our chastitie.

And therefore, ladies, it behoves you well
To walk full warily, when stones will tell.'

A jasper ring, with a runic inscription translated as

'Raise us from dust we pray to thee;
From pestilence oh set us free,
Although the grave unwilling be.'

was exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries in 1824. The runes used for magical and supernatural purposes are known by the general appellation of Ram-runes, that is strong or bitter runes, and in a learned paper by Francis Douce ('Archæologia,' vol. xxi.), they are classed as follows:—

1. Malrunes used in considering and revenging injuries.
2. Sigrunes gave victory in all controversies to those who used them.

3. Limrunes, when marked on the bark or leaves of trees that inclined to the south, cured diseases.

4. Brunrunes, or fountain runes, used to insure safety at sea to men and property.

5. Hug or hogrunes were runes of the mind, and made their user excel all his companions in mental vigour.

6. Biargrunes used to protect lying-in women.

7. Swartrunes used in practising the black art.

8. Willurunes or deceitful letters.

9. Klaprunes were not written, but made by motions.

10. Trollrunes or devil letters were used for divination or enchantment.

11. Alrunes or alerunes destroyed the allurements or deceptions of strange women.

The turquoise or Turkish stone was supposed to have many and various good qualities that made it second only to jasper in popular estimation. Shylock's ring that he would not have lost 'for a wilderness of monkeys' was a turquoise. This stone was believed to strengthen the sight and spirits of the wearer, to take away all enmity, and reconcile man and wife, and to move when any peril was about to fall upon the wearer. This last quality is alluded to in Ben Jonson's 'Sejanus'—

'And true as turkoise in the dear Lord's ring
Look well or ill with him.'

And also by Dr. Donne—

'A compassionate turkoise that doth tell
By looking pale the wearer is not well.'

However, the most wonderful virtue of all was that it protected its wearer from injury from falls, so that however serious the danger the stone only broke, and the wearer escaped unhurt. Anselmus de Boot or Boethius, in his work on 'Precious Stones' (1609), gives a circumstantial account of his own escapes from falls due to his wearing a turquoise ring.

The toadstone, also known as crapaudine and batrachites, was considered in old times as an amulet of the greatest power. It was a sovereign remedy for many disorders, and was sometimes lent to the sick, but only on a bond for its safe return, in which its value was rated at a very large amount. Joanna Baillie writing to Sir Walter Scott in 1812, tells him of a toadstone ring which was repeatedly borrowed from her mother as a protection to new-born children and their mothers from the power of the fairies. In Ben Jonson's 'Fox' (Act 2, scene 3), a ring of this kind is referred to:—

'Or were you enamour'd on his copper rings,
His saffron jewel, with toadstone in't!'

The toadstone was set open in a ring so that it should touch the finger, as one of its

chief virtues was to burn the skin at the very presence of poison. It was of old supposed to be found in the heads of old toads, a belief which Shakespeare refers to in one of his most admired passages—

'Sweet are the uses of adversity;
Which, like the toad, ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in his head.'

The credulous Lupton gives directions how to obtain the stone. He says an overgrown toad must be put into an earthen pot and placed in an ant's hillock, when the ants will eat up the toad, and the stone will be left in the pot. This, he adds, 'has often been proved.' To know whether a toadstone is true or not, Lupton says you must hold it before a toad so that he may see it. If it be good the toad will leap towards it, and make as though he would snatch it from you, 'for he envieth so much that a man should have that stone.' These were the chief favourites of our ancestors, but many other stones and gems were highly prized for their qualities besides these three, thus agate rendered athletes invincible, cured the sick, and enabled its wearer to gain the love of all women. Amber was good against poison, and it is still prized for its electrical qualities, qualities which take their name from it. Amethyst was an antidote against drunkenness, and if the sun or moon was engraven upon it, it was a charm against witchcraft. Blood-stone checked bleeding at the nose, if the words '*sanguis mane in te*' were repeated three times on application. According to Monardes, a Spanish physician of the sixteenth century, the Indians of New Spain valued it for this property. Carbuncle emitted native light, and Martius, in 'Titus Andronicus,' when he falls into a dark pit, discovers the body of Bassanius by the light of the jewel on the dead man's hand.

'Upon his bloody finger he doth wear
A precious ring, that lightens all the hole,
Which like a taper in some monument
Doth shine upon the dead man's earthy cheeks,
And shows the ragged entrails of this pit:
So pale did shine the moon on Pyramus,
When he by night lay bath'd in maiden blood.'

Coral hindered the delusions of the devil. Crystal clouded if evil was about to happen to the wearer, and it was formerly much used by fortune tellers. Diamond was an antidote against all poisons. Opal sharpened the sight of its possessor, and clouded the eyes of those who stood about him. Ruby changed its colour if any calamity was about to happen to the wearer of it. Wolfgang Gabelchow relates the following instance of this property:—

'On December 5, 1600, as I was travelling from Stuttgart to Caloa, in company with

my beloved wife Catherine Adelmann, of pious memory, I observed most distinctly during the journey that a very fine ruby, her gift, which I wore set in a ring upon my finger, had lost once or twice almost all its splendid colour, and had put on obscurity in place of splendour, and darkness in the place of light, the which blackness and dullness lasted not for one or two days only, but several: so that being above measure alarmed, I took the ring off my finger and locked it up in my trunk. Wherefore I repeatedly warned my wife that some grievous misfortune was impending over either her or myself, as I had inferred from the change of colour in my ruby. Nor was I deceived in my forebodings, inasmuch as within a few days she was taken with a mortal sickness that never left her till her death. After her decease indeed, its former brilliant colour again returned spontaneously to my ruby.'

Sapphire possessed the same virtue as the bloodstone of checking bleeding at the nose. Topaz cured and prevented lunacy, increased riches, assuaged anger and sorrow, and averted sudden death. When such blessings as these were supposed to fall to the lot of the possessor of one of these precious stones, who can be surprised at the value set upon them? The old Greek poem on 'Gems,' which goes by the name of Orpheus, contains a full account of the magical qualities of stones, and the ring mentioned in the following passage from 'Sir Perceval of Galles' (*Thornton Romances*) must have been set with one of the jewels we have enumerated above—

'Siche a virtue es in the stane,
In alle this werlde wote I nane
Siche stone in a ryng;e;
A mane that had it in were [war]
One his body for to here,
There schold no dyntys hym dere
Ne to detlie bryng'e.'

Other things besides precious stones were of old supposed to possess curative virtues, thus a ring made from the hoof of an elk was held to protect the wearer from epilepsy, and Michaelis, a physician at Leipsic, pretended to cure all diseases with a ring made of the tooth of a sea-horse. Sir Christopher Hatton sent a ring to Queen Elizabeth to protect her from all infectious airs, which was not to be worn on her finger, but to be placed in her bosom—"the chaste nest of pure constancy."

We do not always look for wisdom in the rulers of the earth, and therefore need not be surprised that a superstitious observance was upheld by the kings of England. Similar to the curious practice of touching for the king's evil was that of hallowing cramp rings. Every Good Friday the king hallowed with much ceremony certain rings, the wearers of which were saved from the

falling sickness. The practice took its origin from a ring long preserved with great veneration in Westminster Abbey, which was supposed to have great efficacy against the cramp and falling sickness, when touched by those who were afflicted by either of those disorders. The ring was reported to have been brought to Edward the Confessor by some persons coming from Jerusalem, and to have been the same that he had long before given privately to a poor man who had asked alms of him for the love he bore to St. John the Evangelist. In the 'Liber Niger Domus Regis Edw. IV.' is the following entry:—"Item to the kyng's offerings to the crosse on Good Friday out from the countynge-house for medycynable rings of gold and sylver delyvered to the jewel house xxv s." The practice was discontinued by Edward VI., but in the previous reign Anne Boleyn sent some rings to a Mr. Stephens, with the following letter:—"Mr. Stephens, I send you here cramp rings for you and Mr. Gregory and Mr. Peter, praying you to distribute them as you think best." Galvanic rings are still worn, and are believed to cure rheumatism.

We need only mention in passing such rings as were used for scientific and practical purposes, viz., meridian, solar, and astronomical rings, and at once treat of those which are connected with the affections. Inscriptions upon rings are now comparatively rare, but in old times they were common. It is supposed that the fashion of having mottoes, or 'reasons,' as they were called, was of Roman origin, for the young Romans gave rings to their lady-loves with mottoes cut on gems, such as 'remember,' 'good luck to you,' 'love me, and I will love thee.' In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the posy was inscribed on the outside of the ring, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was placed inside. In the year 1624 a little book was published with the following title:—"Love's garland; or posies for rings, handkerchiefs, and gloves, and such pretty tokens that lovers send their loves." Some of these mottoes have become pretty well hackneyed in the course of years, thus the Rev. Giles Moore notes in his journal under the date 1673-4, 'Bought for Ann Brett a gold ring, this being the posy—"when this you see remember me."' In some cases instead of words the stones are made to tell the posy by means of acrostics, thus to obtain *Love* the following arrangement is made—

L apis lazuli,
O pal,
V erde antique,
E merald;

and for *Love me*, malachite and another emerald are added

For the words *Dearest* and *Regard* the stones are arranged as follows:—

D iamond,
E merald,
A methyst,
R uby,
E merald,
S apphire,
T opaz.
R uby,
E merald,
G arnet,
A methyst,
R uby,
D iamond.

At the time of O'Connell's agitation in Ireland rings and brooches were set with the word *Repeat* thus:—

R uby,
E merald,
P earl,
E merald,
A methyst,
L apis lazuli.

In one of these rings belonging to a gentleman the lapis lazuli dropped out, and he took it to a working jeweller in Cork to be repaired. When he got it back, however, he found topaz in place of the lapis lazuli, and therefore he told the workman a mistake had been made. 'No mistake,' answered the jeweller, 'it was Repeat; let us repeat, and we may have it yet.'

Names are sometimes represented on rings by the same means; and the Prince of Wales on his marriage to the Princess Alexandra gave her as a keeper one with the stones set so as to represent his familiar name of *Bertie*, as follows:—

B eryl,
E merald,
R uby,
T urquoise,
I acinth,
E merald.

The French have precious stones for all the alphabet with the exception of f, k, q, y, and z, and they obtain the words *Souvenir* and *Amitié* by the following means—

S aphir or sardoine,
O nux or opale,
U raine,
V ermeille,
E meraude,
N atralithe,
I ris,
R ubis or rose diamant.

A méthiste or aigue-marine,
M alachite,
I ris,
T urquoise or topaze,
I ris,
E meraude.

The fyancl or wedding ring is supposed to have originated at Rome, where it was usually given at the betrothal as a pledge of the engagement, and its primitive form was that of a signet or seal ring. The practice of the wife wearing the betrothed ring after marriage, and the husband the wedding ring, has been a common one in Germany. The betrothed and wedding rings of Luther have been preserved safely in his native country. The first is of gold elaborately worked with the various symbols of the Passion of the crucified Saviour, as the spear, the hyssop, the rod of reeds, the dice, &c., and the whole is surmounted with a ruby, the emblem of exalted love. Inside are the names of the betrothed pair, and the date of the marriage (*Der 13 Junii, 1525*). This ring was presented by Luther to Catharine Boren at the betrothal, and was worn by her then and after the marriage. The workmanship is very elegant, and it has been supposed that it was designed by the great reformer's friend Lucas Cranach, but the design was by no means an uncommon one. A gold ring was found in Coventry Park, near the Town Hall, in the autumn of 1802, by a person digging potatoes, on which was represented the Saviour rising from the sepulchre with the hammer, ladder, sponge, and other emblems of his passion by Him. Five wounds were shown, which represented the wells of everlasting life, of mercy, pity, grace, and comfort. This was an amulet, and inside were inscribed the names of the three kings of Cologne. The wounds of Christ were often engraved upon rings, and Sir E. Shaw, alderman and goldsmith, directed by his will (*circa 1487*) that sixteen rings should be made of fine gold with representations of the wells of pity, mercy, and everlasting life, and given to his friends.

The interchanging of rings was a prominent feature of the ancient betrothing ceremony, but appears not to have taken place at the marriage. When Proteus leaves Julia in the 'Two Gentlemen of Verona,' the lovers exchange rings—

'Julia.—If you turn not, you will return the sooner;

Keep this in remembrance of thy Julia's sake.

(Gives him a ring.)

Proteus.—Why then we'll make exchange; here take you this.

(Gives her another.)

In betrothals it was a common custom for lovers to break a piece of gold, and for each party to keep half; sometimes a ring was broken.

'A ring of pure gold she from her finger took,
And just in the middle the same then she broke:
Quoth she, as a token of love you this take,
And this as a pledge I will keep for your sake.

—Exeter Garland.

Among the Italians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it was usual for ladies to give their lovers rings which contained their portraits, and were made with the *fede* or two hands clasped. It was usual also for lovers to wear the rings given to them by their mistresses on holidays, as we find in 'England's Helicon' (1600)—

'My songs they be of Cinthia's prayse,
I weare her rings on holly-dayes.'

Bassanio and Gratiano give the rings which they received respectively from Portia and Nerissa to the young doctor and his clerk after the discomfiture of Shylock, although Portia had said—

'This house, these servants, and this same myself,

Are yours my lord : I give them with this ring :
Which when you part from, lose, or give away,
Let it prestage the ruin of your love,
And be my vantage to exclaim on you.'

And Bassanio had answered—

'When this ring

Parts from this finger, then parts life from hence :
O then be bold to say, Bassanio's dead !'

Imogen gives her husband Posthumus a ring when they part, and he gives her a bracelet in exchange. 'Although,' he says, 'my ring I hold dear as my finger, 'tis part of it ;' yet he gives it up to Iachimo to test the virtue of his wife. In Beaumont and Fletcher's 'Cupid's Revenge,' a lady describes a man's presents to his mistress—

'Given earrings we will wear !
Bracelets of our lover's hair,
Which they on our arms shall twist,
With their names carv'd on our wrist.'

Sometimes the man gave a ring to his lady. In Davison's 'Rhapsody' (1611) there is a sonnet from one who sent his mistress a gold ring with the posy 'pure and endless ;' and when Richard III. brings his rapid wooing to a conclusion, he gives Lady Anne a ring, saying :—

'Look how this ring encompasseth thy finger,
Even so thy breast encompasseth my poor heart ;
Wear both them, for both of them are thine.'

In Spain the gift of a ring is looked upon as a promise of marriage, and is considered sufficient proof to enable a girl to claim her husband. In the fifteenth century love rings occur with the orpine (*Telephium*), commonly called *Midsummer men*, engraved upon them, a device which was chosen because the bending leaves of that plant are presumed to prognosticate whether love was true or false. It was used for love divination late into the last century.

The gimmal, jimmal, gimbal, or gimmon ring, was a pretty invention which continued a favourite for many years. It was a twin

or double ring, and took its name from the word *gemelli*. Sometimes it was formed of three pieces of gold wire and even four occasionally, in the latter case the result was a puzzle ring.

'Thou sent'st to me a true-love knot ; but I
Return a ring of *jimmals*, to imply
Thy love had one knot, mine a triple tye.'
—'Herrick,'

At first it was a simple love token, but afterwards was converted into a ring of affiance ; the lover putting his finger through one of the hoops and his mistress hers through the other—

'A curious artist wrought 'em
With joints so close as not to be perceiv'd ;
Yet are they both each other's counterpart ;
Her part had *Juan* inscrib'd and his had *Zayda*
(You know those names were theirs) : and in the midst

A heart divided in two halves was plac'd.

Now if the rivets of those rings inclosed

Fit not each other, I have forg'd this lye :

But if they join, you must for ever part.'

—Dryden's 'Don Sebastian.'

Mr. Crofton Croker in his privately-printed catalogue of Lady Londesborough's collection, describes and figures a very interesting jimmal ring, consisting of three rings, which separate and turn on a pivot. The two outer ones were united by two clasped hands which concealed two united hearts upon the middle one, which was toothed at the edge. The following is the account given of the use to which the ring had been put :—

'There can be little doubt from the specimens which have come under observation, that it had been used as a betrothing ring by an officer of the king's German legion with some Irish lady, and that the notched ring was retained by some confidential female friend, who was present as a witness at the betrothal ceremony—usually one of the most solemn and private character—and at which, over the Holy Bible, placed before the witness, both the man and the woman broke away the upper and lower rings from the centre one, which was held by the intermediate person. It would appear that the parties were subsequently married ; when it was usual, as a proof that their pledge had been fulfilled, to return to the witness or witnesses to their contract the two rings which the betrothed had respectively worn until married, and thus the three rings, which had been separated, became reunited as in the present instance.'

St. Martin's rings, which were fair to the eye, although only brass or copper within, were frequently given as presents to girls by their sweethearts. They are often referred to in old English literature to point a moral ; thus in Plaine Percevall, the Peace Maker of England (1589), we read 'I doubt

whether all be gold that glisteneth, sith St. Martin's rings be but copper within, though they be gilt without, sayes the goldsmith; and in Braithwaite's 'Whimzies' (1631), they are mentioned with counterfeit bracelets as 'commodities of infinite consequence.' 'They will pass for current at a may-pole, and purchase a favour from their Maid Marian.' The name originated from the very extensive franchises and immunities which were enjoyed by the inhabitants of the precincts of the Collegiate Church of St. Martin's-le-Grand. The gilding and silvering of rings made of copper or latten was prohibited by statute 5 Hen. iv. c. 13, under a heavy penalty, and in consequence the 'disloyal artificers,' against whom the enactment was made, appear to have taken refuge in the hallowed district. By another statute (3 Edw. iv. c. 4) it was declared unlawful to import rings of gilded copper or latten, but the Act was not to be prejudicial or hurtful to any persons living in St. Martin's-le-Grand. In the same reign the like reservation of the rights of the dean of St. Martin's and his colony of outlaws was made. And thus it was that St. Martin's rings obtained their name.

The supposed heathen origin of the marriage ring well-nigh caused its abolition during the time of the Commonwealth, as Butler tells us in 'Hudibras'—

'Others were for abolishing
That tool of matrimony, a ring
With which the unsanctified bridegroom
Is married only to a thumb.'

Wedding rings, however, have been supposed by some to have been worn by the Jews prior to Christian times, but Selden says that they were only used when the Jews found them prevalent around them. About the commencement of the sixteenth century Hebrew betrothal rings, called *maus-selauf* (a word which, freely translated, means *joy be with you, or good luck to you*), were common among the German Jews. They were usually surmounted with a small house, temple, or tabernacle, by way of bezel.

Whatever may have been the origin of the wedding ring, the Church took care that it should be considered a holy thing. The 'Doctrine of the Masse Booke' (1554) contains a form for 'the halowing of the woman's ring at wedding,' in which are the following prayers—

'Thou maker and conserver of mankind, giver of spiritual grace and graunter of eternal salvation, Lord send thy blessing upon this ring, that she which shall weare it, maye be armed wyth the vertue of heavenly defence,

and that it maye profit her to eternal salvation thorowe Christ,' &c.

'Halow thou Lord this ring which we blesse in thy holye name: that what woman soever shall weare it may stand fast in thy peacc, and continue in thy wyl and live and grow and waxe old in thy love,' &c.

Holy water was then to be sprinkled upon the ring.

In the Hereford, York, and Salisbury missals directions are given at the marriage for the ring to be put first on the thumb, after on the second finger, then on the third, and lastly on the fourth finger. The rubric still ordains the fourth finger, because it is the ring finger; and the left hand is chosen, it is said, because the wife is in subjection to her husband, but this is doubtful. It is true that official rings are worn on the right hand, but the left hand has more usually been the favourite one for rings, probably because it is less used than the right.

In many parts of the Continent wedding rings are worn by husbands as well as by wives. The wedding ring worn by Luther, to which we have previously referred, was a gimmel, and consisted of two perfect rings. On one hoop was set a diamond, as the emblem of power, duration, and fidelity, and on the other a ruby, for exalted love. On the mounting of the diamond were engraved Luther's initials, and on that of the ruby his wife's, so that when the two parts were joined the letters came close together. The motto within was 'Was Gott zusammen füget soll kein mensch scheiden' (What God doth join, no man shall part).

Formerly widows wore their ring on the thumb as an emblem of widowhood, and we find the following trick mentioned in the *Spectator*—

'It is common enough for a stale virgin to set up a shop in a place where she is not known, where the large thumb ring supposed to be given her by her husband quickly recommends her to some wealthy neighbour, who takes a liking to the jolly widow that would have overlooked the veritable spinster.'

The old wedding ring usually had its motto, which was often pretty and appropriate. We will set down a few of these posies that were once common—

'Let lyking laste.'
'As God decreed so we agreed.'
'Knit in one by Christ alone.'
'In Christ and thee my comfort be.'
'First love Christ that died for thee,
Next to Him love none but me.'
'Let us share in joy and care.'
'United hearts death only parts.'

'A faithful wife preserveth life.'
 'This and the giver are thine for ever.'
 'This hath alloy, my love is pure.'
 'The diamond is within.'
 'I'll win and wear you.'
 'I like my choice.'
 'Love and live happily.'

The wedding ring of St. Louis, of France, was set with a sapphire intaglio of the Crucifixion, and bore on the hoop the motto, 'Dehors cet anel, pourrions avoir amour.' Anne of Cleves' posy was 'God sende me wel to kepe.' Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, *temp.* Henry VI., had three daughters, who all married noblemen. Margaret's husband was John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, and the motto of her wedding ring, 'Til deithe depart.' Alianour married Edmund, Duke of Somerset, and her motto was 'Never newe.' Elizabeth married Lord Latimer, and hers was 'Til my live's end.' An old Earl of Hertford's wedding ring consisted of five links, the four inner ones containing the following posies of the earl's own making—

'As circles five by art compact shows but one
 ring in eight,
 So trust united faithful mindes with knott of
 secret might;
 Whose force to break no right but greedie
 Death possesseth power,
 As time and sequels well shall prove. My
 ringe can say no more.'

Lady Cathcart on marrying her fourth husband, Hugh Maguire, in 1713, had the followin posy inscribed on her wedding ring—

'If I survive,
 I will have five.'

Dr. John Thomas, Bishop of Lincoln in 1753, married four wives, and being of the same mind with Lady Cathcart he selected a like motto for his fourth wife's ring, viz.—

'If I survive,
 I'll make them five.'

The community of fishermen inhabiting the Claddagh at Galway rarely intermarry with other than their own people. The wedding ring is an heirloom in a family, and is regularly transferred from the mother to the daughter who is first married, and so passes to her descendants. Many of those still worn are very old.

The women of the gipsy tribes wear plain massive gold wedding rings, which are occasionally pawned by their possessor when in want of money, but in most cases are scrupulously redeemed. Many superstitions are associated with the wedding ring, and some of them still linger on. It was once a widely-spread belief that a special

nerve or artery stretched forth from the heart to the ring finger, and it is not a little remarkable that this notion is derived from Egypt, so that the wedding ring of to-day is placed upon a particular finger because many centuries ago an Egyptian appropriated that as the ring finger, from some supposed virtue that existed in it. Macrobius writes that those Egyptian priests who were prophets when engaged in the temple near the altars of the gods moistened the ring finger of the left hand (which was that next to the smallest) with various sweet ointments, in the belief that a certain nerve communicated with it from the heart.

It has been thought that the wedding ring possesses certain curative powers; thus, it is believed that a sty in the eye will soon disappear after being rubbed with the 'plain gold ring.' Most women are very loath to take off their wedding ring, and it seldom, if ever, is allowed to leave the finger. Its loss is thought to be an evil portent of some importance. In Sir John Bramston's autobiography (1631) it is related that his stepmother dropped her ring off her finger into the sea near the shore when she pulled off her glove. She would not go home without the ring, 'it being the most unfortunate that could befall any one to lose the wedding ring,' and after a general search the seekers were rewarded with success.

Among Moore's juvenile poems will be found a tale called the 'Ring,' which is a version of an old and widely-spread German legend. A young knight who is about to be married to a beautiful girl places the wedding ring on the finger of a statue, thinking it to be a place of safety. When he comes for it the marble finger has turned up, and he is unable to get his ring off. He comes again to break the finger off and release the ring, when he finds the finger open, but the ring gone. He is in dismay, but obtains a new ring, with which he is married. At night, however, a spectre cold, like the marble statue, comes between the bride and bridegroom. The former cannot see, but the latter sees it, feels it, and hears it speak these words—

'Husband, husband, I've the ring
 Thou gav'st to-day to me;
 And thou'rt to me for ever wed,
 As I am wed to thee!'

At daybreak the spectre departs, but comes again each night, until, with the assistance of an old monk, the knight goes to a place where four roads meet, and obtains his ring again.

Still, in spite of these notions, the gold wedding ring is by no means an indispensa-

ble part of the marriage ceremony, for curtain rings, church keys, and rings made from gloves, or leather of any kind have been used as a substitute.

Marrying with a rush ring was practised by designing men to deceive their mistresses, and on account of this abuse the practice is strictly prohibited by the constitutions of Richard, Bishop of Salisbury, in 1217.

'And whilst they sport and dance, the love-sick swains

Compose rush rings and myrtleberry chains.'

—Quarles' *'Shepherd's Oracles,'* 1646.

In Greene's *'Menaphon'* is the following reference to rush rings: 'Twas a good world when such simplicitie was used, saye the olde women of our time, when a ring of a rush would tye as much love together as a gimmon of gold;' and Douce refers Shakspeare's expression, 'Tib's rush for Tom's forefinger,' to this custom.

There is another ring which is not so well known now, but which was pretty common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It was a frequent custom in the middle ages for widows to take a vow of chastity or perpetual widowhood, in token of which they received a peculiar robe and ring. Eleanor, third daughter of King John and widow of William Mareschal Earl of Pembroke, made a vow of celibacy to Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury and Richard Bishop of Chichester, after the death of her husband, and received the ring and mantle of profession in public. A few years subsequently she broke her vow and married Simon de Montfort Earl of Leicester, not, however, before the strongest remonstrances had been made by the pious archbishop. The marriage was generally regarded as null and void, and it was only after the greatest exertions had been made for the Pope's sanction and vast sums of money had been spent that a dispensation was obtained. In the will of Lady Alice West (1395) mention is made of 'a ring with which I was yspoused to God.' In 1473 Katharine Rippelingham, 'widow advowes,' bequeaths 'her gold ring with a diamante sette therein wherewith she was *sacrid*.' Mr. Henry Harrod, in a paper in the *'Archæologia'* (vol. xl., pp. 307-310), gives numerous instances of money left by will on condition that the testator's wife takes the vow of chastity, or order or profession of widowhood.

Our subject concludes with the last stage of all, and connects itself with death. Mourning rings, as remembrances of those loved ones who have preceded us to the

land of spirits, have always been cherished in Christian lands. Lord Eldon wore a mourning ring in memory of his wife, and desired in his will that it might be buried with him.

The practice of offering rings at funerals is introduced as an incident in *'Sir Amadace.'* Anne of Cleves, who survived Henry VIII., left by her will several mourning rings of various values to be distributed among her friends and dependents. Dr. Wolcot wrote some elegant lines, very different in tone from the one usually employed by him, on the Princess Amelia's mournful present to her father George III.

'With all the virtues blest, and every grace
To charm the world and dignify her race,
Life's taper losing fast its feeble fire,
The fair Amelia thus bespoke her sire:
"Faint on the bed of sickness lying,
My spirit from its mansion flying,
Not long the light these languid eyes will see,
My friend, my father, and my king.
Receive the token and remember me!"'

Memorial rings were sometimes made to exhibit a small portrait, and, on some occasions, to conceal one beneath a stone. This is the case with the seven rings given away at the burial of Charles I. One of these is in the Londesborough Collection, and is described as follows:—

'Gold, with square table-faced diamond on an oval face, which opens and reveals beneath a portrait of Charles in enamel. The face of the ring, its back, and side portions of the shank, engraved with scroll work, filled in with black enamel.'

Another of these rings is still more interesting:—

'It was of pure gold, plain, and without jewellery or ornament of any kind; on the top of it was an oval of white enamel, not more than half an inch in longitudinal diameter, and apparently about the eighth of an inch in thickness; the surface was slightly convex, and divided into four compartments; in each of these was painted one of the four cardinal virtues which, although so minute as to be scarcely perceptible to the clearest sight, by the application of a glass appeared perfectly distinct; each figure was well proportioned, and had its appropriate attribute. By touching a secret spring, the case opened, and exposed to view a very beautifully painted miniature of the unfortunate Charles, with the pointed beard, mustachios, etc., as he is usually portrayed, and from its resemblance to the portraits generally seen of this monarch, wearing every appearance of being a strong likeness.'

The ring sold at Strawberry Hill sale had the king's head in miniature behind a death's head, between the letters C. R. The motto

being, 'Prepared be to follow me.' Charles II.'s mourning ring was inscribed 'Car. Rex Remem—obit—ber—30 Jan., 1648.'

Mr. Wright, in 'Miscellanea Graphica' (1857), describes a gold mourning ring 'formed of two skeletons, who support a small sarcophagus. The skeletons are covered with white enamel, and the lid of the sarcophagus is also enamelled, and has a Maltese cross in red on a black ground, studded with gilt hearts, and when removed displays another skeleton.' The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres tells a sad story of a ring in his memoir of Lady Anne Mackenzie. Colin, Earl of Balcarres, when a youth at the court of Charles II., was taken very ill of a fever. Messengers arrived almost hourly to make inquiries after his health on behalf of a lady who had seen him presented at court, viz. Mdle. Mauritia de Nassau, sister of Lady Arlington and Lady Ossory, and a kinswoman of William of Orange. Lord Balcarres paid his respects to the young lady on his recovery, and soon the day for their marriage was fixed. The wedding party was assembled in the church, but no bridegroom appeared. He had forgotten the day, and was found in his dressing gown and slippers quietly eating his breakfast. On being reminded of his engagement he hurried to the church, but in his haste he left the wedding ring in his escrivain. A friend in company gave him a ring; he put his hand behind his back to receive it, and, without looking at it, he placed it on the finger of his bride. It was a mourning ring with a death's head and crossed bones engraved upon it, and the bride, on perceiving it at the close of the ceremony, fainted away. The ill omen made such an impression upon her mind that, on recovering, she declared she should die within the year. Her presentiment was not too truly fulfilled, for she died in childhood in less than a twelvemonth after.

When Diana, of Poitiers, became mistress of Henry II. of France, she was a widow, and the complaisant court not only adopted her mourning as the favourite colour, but wore rings engraved with skulls and skeletons. Rings with these devices were not necessarily mourning rings, but were worn by those persons who affected gravity. Another wore a gold ring with a small death's head in enamel, which is now preserved at Dresden. Biron, in 'Love's Labour Lost,' refers to 'a death's face in a ring,' and in Beaumont and Fletcher we find:—

'I'll keep it
As they keep death's head in rings,
To cry memento to me.'

—'Chances,' Act 1, sc. 8.

We have now passed in review many varieties of rings, and we cannot but notice the little value that is set upon them in the present day, as compared with their importance in days gone by. There are now no official rings, no rings to cure all diseases and save us from all dangers; but, instead of all this, they have sunk into mere ornaments. There is still, however, one ring that is associated with some of the dearest feelings of our nature, viz., the plain gold ring, as it is called, though why it should be plain we do not know. Why should it not be engraved with all the beauty that art can lavish upon it, and why should not a beautiful posy be written within its hoop? But it is probably useless to suggest such a change in universal fashion, and therefore we cannot do better than bring our subject to a close with the beautiful lines of Herrick:—

'Julia I bring
To thee this ring,
Made for thy finger fit:
To show by this
That our love is,
Or should be like to it.

'Close tho' it be,
The joint is free;
So when love's yoke is on,
It must not gall,
Or fret at all
With hard oppression.

'But it must play
Still either way,
And be too such a yoke
As not too wide,
To overslide;
Or be so straight to choke.

'So we who bear
This beam, must rear
Ourselves to such a height,
As that the stay
Of either may
Create the burthen light.

'And as this round
Is no where found
To flaw, or else to sever;
So let our love
As endless prove,
And pure as gold for ever.'

We have placed at the head of this article the title of the last work of an accomplished antiquary and artist now deceased, because one of the divisions of the book is entitled 'Facts upon Finger Rings.' This division consists of three chapters, very prettily illustrated with woodcut representations of interesting rings. Chapter I. treats of antique rings, Chapter II. of mediæval rings, and Chapter III. of modern rings. These chapters contain a large amount of valuable information. We have not, however, confined our-

Selves to their contents, but have drawn our information from the pretty extensive literature of the subject which is scattered about in various books.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TRAVELS.

The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M.A.
Vols. II. and III. Longmans, Green, and Co.

There are only two ways of dealing with Mr. Froude's book—a general and indignant protest against both its methods and its principles, and a detailed refutation of its representations, that is, of the bias and colour which Mr. Froude gives to the incidents that his great industry has collected, and to the better known events which he judges. The latter would require a space equal to that of the history itself, and could be effectually done only by an industry and historical faculty equal to his own. In an article in this journal on his first volume, and in various reviews of it and of the two volumes now before us, selected test-points have been examined in detail, and their fallacy, not to say distortion, exhibited. We can only refer to these, notably to an article by Mr. Lecky in the June number of *Macmillan's Magazine*, and in this brief notice restrict ourselves chiefly to the former.

We do not think that Mr. Froude's pitiless indictment against the Irish arises from special antipathy to them, although he manifestly does not love them, so much as from certain principles of government which he embraces with a strange ardour and enforces with passionate earnestness. Constitutional liberties, with their fluctuating exercise and their educational discipline, are intensely distasteful to him. An ardent disciple of Mr. Carlyle, he believes only in the government of force. Liberty, he tells us, is submission to law. 'In growing and vigorous nations the functions of government are entrusted, not to those persons only who have given proof of energy and ability, but to those who by birth and station are raised above the temptations of self-interest.' If experience and history prove anything, it is that no 'self-interests' are so strong and so disastrous to the commonwealth as those of monarchs and governing classes. The miseries of France alone during the last three-quarters of a century ought to have kept a historian from such an ignorant and foolish dictum. Mr. Froude's theory is Mr. Carlyle's—that nations should be governed by the strong hand of their able man; and that, he being found, the only duty of the governed is to submit, a theory which, if true, is a grave reflection upon the self-educating liberty which God gives to His creatures. On the strength of this principle he prefers two

grave indictments which it is the purpose of his book to maintain. First, the utter unfitness of the Irish for self-government, or for any form of constitutional government; and secondly, the utter incapacity of the English to govern them, owing to their inability to govern them despotically; as Russia, for example, would govern them. He lauds Cromwell's rule as the only rule under which Ireland has been prosperous and happy; and unmistakably hints the desirableness—in past days, at least—of Carlyle's cure for the West India Islands—to put them under water for twenty-four hours. Clearly Mr. Froude is past all reasoning, or it might be suggested that until within the past few years the constitutional government of Ireland has never been tried. English government of Ireland has inflicted all the disability of tyranny and persecution while shrinking from its avowal. Mr. Froude, however, does not like constitutional government in England or anywhere else, and has no wish to see it fairly tried in Ireland. Mr. Froude brings a terrible indictment against the Established Church in Ireland. Nothing more condemnatory on the ground of her irreligiousness, injustice, and tyranny has ever been written; and yet he disapproves the disestablishment of that church as a measure of justice to Ireland, on the ground, apparently, that it is part of the policy of modern Liberalism. In accordance with this principle, Mr. Froude has nothing but disparagement, often abuse for every advocate of Irish emancipation, whether English or Irish. He loses no opportunity of damaging men like Flood and Grattan, while he has only elaborate vindication for men like Fitzgibbon, whom he exhibits as the greatest of Irish statesmen, although, on Mr. Froude's own showing, he goaded the people into rebellion. Indeed the chief condemnation of Mr. Froude's principles is his own history. It is almost impossible, from our point of view, to deal with a book leavened throughout with such principles. We will not attempt, therefore, to trace the course of the history, from the condition of hopeless bondage to which English Protestant ascendancy had reduced Ireland in 1767, through the melancholy history of corruption and tyranny, revolution and repression, selfishness and retribution, treason and assassination in manifold forms, down to the great rebellion of 1798, when, according to Lord Clare, all principle had been corrupted, every laudable feeling had been extirpated, and nothing prevailed but treason, blood, and cowardly assassination, and Cornwallis realized in his viceroyship 'his idea of perfect misery;' and thence to the union in 1800.

Mr. Froude's history is, from the first page to the last, a terrible and unsparing indictment against two great peoples, and it is urged with a blinding passion and a bitter prejudice almost without parallel among English historians. The mischief of the book is that so much of it is true; its facts are unimpeachable, and they are terrible; it is a tragic history almost without a parallel; but its hatred of the Irish as a people, and of Roman Catholicism and of Irish Protestant Episcopacy as two forms of religion,

perverts the historian's judgment, deprives his book of the moral power which its eloquent denunciations of lawlessness on the one hand and corruption and cruelty on the other would have had. Mr. Froude has given himself over still more completely to that perversity of judgment which made Henry VIII. a hero, and which in Carlyle glorified Frederick of Prussia. In both it is the worship of sheer force, to the disparagement of less successful moral virtues. A more judicial historian would have seen, in the Ireland of the past, causes of failure in the lack, and not in the excess of true constitutional government; and he would have admitted the hope that the *régime* of thorough civil and religious liberty and equality which Mr. Gladstone has inaugurated may probably produce a different result for the future. Surely, Home Rule is but a slight symptom of lingering disorder; at any rate, the experiment has not yet had time to develop its results.

Worthies of All Souls'; Four Centuries of English History, Illustrated from the College Archives. By MONTAGUE BURROWS, Chichele Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, and Fellow of All Souls'. Macmillan and Co.

There have been many standpoints chosen for the study of English History. Kings and Queens of England have formed the most frequent link of connection between the scattered facts. Lord Chancellors and Lord Chief Justices have afforded a parallel line of biographical investigation. The fortunes of these distinguished officials have shed vivid light on many a page of English History dear to the student of precedent and progress, of equity, and of the common law of England. The constitutional progress of the rights and liberties of Englishmen has provided another and classical stand-point of supreme interest for the review of historical facts. Great institutions like the Church of England, great parties and sects like the Dissenters from her communion, cannot have their history written without involving the recital of a vast amount of political and dynastic change. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York have found in their biographers the historians of England. Professor Burrows has taken his stand amid the venerable precincts of All Souls' College, Oxford, and by detailing the development, the difficulties, the anxieties, and the changes of his College from the days of Archbishop Chichele to those that have taken place under the *régime* of the latest Wardens, he has presented a rich illustration of the history of England during four centuries. Much light is thrown on the relation of Collegiate foundations to the Crown and to the Church; on the effects and form of the Reformation; and on the so-called Anglo-Catholic settlement. 'The golden age of the College' is shown to have been under Elizabeth and Cecil, when the organizations of Whitgift and Grindal took effect, and poor scholars were taught and blessed by the vast advantages of the institute. The author devotes considerable space to his delineation of Laud and the vindication of Sheldon, to the

calamities of the Civil War, to the appointment and collapse of Puritan visitation during the Commonwealth, and to the return of Sheldon to power and influence. He has taken much pains to prove the beneficence, moderation, and piety of Sheldon, and to whitewash the reputation which had been so differently represented by Burnet, Neal, and Hallam. More than a hundred pages are devoted to the period between the Restoration and the death of Queen Anne, and many side-lights are thrown on the great events and characters of those reigns. The connection of All Souls' with some of the most distinguished lawyers and scholars, poets and churchmen, antiquarians and essayists, has furnished Professor Burrows with material of extreme interest, and he has used his 'archives' with much discrimination and mastery of detail. The College is to be judged, says he, 'by the men it has enrolled on its lists.' It has done 'as good or better work than other Colleges during its early days, marching in the van of the Renaissance, and rising with the Reformation to the new wants of the age. It suffered under kings and nobles, as well as under its own corruptions, but gradually emerged from those depths.' 'Increased vitality' has been supplied 'at least in one direction by the hand of authority, in 1852.' Many tempting themes are suggested for criticism; we often differ from Mr. Burrows in his estimate of men and events, but we owe him a debt of sincere gratitude for his laborious and animated chronicle of the 'Worthies of All Souls'.

Ecclesiastical History of England. The Church of the Revolution. By JOHN STOUGHTON, D.D. Hodder and Stoughton.

The period comprised in this new volume of Dr. Stoughton's history is less eventful ecclesiastically than those which he has previously traversed. The Revolution which seated William upon the throne, although very vitally affecting the future of the kingdom, was less dramatic than the Revolution which dethroned Charles I. The true periods of growth, however, are periods of quiet, not of convulsion; and in the years that followed the accession of William, especially after the Toleration Act was passed, the Nonconformist churches became an organized and legally recognized constituent of the ecclesiastical order of England. The liberal feeling of William was in advance of that of Parliament. The Test Act had been passed to exclude Papists from office with the self-sacrificing assent of the Nonconformists, who then, as on many other occasions, were willing to subordinate their own interests to those of the country. William was not able to obtain for them relief from its prohibitions. It was not easy to frame a measure which should admit Protestant Nonconformists to office while it excluded Roman Catholics. Two sets of measures marked William's reign—one which sought to relieve them from their disabilities, and another which sought their comprehension in the Establishment. The former was only in part successful, although the Toleration

Act was a great step in advance, and proposed far more than itself accomplished, the latter altogether failed, although more than once it seemed at the very point of accomplishment. Dr. Stoughton points out the true cause why the Comprehension Bill failed, and corrects a mistake which, on Macaulay's authority, Dean Stanley makes, who says, that 'It was lost in the House of Commons chiefly through the opposition of Dissenters.' The Dissenters in the Commons were very few. The chief of the Dissenting leaders, Baxter, Howe, Philip Henry, Bates, were in favor of it; although among the Independents were some of a different mind. The truth is the Bill died of neglect. There was a good deal of insincerity in its advocacy; and the golden opportunity was permitted to pass. The history of the attempts at comprehension is narrated at greater length by Dr. Stoughton than by any previous writer, and is very instructive, especially just now, when it is the dream of so many amiable men who hope by schemes of comprehension to achieve that unity of the Church which all devout souls desire. That this is only a dream, and a wild impracticable dream, the entire history of the past, as well as the truest philosophy, should teach. Uniformity is to be realized only by a devitalizing process, which so destroys spiritual vigour and susceptibility as to make men indifferent. The quickening to life of the Episcopal Church itself has been marked by the development of at least three strongly pronounced parties, who are more than usually schismatic. They hurl at each other denunciations and anathemas which are happily unknown among Nonconforming communions. Like the Siamese twins, they are bound to each other by a legal nexus; but this only embitters their differences with intolerance and hatred. We marvel that it is not seen that true harmony is conditioned upon variety, not uniformity. Both in God's works and men's realizations of it, it is so. Let the lawfulness, the naturalness, and the human necessity of divers churches and worships, and even creeds, so far as modes of apprehension are expressed in them, be boldly and fully recognized, and we shall not be far from that true unity which consists in the recognition of each other's freedom and preference, and in true brotherhood of heart—that 'one spirit' which 'diversities of operation' cannot impair. We are bold to say, that among evangelical Nonconformists of various communions, this is virtually realized. The animosities of our day are between different parties within the Episcopal Church on the one hand, and between the priestly assumptions and exclusive claims of Established churches, and those who for liberty's sake and for Christ's sake resist those claims, on the other. Of this Episcopal arrogance and assumption, Dr. Stoughton's pages detail many examples. The volume is written with the same amiability and solicitous charity which characterizes the previous volumes, and which somewhat suspiciously wins eager approbation in quarters where charity is but little known. Men who lose no opportunity of denouncing

Nonconformists are loudly praising Dr. Stoughton's book. Not, we fear, because it helps the recognition and spread of true catholicity, else they would seek this in other ways; but because it is a Nonconformist palliation, not to say apology, for much of their own oppression. Unable altogether to escape the condemnation of both history and religion, they are thankful for any softening of it, and especially from a Nonconformist. We are not without apprehension that Dr. Stoughton's amiability sometimes carries him a little too far. Hardly would the old Hebrew Prophets, hardly would the author of the Epistle to the Galatians, have spoken so tenderly of some of the deeds of oppression that he has to chronicle. Charity is an excellent thing, and should have the largest expression that justice will permit; but when feelings of charity are permitted to restrain stern righteousness of judgment, and strong indignation against wrong, charity itself suffers, just as the love that is a weakness destroys love itself. *Bonus nocet, quisquis perpercerit malis.* We had noted several matters for comment. Dr. Stoughton has bestowed great pains and thrown much light on the position and characters of the nonjurors, the proceedings of Convocation, the Trinitarian and Antinomian controversies, the social position of the clergy, and especially he has gathered some new and interesting details concerning the evangelizing and missionary agencies, the religious societies, &c., of the period—for which the records of the societies for the Propagation of the Gospel, and for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge have been laid under contribution. We must, however, content ourselves with these general indications, most heartily thanking Dr. Stoughton for his really valuable work, which is a substantial contribution to our national history. He has completed a distinct period of our religious history; but in the rapid ecclesiastical changes and religious declension of the Hanoverian era there is much matter for instructive study. To the ecclesiastical historian it is almost an unexplored field. Dr. Stoughton has many high qualifications for entering upon it. We hope that he will set this task before him—at least down to the death of Wesley.

The History of Japan from the Earliest Period to the Present Time. Vol. I. to the year 1864. By FRANCIS OTTOWELL ADAMS, F.R.G.S. Henry S. King and Co.

Mr. Adams was for some years 'Chargé d'Affaires' and Secretary of Legation at Yedo, and he seems diligently to have availed himself of every opportunity of accumulating materials for the present work. The old European histories of Japan are very meagre and very untrustworthy; and the jealous exclusion of foreigners, until latterly, has prevented acquaintance with Japanese traditions and literature. Mr. Adams had done well to publish the results of investigations hitherto made; although, as he justly says, 'the number of persons sufficiently conversant with the language and with the Chinese character in which

so much of the literature is written, is still exceedingly small, and in the first years of foreign intercourse the list of books at the disposal of students was very limited. Now, however, every year adds to the amount of our information.' Mr. Ernest Satow, now Japanese Secretary to Her Majesty's Legation at Yedo, has devoted himself with great assiduity and scholarship to the study of Japanese literature, and has translated several important Japanese works. The principal is the 'Nihon Gwaishi,' published in 1827 in twenty-two volumes, which was the result of twenty years' labour by its author, Rai Sanyo. Of this great work Mr. Satow has published considerable portions, from which, with other Japanese works, Mr. Adams has derived much information. From these we learn that the Emperor is of divine descent, from the first of the Rami, and two of his successors reigning each 100,000 millions of years. It was not, however, until long ages afterwards that male and female spirits were created, concerning which Mr. Adams narrates a very curious myth.

The historic origin of the Japanese is unknown; they are apparently a mixed race, aborigines of which are still found in Yezo. The first mortal ruler is traced to B.C. 667. Mr. Adams gives us a sketch of the early history of Japan as far as it is known; but it is very meagre—probably additional materials for history will soon be discovered. The main substance of his volume is the history of the last twenty years. He traverses, in fact, the same ground as Mr. Mossman, whose book we noticed in our last number, only with a good deal more of Japanese scholarship and of literary form. He goes, too, considerably more into detail, and apparently has had greater access to diplomatic sources of information. We need not refer again to the details of this wonderful history. Mr. Adams' work is the more scholarly and artistic in character, and will be for the present our most authoritative source of information.

Jewish History and Politics in the Times of Sargon and Sennacherib. An Inquiry into the Historical meaning and purpose of the Prophecies of Isaiah. By Sir EDWARD STRACHEY. Second Edition, revised, with additions. W. Isbister and Co.

Readers of Mr. Maurice's works, but especially of the 'Religions of the World,' will remember the delight with which his subtle mind detected in heathen doctrine or ceremony off-glances—significant hintings and forecasts—of the more perfect revelation which was to follow. His keen religious sense even led him to see religious significance in many merely secular customs and developments, and he illustrated Providence by a ready and sensitively generous appreciation of the best in all nationalities—dim strivings towards the Great Source of light. It is really but the same tendency of mind which led him to try very often what he could make of the Bible by treating it precisely as a scholar would treat any other book. Several of the 'Tracts for Priests and

People' bore trace of his influence in this respect, and perhaps none more so than that entitled 'Politics, Ancient and Modern,' which we confess, several years ago now, sent us to the more detailed work of which it was a sort of condensed redact, and of which the volume before us is a revised and greatly enlarged reprint. Sir Edward Strachey has followed up his plan with a thoroughness and method such as Mr. Maurice seldom attained. He is orderly, business-like, and scarcely anything can tempt him to digress. And he shows us by the most careful and sifting process how it was that the Jewish nation after its contact with Assyria and other heathen peoples, and in spite of all its tendency to autocratic rule, and all the abuses bred of it, as among other oriental nations, yet returned constantly to its true rulers the Prophets, who for many ages never failed to appear and lift up their testimony against vice and license of every kind—a fact, which is allied with so many other facts of such a wholly unique and startling character as makes the history of the Jews stand altogether alone. And what is far from being the least remarkable feature in Sir Edward's work is that he incessantly casts direct light on difficulties that may arise any day for the English citizen. We are not quite sure that he has done quite wisely in deleting certain passages in the original preface which presented this with more clearness and fuller illustration than the new one, thus furnishing a sort of helpful key-note for the uncritical reader. Of course it is wholly beyond our compass here even to indicate the many suggestive and valuable points raised, or to present any epitome of the leading ideas. We must content ourselves with sending readers to the book itself, which has drawn in from recent investigation and discovery all the aid they have brought to a thorough treatment of this great topic. We have no hesitation in saying that in its excellent order, its wide scholarship, patient thought, and clear style, this book forms one of the most substantial additions to English theological literature yet made by a layman.

The Period of the Reformation (1517—1648).

By LUDWIG HÄUSSER. Edited by WILLIAM ONCKEN, Professor of History at the University of Giessen. Translated by Mrs. G. STURGE. Two vols. Strahan and Co.

Häusser was Professor of History at Heidelberg. His lectures were taken down in shorthand by Professor Oncken, one of his pupils, and a posthumous series on the French Revolution appeared last year. The present series has been prepared for the press in the same way. Professor Oncken tells us that he has had no materials whatever save his own notes and the literature to which the lecturer referred—materials from these authorities have had to be interpolated in some places to complete narratives and descriptions, and to authenticate statements—otherwise the lectures are a verbatim report. Häusser was a spirited and brilliant lecturer, a man of great learning and broad views. And the present lectures on the 'History of the Reformation in Germany,

Switzerland, France, Denmark, Sweden, and England,' although they do not add anything material to our knowledge, yet, with considerable insight, trace the causes of events, and their manifold influences, so as to enable us intelligently and vividly to comprehend the dynamic force of the Reformation. They also present in a compact and interesting form a history usually spread over many volumes. They have attained a great and deserved popularity in Germany.

An Historical Account of the Macdonnells of Antrim: including Notices of some other Septs, Irish and Scottish. By the Rev. GEORGE HILL, Editor of the Montgomery Manuscripts. Belfast: Archer and Sons.

The author of this fine-looking volume is already well known in the field of Irish antiquarian research as the painstaking editor of the Montgomery Manuscripts, which throw such a flood of light upon the colonization of Ulster in the seventeenth century. The great scheme of the Plantation by James I. had the effect of founding another Scotland in the north-east of Ireland in return for the blessings of Christian civilization carried from the coasts of Antrim and Donegal to the classic isles of Scotland more than twelve hundred years ago. Ever since, there has been a constant intercourse maintained between Antrim and Argyre, on opposite sides of the North Channel, and especially in times of war, when the blazing fires from the headlands on either side summoned their kinsmen across the water to engage in that warfare which seems to have been the congenial pastime of the ancient Celts. Mr. Hill carries us back to the sixth century, and even earlier, to find the origin of those warlike Macdonnells, owning the isles of Scotland and the 'glynns' of Ireland, who are represented in modern times by the amiable and unwarlike Earl of Antrim and a few other distinguished people. These old chiefs were always getting into quarrels either with Irish chiefs or with Scottish kings, or with English deputies, and their achievements are one long chronicle of bloodshed. Mr. Froude's first allusion to the Irish in his general History is to quote the Pander's vision concerning Ireland, which represented it as being always at continual war within itself, with more of robbing, spoiling, preying, and burning than any other country in the world. Mr. Hill's book supplies abundant illustration of the vision; but he likewise elucidates the backward civilization of more than a thousand years by interesting sketches of Celtic life, which contribute greatly to a proper understanding of the Irish difficulty. Though nominally an historical account of the Macdonnells, including the famous Sorley Boy, the book shows us the manner of life among the humbler classes of the Irish both before and after the Reformation. Mr. Hill takes up the cudgels here and there against Mr. Froude, for it is an interesting fact that no Irishman undertakes the study of Celtic antiquities without becoming an impassioned champion of the aborigines; but, apart from questions of controversy, Mr. Hill has brought

to light from State-Papers and family archives, an immense body of information bearing upon the relations of Ireland with England and Scotland for many hundreds of years.

Historical Course for Schools. Edited by EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L. *History of Scotland.* By MARGARET MACARTHUR. *History of Italy.* By WILLIAM HUNT, M.A. *History of Germany.* By JAMES SIME, M.A. Macmillan & Co.

The volumes of Mr. Freeman's Historical Library appear with commendable punctuality. We can speak of them only in a general way. Each volume is a compendium of the history of the country of which it treats; extended description, or highly-wrought incident is impossible. So far as we can judge, each volume is an admirable summary, telling the facts and interspersing them in a simple, straightforward way, and apparently with clear, cool, unbiassed judgments. Indeed, the one thing impossible to the accomplished editor is to permit his name to be connected with anything unscholarly or inaccurate. Miss Macarthur writes the history of Scotland with a straightforward independence and impartiality which is quite refreshing. We feel, however, that we are reading a mere chronicle. Thus, although a sentence suggests a judgment not very favourable to Edward I. not a word is said to enable a judgment of Wallace. The editor tells us that Mr. Sime's volume has had the advantage of a careful revision by Mr. A. W. Ward, 'than whom England can supply no one better fitted to deal with matters of German history of all dates.'

Epochs of History. Edited by EDWARD E. MORRIS, M.A., of Lincoln College, Oxford. *The Era of the Protestant Revolution.* By F. SEEBOHM. *The Crusades.* By the Rev. G. W. COX, M.A. Longman and Co.

Messrs. Macmillan's Historical Course seems to have provoked this of Messrs. Longmans. The two, however, have this difference—the former deals with complete national histories, the latter with special epochs of history. Mr. Seebohm is well-known as a careful historian by his 'Oxford Reformers.' Here he attempts the arduous task of telling the story of the Reformation in a half-crown volume. The principle upon which this is done is not to crowd the page with dates, so as to make it a chronicle, but to reduce these as much as possible, so as to narrate a history, the object being to impress upon the mind the order and significance of the more important events. The first part sketches the general state of Christendom on the eve of the Reformation; the second, the story of the struggle from the revival of learning in Florence to the sack of Rome in 1527. The third part traces the Reformation in various countries, with the counter Reformation which led to the Council of Trent, and sums up the general result; the first movement being connected as cause and effect through the refusal of reform by the leading powers, with the French Revolution in 1793. Maps and a

good index add to the value of this very able little volume.

The 'Crusades' receive an equally efficient treatment at the very able hands of Mr. Cox. The causes leading to the 'Crusades,' from the capture of Jerusalem by the Persian King Khosru II., in 611, are traced down to 1076, the gathering indignation of Christendom and the excitements of it to the Council of Clermont in 1095; then the history of the nine Crusades to the loss of Acre in 1291. A concluding chapter shows the results, direct and indirect, of these religious wars. The series promises to be very valuable.

The French Revolution and First Empire; an Historical Sketch. By WILLIAM O'CONNOR MORRIS. Longmans, Green, and Co.

This volume was written as one of the 'Epochs of History' series. It is published independently, as it was thought more suitable for readers more advanced in knowledge than those provided in that series. It is a rapid and, on the whole, a just estimate of the tragic and crowded page which opens for France in 1789. The author lies under the disadvantage of necessary compression. The incidents and parentheses which relieve the chronicle of events in more extended histories are necessarily excluded. We can, however, conscientiously say that Mr. Morris tells his story in a clear, straightforward, intelligent, and interesting way, and that he has provided for ordinary readers a very convenient synopsis of the greatest and most germinant event of modern history. All the more valuable because, notwithstanding strong Gallican sympathies, the author's moral judgments are high-toned and just. His introductory chapter is an admirable survey of the causes of the French Revolution, and his concluding verdict, after rapidly connecting by a brief sketch the *dénouement* at Waterloo with the equally disastrous campaign of 1870, is, that to France itself, the evil which has resulted from her great Revolution has preponderated over the good; while outside France the good has preponderated over the evil. The judgment is just. France has made experiments by which the rest of the world have profited. Impelled by her inordinate vanity, she has ever aimed at being the example of Europe, as invariably she has ended by being its beacon.

The Scottish War of Independence: its Antecedents and Effects. In Two Volumes. By WILLIAM BURNS. Glasgow: Maclehose.

Mr. Burns' volumes are more than they profess to be. According to him the antecedents of the war of independence stretch back to remotest times, and its effects reach down to our own day. Nor is he far wrong; only early Scotch annals—whether it arises from their own character, or from that of the men who have dealt with them—are inexpressibly dry, and seem constantly to repeat each other; so that at the first blush we are a little disappointed when we open Mr. Burns' big volumes, and find that, instead of the war of indepen-

dence—which affords ample scope for picturesque writing—being at once entered upon, we have not only to follow him through Scottish history from Agricola and the Romans, down through all the controversies about Picts and Scots, but even before that to listen to long disquisitions on the general ideas, &c., that lie on the face of the history. He would probably have found more readers had he been less philosophic and carefully conscientious. As to the main period which the book is concerned with, there is evidence of large research, and, though the writing is not brilliant in the sense that we say Macaulay's and Froude's histories are brilliant, yet he is always readable, and now and then graceful in his descriptive passages. Of course he very decisively sweeps aside the idea that the Scottish wars of independence ended with Bannockburn, to which distinguished historians have given sanction, and he recites with more than his wonted power the Scottish march into England, after that the siege and capture of Berwick, and the English efforts to regain it. As to the effects of the war, he well sums them up. The master idea of the Plantagenets was the conquest of France; but they could not proceed to this whilst there was a risk of Scottish invasions of their own soil, which were imminent so long as the Scots were unsubdued. The conquest of France simply meant the enslavement of England, so that Scottish independence meant English liberty—a point which Macaulay and Dr. Arnold fully agree in. One point which comes out very strongly in these chapters is the light way in which people in those days held their oaths. Many Scotchmen, and the majority of them Churchmen, took vows of allegiance to Edward, but no sooner did they see a favourable chance than they broke them; and especially was this true of the conduct of one familiar name, that of Bishop Lamberton. Mr. Hill Burton has tried to account for this tendency among the priesthood by saying that their familiarity with oaths and vows made them regard them less, which some cynical persons might say holds good yet. But we hardly think this the complete solution of the peculiar circumstance. Mr. Burns' book will hereafter be found a valuable reference book on the subject, for he has been careful to give manifold references.

Mohammed and Mohammedanism. Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in February and March, 1874. By R. BOSWORTH SMITH, M.A., Assistant-Master in Harrow School, &c. Smith, Elder, and Co.

Mr. Smith's lectures are a high eulogium upon Mohammed and his work which we are not inclined to dispute. That Mohammed was a sincere religious man and reformer—some errors, sins, and fanaticisms, perhaps deceptions, of his later life notwithstanding—scarcely admits of doubt in the light of impartial history. Equally certain is it that Mohammedanism has wrought immense benefits to the world in the suppression of polytheism and in the purification of pagan society. This journal

has done full justice to both.* It is not necessary in order to establish the distinctive supernaturalism of Christianity, to deny the religious sincerity or goodness of Mohammed.

Mr. Smith, however, speaks as if all religious systems were equally pure human creations—the result of human instincts and necessities. He justifies this on Max Müller's authority, that it is the only possible scientific method of comparative religions. As well say that the only scientific method of physiology is to ignore the *origines* of men. *Origines* can never be scientifically severed from phenomena. We cannot help thinking that Mr. Smith would have done equal justice to Mohammedanism if he had not shrunk from the assertion of the supernaturalism as well as of the transcendence of Christianity. Indeed, like most champions of wronged reputations he a little overdoes his eulogy, just as Mr. Froude does in his vindication of Henry VIII. We had marked several points for criticism, but must forbear. Mr. Smith's lectures are able and interesting and well informed. With the caution that we have hinted they may be advantageously studied. There is danger, however, lest Mohammed should have claimed for his resuscitated reputation the prophetic authority and rank which belong only to a Moses, an Isaiah, or a Paul.

The Child's History of Jerusalem, from the Earliest Historic Notices to the Present Time. By FRANCIS ROUBILIAC CONDER, C.E. With Fifteen Illustrations, engraved on Wood, by J. W. WHYMPER. W. Isbister and Co.

Inspired probably by the achievements of his son, Lieutenant Conder, of the Palestine exploration, Mr. Conder has written this useful and attractive little history. He is scholar enough to go to the highest authorities for facts; he has vigour of intellect enough to form a just judgment of them; and he has literary art enough to tell his story with attractiveness and simplicity; while his catholic spirit instinctively avoids all that is prejudiced, and enables him to judge fairly; even to eulogize the great Saracen champion, Saladin. While more advanced students will turn to Mr. Palmer's book, not children only but general readers will find all they want to know attractively presented in Mr. Conder's. The illustrations, archæologically as well as artistically, are very good.

Journal of Henry Cockburn; being a continuation of the Memorials of his time, 1831-1854. Two Vols. Edinburgh: Edmondston and Douglas.

The late Lord Cockburn was one of the last of the old race of Scotch lawyers, who were equally distinguished by their legal acumen, literary accomplishments, sagacious common-sense, and powers of wit and humour. His judgments and criticisms on the men and events of his own time are marked by all those qualities which rendered the eminent Scottish judges of the last century and of the early part of

this a power in the land, and constituted them also the genial leaders of the brilliant circles which adorned Edinburgh, before that city had become the essentially provincial town it now is. It is now eighteen years since Lord Cockburn's 'Memorials of his own Time' were given to the world, and the volumes before us are the continuation of that work from the date at which the Memorials stopped till the death of the worthy and witty judge in 1854. 'Since 1830,' wrote Lord Cockburn, 'I have gone on recording occurrences as they have arisen, though often with large intervals. This habit of making a note of things worth observing at the time coincided with the change of life implied in my becoming Solicitor-General, in separating the first part from the subsequent pages.' The Diary or Journal is thus the second part of the Memorials, and was evidently prepared equally with the first with a view to ultimate publication. Appointed Solicitor-General for Scotland under the Liberal administration responsible for the Reform Bill of 1832, the work of preparing the Scotch Reform Bill—which made relatively a greater political change in Scotland than did the English one in England, for only through it can it be said that the Scotch obtained the opportunity of returning their own representatives in any sense whatever—was largely devolved upon Cockburn. He was a true Whig of the old stamp, and was faithful to the best traditions of the Whig school. Accordingly, the Reform Bill was a labour of love to him, and although not insensible to the dangers of democracy, which at that time alarmed so many excellent people, Cockburn was too sagacious not to see that the only way to prevent democratic excesses was to put confidence in the people, and to train them to realize that it is their own interest to perpetuate and extend the heritage of social, civil, and religious liberty which the British Constitution is said to have bestowed on the land, but which has only been obtained through those very reforms which the admirers of the Constitution predicted would destroy it. Cockburn's sketches of the disposition and attitude of the people of Scotland when the Reform Bill at length brought self-government within their reach are of permanent value, and are highly creditable to the inhabitants of that country. The same dogged resolution in view of the ends sought for, the same patience in bearing the ills of the present because they were determined they should be only temporary, and withal, the same deep serious enthusiasm on behalf of liberty, both civil and religious, which have always characterized the Scottish people, were prominently manifest at the time of the first Reform Bill.

There was another great crisis in the history of Scotland with which this journal is very much occupied, and the materials contained in it throw important light on events that have become historical. We refer to the disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843 and the subsequent formation of the Free Church of Scotland, which was the immediate result. During the 'ten years' conflict' that preceded and led up to the Disruption, Cockburn was

* *British Quarterly*, Jan. 1872, art 'Mahomet.'

one of the judges of the Scottish Court of Session, before whom the disputed legal cases were tried which settled the question of the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts against the claims of the popular party in the Church. These cases arose out of the exercise of the right of patronage, and when the Church Courts and Civil Courts took different views there were collisions of jurisdiction between the two, which necessitated an appeal to Parliament. Parliament refused to interfere, and as the judgments of the law-courts seemed to the popular party inconsistent with the maintenance of the independent jurisdiction of the courts of the Church, and no redress could be hoped for from Parliament, secession was resolved upon, the Kirk was split asunder, and nearly five hundred of its best ministers left their stipends, churches, and manse, and came out, not knowing whither they went, in order that they might found a new church where they would have the freedom in spiritual matters which was refused them in the Establishment. Cockburn was one of the minority of the judges who in all the cases that came before the Court of Session held that the Church was substantially in the right, and that the majority of the judges were wrong in law in finding that the ecclesiastical courts could be interfered with and put right in regard to spiritual matters (such as the induction and deposition of ministers) by the law-courts. At this distance of time, when passions have cooled down and it is possible to be impartial, it will be generally admitted that Cockburn has made out a triumphant case for the Free Church seceders, and if the majority of the Court had taken his view there never would have been any secession. It is a tardy acknowledgment of right which is thus rendered, seeing that it comes too late to be of practical use; but the Free Church may well be satisfied with that, and with the bill brought in by a Conservative Government to abolish lay patronage in the Church, as demonstrating that in 1853 they were in the right, and their enemies who poured so much contumely on them altogether in the wrong.

This journal, besides containing an interesting record of contemporary events during important crises in Scottish political and ecclesiastical history, is thus also a monument to the justice and historical propriety of the claims of the Free Church. It throws light on all the thorny questions fought out thirty years ago with such exceeding intensity in Scotland. There is much also in it of a less serious character that will be found full of interest and instruction. The volumes are exceedingly readable throughout, and though they will primarily attract Scottish readers, they contain so much that is of general interest and value that they may be heartily commended to the attention of wider circles as well.

Memoir of Thomas T. Lynch. Edited by WILLIAM WHITE. W. Isbister and Co.

We knew that Mr. Lynch's life was an utterly uneventful one—that he never mingled in society, or sought notoriety of any kind;

but still we confess to a feeling of disappointment that his biography should be so exceedingly meagre. Of course there is one thing which the most original biographer cannot do, if he would be faithful—he must not invent; but we should have felt a little comforted amidst the paucity of materials if Mr. White had favoured us, as we think he might and *could* have done, with something more of an estimate of Mr. Lynch—an analysis of his character, and a more thorough presentation of those singular traits, which, combining to render popularity, in the ordinary sense, impossible to the author of the 'Rivulet,' yet made him a power, an influence, a 'presence' felt and recognised by all who came within his range. It is all very well to let the man 'tell his own story'—as far as possible to speak for himself; but when, admittedly, the materials for doing this efficiently are not in existence, the biographer might well have drawn a little on his own resources and indicated more fully to us the circumstances, the relations, and affinities of thought and feeling which drew him to Mr. Lynch, and justified him in undertaking the duty of biographer. Mr. White writes: 'We have felt safety in defect rather than excess;' and egotism is often enough intolerable; but there is a certain kind of it in the biographer which is only illuminative, and which reveals the subject by honestly revealing the writer. But, after all, there is so much that is original, succinct, devout, high-hearted, tender, suggestive, strongly-Christian in this volume, that it seems ungrateful to grumble. These little notes of Mr. Lynch's—written often in the midst of agony—how sweet and tender and fragrant they are! The dew of gentle holiness is on them, the more that there is nothing of intellectual weakness. How clearly he fixes the real drift of the question, and how aptly he illustrates it, sometimes with the utmost familiarity of reference, making the dark thing so clear that we wonder we never saw it so before. And what felicity and ingenuity of comforting in some of these notes written to the sorrowing! At all this we are often the more surprised in that, associated with rare delicacy of thought or feeling, there is a shrewdness that suggests the experienced man of the world rather than the recluse that Mr. Lynch was. The papers written on the 'Rivulet Controversy,' published in the *Christian Spectator*, and here reprinted with their *naïveté* of smart hitting, their gentle rebuke, and irony, and occasional scathing ridicule, often so neatly closed in a single term, are proof of this, and show what a figure in debate he would have made, had he been blessed with a moderate measure of health, and had circumstances led him in that line. Where did he acquire this practical wisdom? How came it that this man, who lived secluded and suffered much, was wont to charm those who were his friends at once with his almost Thackerayan shrewdness and his delicate poetic suggestiveness, which are so seldom combined? The finding of the reason of this would form an excellent theme for psychological analysis; but for that we have at present no space. All that we can do is to say

how, after our first feeling of disappointment was got over, we were charmed with the quick sympathy, the fine thought, the deep spiritual susceptibilities, the radiant humour and quick wit which made us pass back in memory once more to the days when we were wont, when opportunity offered, to hang on his words, so rich in suggestion and help; for he was a kind of poet-prophet, and could easily divine the mood and mind that he was in contact with, and on occasion would pour forth his wise words—

‘One of
The wealthy men who care not how they give.’

With all his reticence and reserve, there was in him an imperious necessity for self-communication, and, like the true orator, he only needed the ‘fit audience’ to be led to ‘throw forth his soul in kindling speech.’ He was a great conversationalist, linking thought to thought in the most natural yet surprising way, and passing by wonderfully easy stages from grave to gay.

Mr. White’s memoir will be prized by those who knew something of Mr. Lynch in life, but we are afraid that it will not do so much as a different and less reserved work might have done to make him known in circles outside this; but we can thoroughly respect the feelings that dictated the course taken; and perhaps it is, after all, what Mr. Lynch would himself have preferred, for, as Mr. White well says, ‘He had a nice sense of words, a passion for accuracy, and an abhorrence of eulogy that meant little.’

A Memorial of the late Rev. Thomas Binney, LL.D. Edited by the Rev. JOHN STOUGHTON, D.D. Hodder and Stoughton.

Thomas Binney: His Mind Life and Opinions, Doctrinal, Denominational, Devotional, and Practical: interspersed with Anecdotes, Descriptions and Criticisms. By the Rev. E. PAXTON HOOD. James Clarke and Co.

Of Thomas Binney we are not likely to have a complete and acknowledged memoir, for it seems that he distinctly forbade that such should be written. Knowing that, in spite of his strong common sense, his shrewdness, his power of managing men, he had a peculiarly sensitive and irritable temperament that sometimes caused him to shrink almost morbidly from self-revelation, and often gave, to those who did not know him thoroughly, a semblance of hardness, not only of manner, but of nature, we do not altogether wonder at this prohibition. Still it is much to be regretted; for he was a typical man, and one who, in the hand of a biographer with an instinct for the finer traits that often in strong characters only hide themselves under the *brusquerie* they affect, would have made a splendid study. Mr. Paxton Hood, in his rather hurried, but nevertheless, delicate and suggestive sketch, has abundantly proved this. Precluded from reference to many letters and private papers, which in other circumstances might have been available, he has been compelled to construct a mind-life, or character-study, or psychological ground-plan, with

only the aid of what are mainly *public* utterances. He has with considerable tact and discernment thrown in here and there a remark or an anecdote, and he has brought you close to the *man*; but how much closer, could he have but consistently unlocked the stores of private memoranda that must be in existence. Mr. Paxton Hood gives many instances of the untoward, half-repellent elements that lay so close to tender and all-attractive ones in Mr. Binney, and notably in that anecdote of the minister who lost his wife while Mr. Binney was assisting him. So true a response of sympathy did he find in the man whom he at first disliked that his love afterwards knew no bounds. Mr. Binney seemed to distrust effusive sentiment so thoroughly that he had to keep watch over himself; and this watchfulness has imparted a peculiar reserve to his style. It is not cold; there is throughout the note of restrained impatience and passion which, in his preaching, not unfrequently made itself felt in such contrast to his slow analytical processes and his way of pursuing an idea as though it were an enemy and must be conquered, that a slight sense of incongruity might occasionally have been the experience of an unaccustomed hearer. Several persons quoted by Mr. Paxton Hood, confess they were at first so affected. If Mr. Binney had not, together with this peculiarity, been slightly deficient in delicate perception of language, when used as an interpreter of emotion, he would undoubtedly have been a great orator. Even in the exquisite passages Mr. Hood has so judiciously gathered together this is apparent. Here and there, we find the unlucky word too much—the metaphor fulfilled too stringently and too little left for the imagination. Notably is this to be seen in that reference to the child in the eloquent passage in which nature’s *economy* is used to rebut the idea of the soul’s annihilation, where the words ‘moulded and stamped like a new shilling,’ rather lower the value of the beautiful and truly poetic image which preceded them. But many of his sermons were simply master-pieces; two alone, included in the last volume, would amply suffice to rebut the charge of want of culture that has been raised recently. They are closely knit in logical relation, yet relieved by wonderful passages of illustration, pathos, and practical appeal. But, nevertheless, it is well said by Dr. Allon, that his greatness consisted in an unusual and harmonious combination of many gifts, rather than in the possession of any one special faculty. He had powerful common sense, rare self-restraint and self-possession, some imagination that could on great occasions communicate fervour, and he had, above all, the lofty moral susceptibility that controls and yet ministers to fine impulse. His presence will be missed for long from amongst us; for, if it cannot be said that he was properly an orator or poet, he was a man of men, and had the power to draw men’s hearts after him.

Reminiscences of Forty-three Years in India, by Lieutenant-General Sir GEORGE LAWRENCE, K.C.S.I.; *Including the Cabul Disasters, Captivities in Afghanistan and the*

Punjab, and a Narrative of the Mutinies in Rajputana. Edited by W. EDWARDS, H.M.B.C.S. John Murray.

This volume should be read in common with the article on Lord Ellenborough's Administration, which appears in another part of this number of the *British Quarterly*. It is a detailed account of the disastrous and blundering Cabul Expeditions, of which a general political estimate is given in the article. General Sir George Lawrence is one of the illustrious brothers whose names are written so prominently in the historic Annals of India during the last fifty years. His narrative may therefore be strictly relied upon for both its facts and its colouring, while its judgments on Brigadier Shelton, whom it convicts of sheer and disastrous incapacity, and of General Elphinstone, whose practical imbecility is extenuated only by his broken state of health, severe as they are, are doubtless attempered by the careful justice and the grave sense of responsibility which pertain to the very name which the writer bears. We scarcely know which feeling has been excited the more strongly, as we have read the romantic and tragic incidents here recorded—deep sympathy with the sufferers, especially Lady Macnaghten and her heroic female companions, or burning indignation at the political and military incapacity which caused them. It is clear that, had it not been for the latter, again and again the disasters of the campaign might have been avoided, as well as the annihilation of our brave army. No passage of more heroic, and tragic, and unnecessary endurance is to be found in our Indian history.

A Brief Memoir of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, with Selections from her Correspondence and other unpublished Papers. By the Lady ROSE WEIGALL. With an Original Portrait from a Miniature by STEWART. John Murray.

This little volume is the expansion of an article in a recent number of the *Quarterly Review*, which, on its appearance, attracted considerable attention, in virtue of the freshness of its materials, and the evident access of its writer to original sources of information. It was founded on letters addressed by the Princess to the writer's mother. We remember, some forty years ago, a vapid court-life of the Princess Charlotte, full of fulsome laudations, and therefore utterly worthless. This little volume produces a much higher impression of her natural abilities and honest good sense, by a legitimate process of evidence and criticism. The task was a delicate and a painful one, involving a further exposure of the utter worthlessness of the father of the Princess, and of his miserable family history. The Queen has shown her good sense, as well as her high moral feeling, in sanctioning such a publication. Even were it desirable to throw a veil over the villainies of George IV. it is impossible. It is better, therefore, that the truth should be known on unimpeachable authority. Our impression of the natural abili-

ties and disposition of the Princess is heightened by her letters. A young girl born to such a destiny, with a mother whose only claim to her respect and affection was that she had a worse husband, who, indeed, never knew the love and care of either father or mother, is supremely to be pitied. The impression given of her loneliness and misery is most pathetic. A clever child with a certain brusque and fearless honesty of character, she soon became an object of positive aversion to her selfish and base-hearted father, and cast about for sympathy and friendship wherever she could find them. Even her grandmother was a stern and intolerable martinet who, strange to say, seems to have shared the feeling of her wretched son towards the poor child. Old George III. again excites a feeling of moral respect for his sympathy for her, and for the discomfort of his own family life. The Princess found fidelity and affection among the ladies about her, and seems to have had a faculty for inspiring them. Her relations to Lady Weigall's mother were those of confidential and affectionate friendship. It is a melancholy record of a young life of promise; but in the light of subsequent history, what in comparison with the then royal family seemed the irreparable calamity of her early death has proved a blessing. Her necessary defects of true education would have made her rule as a sovereign, doubtful as to its influences, save indeed for the wisdom of her husband; while her death opened the way to the throne for a Queen, whose excellency of character, moulded to the utmost by a wise and virtuous education, and ripened by a happy marriage, has given us the best sovereign that ever blest a nation's life by her rule.

Facta non Verba. By the Author of "Contrasts." W. Isbister and Co.

Had it not been for the controversial element unwisely introduced into this little work it would, as we think, have been uncommonly interesting. The writer, however, lays himself so open to the charge of being one-sided, that his intention of interesting a wide circle in the great charitable works of certain Protestant ladies must be largely frustrated. How can the presentation in a general way of the results of a dozen Protestant women's work aid us to a decision on the question raised here between them and Roman Catholic women-workers, especially when we do not have even the pretence of a statement of what the latter have actually accomplished? But even if we had, we do not believe that the process would be satisfactory. It proceeds on a wrong idea altogether; and its main positions are not susceptible of verification, even if all the facts were at hand. This grumble once over and the introduction passed, we are simply delighted with the biographic sketches of Miss Gilbert, the blind daughter of the late Bishop of Chichester, who founded the Asylum for the Blind; of Miss Johanna Chandler, the founder of the Paralytic Hospital; of Sarah Robinson, the friend of the soldier; of Miriam Harris, the poor Jews' teacher; of Adeline Cooper, who has done so much for the Westminster

'coasters'; and of several others. The story of their lives is a wonderful commentary on the ways of Providence. Though the writer's style inclines to be dry, he is now and again touched with quiet enthusiasm that is more effective than eloquence could be. Especially is this so when he tells of Miss Rye's emigration scheme, and Miss Mary Carpenter's works in Bristol. In several cases, however, his work is hardly up to date, and noticeably is this so in the cases of Mrs. Hilton, Miss Robinson, and Miss Carpenter.

Spain and the Sponiards. By N. L. THIEBLIN, 'Azamat-Batuk.' Two vols. Hurst and Blackett.

Vizcaya; or, Life in the Land of the Carlists at the Outbreak of the Insurrection, 1872-1873; with some account of the Iron Mines in the vicinity of Bilbao. Henry S. King and Co.

No evil is wholly unrelieved. A war is a costly process of teaching the world geography and ethnology; but there can be no doubt that the Crimean, Abyssinian, Central Asian, and recent European wars, have taught people more about these respective countries than all that they learned at school. The Carlist War, in its turn, is producing quite a literature. 'Special Correspondents' are everywhere, and as they write under peculiar advantages, and with grave responsibilities, their letters are specially well-informed, and are usually written with care. The brilliant "Azamat-Batuk," whose contributions to the *Pall Mall* attracted so much attention, and with whom the readers of this review are not unacquainted, here proclaims to the world his true name. As the correspondent of the *New York Herald* he visited the country of the Carlists, took up his abode in the Carlist camp, and under the special tuition of the noble old General Elio, to whom he was influentially commended, he acquired a good deal of knowledge of Carlist affairs. General Elio is now seventy years old; his life has been spent in the service of the Carlists; he is their ablest leader, and has been a good deal in England; hence he can appear in Bayonne, when the police are 'wanting him,' effectually disguised as an old English gentleman. The world little suspects the beggarly condition of some of its disturbing elements. Nothing could be more disorganised and poverty-stricken than the Carlist party at the outset. M. Thieblin was unwittingly the means of smuggling a small gun, the Carlist park of artillery, over the French frontier. He testifies also to the squalor, superstitions, and bravery of the Carlist forces. Although he interweaves general descriptions of the country, and historical retrospects with his narrative, his book is strictly an account of the civil war which is desolating Spain. We need not say that it is vivacious and interesting; nothing that is dull can come from the author's pen; but we may say that it is also very informing. Beneath all his brilliancy of description, M. Thieblin is careful in collecting and sifting his information. He is indefatigable in pursuit of it, and has that degree of general

culture and specially of knowledge of European affairs which qualifies him to test and use it.

Not only is this the most graphic book about Spain of late years, it is the most useful; it tells us exactly what we wish to know. Wherever he went his introductions procured him a welcome. The Carlists had clearly the sympathies of the country; supplies came in almost magically, while the Republicans were starved out. Of the moderation and humanness of the Carlists, both leaders and followers, he speaks more favourably than we were prepared for. He has no great faith in Don Carlos himself, with whom he had conversations, whose popular qualities are superficial rather than intrinsic, and who plays at royalty in a way that is not only childish but injurious. He evidently thinks old Elio worth a hundred Carlos'. The Cura plays a great part in the Carlist war. He is something like the militant bishops of the middle ages, ready either for a mass or a fray. Of Santa Cruz M. Thieblin says a good deal. Of Spanish ladies he speaks in most eulogistic terms; they are, in their best specimens, as virtuous as the most virtuous of our countrywomen, as graceful and witty as the most charming Frenchwomen, and as beautiful as the most handsome Italians, the Queen Isabella—'Isabella the innocent'—notwithstanding.

He had access to Serrano, Castelar, Figueras, and other leaders, who seem to have been very open with him, even to confidentiality. He was received into Serrano's house, but this does not prevent him passing severe strictures on his treatment of the Queen, and from the expression of supreme contempt for him. The brilliant descriptions, masterly portraits, and important and well-arranged information of M. Thieblin's book, distinguish it very greatly from books of its class. It has the importance of history, and the fascination of romance. We might quote *ad libitum* did our space permit; we could scarcely fall upon a wrong page for the purpose.

Vizcaya, or Biscay, is a very different work. The authoress, Miss (?) Burges, visited the north of Spain in the autumn and winter of 1872, kept a journal, and wrote letters home, from which the earlier part of the book is compiled. But she frankly confesses that she was able to form but a very superficial estimate of the people. She had recourse therefore to relatives who have resided in the country, and from materials collected by them she has compiled a narrative of events in the beginning of 1873. Thus the history of the present Carlist insurrection from its very beginning is presented to us. Some concluding chapters on the people, the country, its mineral resources, &c., have been contributed by a gentleman who resided for two years in that part of Spain, and is otherwise well qualified to supply information. The book does not pretend to literary brilliancy; but in a plain, unaffected way it contains much valuable and interesting information, all the more intelligible from the good map of Bilbao which accompanies it.

Through Russia. From St. Petersburg to Astrakan and the Crimea. By Mrs. GUTHRIE. Hurst and Blackett.

Since Lady Duff Gordon's 'Letters from Egypt' we have not had, from a lady, so clever and picturesque a book of travels as this is. Mrs. Guthrie and her daughter travelled as 'unprotected females,' but with perfect safety and comfort; and she bears testimony to the courtesy and kindness and manifold excellency of the Russian people—the important matter of cleanliness always excepted, for everybody is dirty. Mrs. Guthrie would not have complained had they washed but once a week; as it is, their dirtiness is a perpetual offence, and almost as perpetual a theme in her book. The travellers proceeded, armed with good introductions, from Stockholm to St. Petersburg; thence to Moscow and Nijni-Novgorod, at which they were at the time of the great fair; thence down the Volga to Astrakan, back again to Tsaritsyn, across from the Volga to the Don, down which they proceeded by Taganrog and Kertch to Constantinople. Mrs. Guthrie draws largely upon all sorts of authorities for her information, and occasionally falls into amusing errors, which, of course, those who think that the province of criticism is to find fault, have made much of. As a rule, her information is carefully compiled, and her descriptions are delightful in their crisp freshness and vivacity. Perhaps an undue space is devoted to St. Petersburg, at least we might think so if Russian life there were not so admirably photographed. Friends at the French Embassy procured for the travellers access to whatever they wished to see, and they did their sight-seeing bravely; better descriptions of St. Isaac's and other churches, of public buildings, gardens, &c., we have rarely read. The religious character of the Russians struck Mrs. Guthrie very much, as it does most travellers. The marvellous fair of all nations at Nijni-Novgorod is most graphically described, as is the voyage down the Volga, perhaps the most interesting part of the journey. But we must forbear all attempt to specify, and content ourselves with a hearty recommendation of a book which no one will open without reading through.

South by West; or, Winter in the Rocky Mountains, and Spring in Mexico. Edited, with a preface, by the Rev. CHARLES KINGSLEY, F.L.S. F.G.S., Canon of Westminster. With Illustrations. Isbister and Co.

The first thing that strikes one in reading this book is the dash and daring independence of a young lady, who could trust herself to the risks of a journey over the Rocky Mountains and through a portion of Mexico; which is certainly not by any means an elysium for travellers, notwithstanding that Canon Kingsley, in the preface, gets into raptures over the exceeding beauty and the rich possibilities of the country. He tells us that 'the time for developing the vast resources of that country is close at hand. It possesses every earthly gift, save—for the present at least—the power of

using them,' which we fancy would with most ladies have been sufficiently deterrent. 'The border fringe of ruffianism' has not yet 'retreated before that most potent of civilizers, the railroad,' which is destined to 'pour in from the distant region of the old states a perpetual reinforcement of the good, to drive the bad further and further into yet more desolate wildernesses.' This gives a glimpse of the amenities of Mexican travel:—'As there are some bad places between Zapotlan and Segula, for the first part of the road we kept our arms out. There was no light for a couple of hours, except from the stars; but we could not sleep; every nerve seemed strained to catch some sight or sound which might denote robbers; and the Southern Cross shining down on us in its calm beauty seemed almost a mockery of our disturbed and anxious feelings. When we stopped to change mules, especially, we were on the look out, as the *ladrones* are very fond of making a rush on the coach as it stands still. A regular plan was arranged in case of attack. We were all to fire at once, without giving them time to come near. "Fire low, and keep cool," were the orders. Then we ladies, if the ruffians did not run at once, were to throw ourselves on the floor, and fire from under cover, while the gentlemen got out to fight.' . . . 'At sunrise we reached Segula, a pretty old town, and changed mules. Here the news was worse and worse. The Government troops were marching within the town, beyond them the Pronunciados were in force on the road; and beyond them again the country was swarming with robbers, in bands of any number, from 2 to 200. Leaving Segula all the arms were hidden, in hopes of saving them, should the Pronunciados want us. The rifles were wrapped in a *serape*, and stowed under the back seat; but we kept our pistols on us, concealing them under our clothes.'

But in spite of these alternate 'hopes and fears,' and the indescribable joltings of the poor waggons, over worse than corduroy roads, the author is cheered by a very little comfort, and ordinary hospitality makes her enthusiastic. She is a genuine traveller, making the best of things—keeping her eyes open, and cheerily waiting for what will happen next; and even when the vile Mexican cooking brings tears into her eyes and a lump into her throat, she can very soon smile through it all, and half-laugh at her own weakness. The book abounds with picturesque description, naïve, nice touches of character and manners, and is in every way most pleasant reading. The only fault we are inclined to find is, that in some parts of the volume the diary might have been retouched and retrenched slightly; but perhaps some of the uncommon freshness *might* have vanished in the process; so on second thoughts we say 'tis best as it is.

Campaigning on the Ocus, and the Fall of Khiva. By J. A. MACGAHAN, Correspondent of the *New York Herald*. With Map and numerous Illustrations. Sampson Low and Co.

Mr. MacGahan has the disadvantage of being

late in the field. The Russian campaign in Turkestan has been already told. He has, however, something to tell; for, unlike Mr. Ker—the unfortunate correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, to the accuracy of whose book, however, he testifies—he, after heroic efforts, joined General Kaufman's army just in time to cross the Oxus with it, and to witness the fall of Khiva. It is, however, a very tame story. The Khivans surrendered the city without a blow. They might have defended, with immense loss to the Russians, the difficult passage of the river; they might have done great damage by fortifying the gardens; they need not have surrendered without fighting the strong fortress of Hazar-Asp. Except some skirmishing with the brave Turcomans, there was really no resistance at all. The marvel is how the Khan contrived to hold the latter in any kind of subordination; control over them he had none. Had the Khivans been as brave as they, Khiva would never have been taken. Strange to say, they were always ready to fight for the Khan—that is, when not fighting against him—although they are a sort of free lances in his territory who will neither pay taxes nor bear burdens. They have never been subjected to any regular form of government. After the fall of Khiva, General Kaufman levied a heavy tribute upon them—about £42,000, which Mr. MacGahan considers was relatively more than that levied by Germany on France—and, upon their hesitating, took the collection of it into his own hands. We suspect their warlike character, which threatened the peaceable occupation of the country by the Russians, influenced his decision. As with the Mamelukes in Egypt, it was necessary to break their power at any cost. Mr. MacGahan thinks this decision was wrong, and that, as the noble race, it would have been better to have won them by conciliation. General Kaufman was guilty of a gross breach of faith in seizing and imprisoning twelve Yomuds who were sent to negotiate with him. It was in the Yomud country that the chief fighting took place. Its invasion was a wanton outrage, and the course of the Russians was one of gratuitous devastation and massacre—everything that would burn was set fire to. This part of the narrative has made our blood boil.

After two or three preliminary sentences in the manner of the *Daily Telegraph*, Mr. MacGahan settles down to his pace and tells his story in a straightforward way; although, Scotch-American as he is, he never masters the mystery of 'would' and 'should.' The book is well illustrated, and is an interesting contribution to the history of a campaign likely, from its results, to be a very memorable one.

The Story of the Ashantee Campaign. By WINWOOD READE, The Times Special Correspondent. Smith, Elder, and Co.

Mr. Winwood Reade seems to have set before him as the chief *motif* of his book the reduction of the military reputation of Sir Garnet Wolseley. The allusions to him are one continuous snarl. He was constantly making blunders, both political and military, and for-

tune seems to have been proverbially blind in the events which have built up his reputation. We do not profess to judge ourselves—this would be possible only to a competent military critic who took part in the operations. Sir Garnet may be all that Mr. Reade says he is for anything we know. But we may say that the presumption is against Mr. Reade, when he makes us feel that his back is up, and he is prepared to hiss whenever Sir Garnet is introduced into the narrative; the grudging commendations and the carping criticisms are too uniform and congenial to be explained by the necessary justice of an impartial and reluctant censor; only in justice to Mr. Reade we must say that three or four of the special correspondents present have written books containing some unfavourable criticisms of Sir Garnet, especially of his neglect of transport-service; but they are mild compared with Mr. Reade's. Sir Garnet Wolseley will not lack defenders; we will only say that we can hardly wonder at the dislike of special correspondents by military commanders, when they are subjected to such kinds of disparagement, nor that Sir Garnet himself speaks of them as the 'pests of modern armies.' On the other hand, Mr. Reade impresses us with the great blunder made by the English Government in not having entrusted the expedition to him. His genius and knowledge would have eclipsed all others, and his bravery, which he says always led him to the front, and compelled admiration from officers engaged there, would have made short work with the Ashantees.

For the rest, he was present throughout the operations on the Gold Coast, and at the taking of Coomassie, and he tells the story with a good deal of knowledge of the country and people acquired during his previous visits; but the tone of his book is not pleasant.

An Historical Atlas of Ancient Geography, Biblical and Classical. Compiled under the superintendence of Dr. Wm. SMITH and Mr. GROVE. Part IV. John Murray.

Pictorially, the two gems of the fourth part of this superb work are 'Sinai' and 'Asia Minor.' The delicacy of the engraving and the beauty of the shading are beyond all praise—they please the eye like an exquisitely toned picture. Of course the map of the peninsula of Sinai has been constructed from the recent ordnance survey—many names hitherto undetermined fill in the well-known outline; and, in addition to the general map, enlarged sections are given of Serbal, Sinai, and Petra respectively. It is gratifying that the conclusions of the ordnance survey respecting the journeys of the Israelites, and the scene of the Law-giving, confirm general tradition and the conclusions of the most scholarly and sober travellers, and discredit the fantastic theories about Serbal, Seba'iyyeh, and El-et-Tih respecting the law-giving, of those men in whom a constitutional tendency to singularity, and to go off at an angle, blends with an excess of imagination and enthusiasm. In every science and philosophy men are found proposing wild theories—the Pyramids, the Inscriptions of

the Wady Mokatteb, the scene of the Law-giving, all have their expounders of fanciful theories.

The third map is of the Northern Coast of Africa from the Atlantic to the Gulf of Suez. The fourth is extremely interesting. It presents at one view a dozen geographical systems of the ancients, from Homer to Ptolemy, the interest of which would have been enhanced by some indications of the chronology of the different systems. It is interesting to note that while Herodotus places the source of the Nile near Mount Atlas in the north-west corner of Africa, Homer represents it as rising in the south, and places his Pygmæi nearly where Dr. Schweinforth has found diminutive men.

Two maps represent the kingdoms of the successors of Alexander the Great; the first as it was in the middle of the third century, the second as it was after the battle of Magnesia (190 B.C.); and two others the Roman Empire, first in its greatest extent, and next after its division into the Eastern and Western Empire. The remaining map is a very fine map of the Egypt of the ancients, as far south as 22° N. lat. One is struck with the crowded nomenclature of the valley of the Nile. Little indeed has here been added to ancient knowledge.

We can only again express our admiration of this *chef d'œuvre* of cartography in which the artist, the scholar, and the virtuoso will equally delight.

Genealogical Tables Illustrative of Modern History. By HEREFORD B. GEORGE, M.A., F.R.G.S. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press.

Mr. George has developed a very useful conception in a way that will make his book almost indispensable to the historical student. He has constructed tables of the genealogies of 'every reigning house, the personal relations of which have been of any importance in European history,' and has included 'every name of any historical note connected with their families.' These he has arranged in well-defined chronological sections, and by a very simple system of marks has made each table lucid to even the least instructed student. At a single glance he enables us to see the belongings of every personage; so that the student, instead of having to trace genealogies through pages of history, can instantly acquire the information he wants. For imperfectly informed readers it is an invaluable guide, and for business men an invaluable economy of time. Lists of the Popes, who have no genealogies, and of the chief Oriental Sovereigns, are appended.

How I found Livingstone. Travels, Adventures, and Discoveries in Central Africa; including four months' residence with Dr. Livingstone. By HENRY M. STANLEY. New and Cheaper Edition. Thoroughly revised throughout, with a Memoir of Dr. Livingstone. (Sampson Low and Co.) The publishers tell us in their advertisements that this edition is issued by Mr. Stanley's special desire, and that

he has carefully removed from it all unpleasant personal references. He might have further improved it. The bumptious chapter—about his commission from Mr. Bennett, for example, might have been spared—and other bouncing things, to the account of which Mr. Stanley must lay whatever distrust his book at first inspired. We are wishful, however, to render all credit to the man whose determination and pluck discovered the great traveller and won his gratitude. Mr. Stanley's name will ever be deservedly connected with Dr. Livingstone. The memoir is done in good taste, and the volume is one that cannot be spared from the library of African travellers.—*Life, Journals and Letters of Henry Alford, D.D., late Dean of Canterbury.* Edited by His Widow. Third Edition. (Rivingtons.) We need only welcome this third and cheaper edition of the pleasant memoirs of one of the most estimable public men of modern times; who, in addition to his important contributions to literature, has, perhaps, done more than any of his contemporaries by his genuine catholicity of heart, and by the utter absence of priestly assumption, to bind together the dis severed sections of English Protestantism. Just as the man was loved, so memorials of him will be prized by all catholic-minded men.—*Westward by Rail; a Journey to San Francisco and Back, and a Visit to the Mormons.* By W. F. RAE. Reprinted with large additions from the *Daily News*. Third and Cheaper Edition. (W. Isbister and Co.) It is enough to mention this cheap and improved form of Mr. Rae's admirable work, which, after having used it as a travelling guide-book, we very heartily commended on the appearance of the first edition.

POLITICS, SCIENCE, AND ART.

Some Leading Principles of Political Economy Newly Expounded. By J. E. CAIRNES, M.A. Macmillan and Co.

The strongest proof of the complete mastery obtained by Mill in the field of political economy is found in the number of schools which have founded themselves on his teaching. In this respect he is almost as rich a fountain-head of streams of thought as was Socrates himself, although the Plato of Mill is yet to come. Professor Fawcett takes up and develops his notions on the subjects of the labouring classes and the position of women. Mr. Jevons works out the connection first traced by Mill between the laws of wealth and Utilitarianism, and the materials of Mr. Thornton's theories of wages and capital are to a great extent borrowed from his master. To Professor Cairnes belongs a task more important in the result than any of these, to develop and expound the theory and logical methods of political economy as understood in the school of Ricardo and Mill. The present is not the first, although it is by far the most important

work of Professor Cairnes in this field; his excellent Dublin lectures five years ago proved how much might be hoped from his pen, and the essays since published have on the whole added to his reputation. But the present book is a far more ambitious attempt. Professor Cairnes maintains that the *axiomata media* of the science are in many cases hastily assumed and incapable of being maintained against criticism. The broad principles which are the foundation of political economy, he asserts on the contrary to be firmly fixed and above assault; nor does he deny the truth of the final conclusions of the orthodox economic school. But between these extremes is a broad field where errors lie thick. Professor Cairnes is certainly right in supposing that in political economy, as in most other well-grounded sciences, this middle ground is the important one, and in its correct survey lies all hope of future advance. And he possesses three most excellent qualities for the task of testing principles. The first of these is a clear head and a hatred of all that is intellectually slipshod and logically inconsistent. The second is power to resist the temptation of trying for numerical results. Professor Cairnes will never consent to abandon the logical for the mathematical method, and thus he avoids the specious appearance of exactness and practicability which ruins some otherwise estimable works on political economy. The third qualification, and not the least, is a clear and agreeable style. As a set-off against these virtues it should be added that, like most thinkers of the class, he is not the best guide through the tangled mazes of facts, in which his intellectual sympathies sometimes lead him to ride theories too hard.

Professor Cairnes, instead of beginning like Mill with the theory of the production of wealth, starts at once with exchange. And from his own point of view he is quite right, for until value is explained he cannot move a step. He opposes Professor Jevons' reduction of value to utility on very much the same grounds which have led many moralists to object to the reduction of virtue to utility, and with no more success, for after all the question is one of terms, and if a man chooses to use utility in a wide enough sense, he may make it include value and virtue and everything else. Probably Bastian's definition of value as the 'relation of two services exchanged' is the best yet given. Professor Cairnes proceeds to distinguish very justly what he terms normal from market value, and to set forth the laws which determine both of these in the case of all articles. The most noteworthy feature of this exposition is his division of the population into sets or castes practically non-competing one with another, and his argument to prove that articles produced within the limits of those various castes need not exchange one with another in proportion to their cost of production, but may follow other influences.

Proceeding to wages, a subject which tests to the utmost all theories of value, Professor Cairnes attacks Mr. Thornton, against whom he tries to maintain the existence of a wage-

fund. But that which Mr. Thornton asserted was only that the wage-fund was capable of indefinite expansion, and that it could be larger or smaller at a given stage of the national wealth, and as Professor Cairnes would probably allow both of these points, there does not seem to be a dispute between the two authorities except as to degree. It is much the same again in the discussion of trades-unions. Mr. Thornton had asserted that trades-unions can raise wages. Professor Cairnes denies that this is possible except temporarily during periods of rapid economic progression. But as trades-unions have never tried to raise wages save in such times, Mr. Thornton's statement is at least excusable. He has probably made it too absolute, but then what economists call the stationary state is so far from all our thoughts that it probably did not occur to him to consider what the result of its advent would be. And if Professor Cairnes meant more than this, that rises in wages produced by unions can only be very temporary, surely facts are against him.

Professor Cairnes' third part deals with international trade, and he seems to us especially happy when he points out why the theory of international trade, although not radically different from that of home trade, yet offers some remarkable differences. The chief causes of these are the barriers of political organization, of patriotism, and religion, which prevent labour and capital from flowing freely over all countries. Space forbids us to enter further into this interesting subject: we can only, in concluding, thank Professor Cairnes for a work which is perhaps to the student of the present day second in importance only to the immortal treatises of Adam Smith and Mill, and hope that nevertheless criticism may thoroughly sift his teachings before they are put on the shelf amid the works of the *orthodox* school.

Glances at New England. A Lecture delivered in the United States and in Canada. By EDWARD JENKINS, M.P. Henry S. King and Co.

If Mr. Jenkins tells us some unpalatable truths, such as that England is given over to the domination of vested interests, of which the Church of England is one of the most conspicuous illustrations, that does not seem to us in itself, at all events, to supply reason for abusing him. His teaching is nothing new, certainly; nor do we think there is anything new in exposing the dodges of guardians, the terrible burdens of pauperism and over-population, and the hopeless suffering and distrust that has led the most helpless of all classes to rise in a revolt that threatens soon to make bread dear for us all. Nor, of course, was it unpardonable that, being a visitor of the Americans, he should say a kind and complimentary word about their institutions. There is perhaps now and then in this lecture an air of over-confidence, as if reform were easier than it really is; whereas Mr. Jenkins both at the end and at the beginning tells us distinctly that reform must necessarily be far more difficult in an old country than in a new one, and

gives very good reasons for it. The lecture contains a deal of truth smartly put; but, strange to say, the preface, by far the worst written part, is that for which Mr. Jenkins cannot claim any allowance on the ground of not having seen the proof, as was the case with the body of the lecture. There is scarcely a sentence here which has not a fault.

De l'Émigration des Chinois au point de Vue des Intérêts Européens. Par ED. MADIÉRE DE MONTJAU.

The French have done much to advance political science. They have also founded powerful colonies in America and elsewhere. That they have not retained many of those colonies was through political errors. They now feel anxious respecting Saigou. This colony has not been hitherto a success. After several years' trial it has been found to be more expensive than profitable. The only hope for it now is in Chinese immigration. On such a subject French minds can speculate well. We hope they may succeed by judicious arrangements in providing the colony with a sufficient supply of Chinese sugar cultivators. The French now feel that the hope of the colony is in sugar planting, and that they cannot expect the natives to labour efficiently in this branch of industry. They cast wishful glances to Swatow, for they know that in the eastern part of the Province of Canton, and also in the north and south portions of Fukien close by, for many centuries sugar cultivation has flourished.

Meditating on this subject M. de Montjau, after some years' experience in China and Japan, has published a pamphlet of fourteen pages on the subject of Chinese emigration.

The establishment of steamer lines of communication between China and distant countries during the last twenty-five years has given a powerful impulse to emigration. A thousand a month go to San Francisco, and there are now 70,000 Chinese in the State of which that city is the capital. In the Sandwich Islands, as the native race dies off, the Chinese arrive and commence their multifarious industries. They are on the sugar estates of Louisiana and the rice plantations of South Carolina. They are making boots and shoes in New England. Pupils sent from Shanghai by the provincial governor are attending American schools and colleges, in order to master modern science and the English language. In Australia Chinese gardeners are supplying the towns-people with vegetables. In New Guinea and New Caledonia the employers of Chinese agricultural labourers declare that they are perfectly content with them. The wonderful railway that connects Chicago and San Francisco, and brings the eastern and western shores of the United States within seven days of each other, could not have been constructed without Chinese labourers.

In the old times when Chinese junks, Malay praus, and Arabian ships were the only craft seen in the waters of the Eastern Archipelago, the Chinese began to colonize those beautiful

islands and shores. They were not attracted by the beauty they saw there, but by commercial instinct and the desire the industrious feel to obtain a good return for their labour. They went to Siam, to Java, to the Straits, to the Philippine Islands in specially large numbers. At the same time they have also for centuries been cultivating large portions of Mongolia and Manchuria on the north of their fatherland. At present the progress they make in Japan is most remarkable. While the Japanese love to appear in foreign costume, make new laws, start newspapers, drink lemonade, and manufacture English beer, the Chinese are quietly getting possession of the exchange shops, the export of copper and of fish, the building of foreign houses, the trade of the inland sea, and various occupations in the service of foreign employers, as exchanges, marketing agents, domestics, and artificers.

In all countries, even where they are cruelly treated and deceived, the Chinese emigrants contrive, some of them, to grow rich and influential; and they are characterized by a striking spirit of association for mutual aid, which, says our author, has nothing in it analogous in its nature to the European spirit of association. This we doubt. A chamber of commerce defends the privileges of the mercantile class. So does a Chinese commercial guild. A chamber of commerce represents before the governing authorities the class of traders and employers of labour. So does the Chinese guild. But there are differences. The Chinese guild attends to the worship of idols and funeral ceremonies on behalf of members of the association. This the European chamber of commerce would never think of doing.

The French writer does only justice to the Chinese character when he praises them. 'The Chinese is good at everything. He is an admirable sailor, an admirable cultivator of the soil, an able artisan, domestic, spy, and negotiator. He is also a most capable merchant and banker. Can you think that a race having so many aptitudes, joined to a prodigious activity, that lives, whether rich or poor, with an unequalled economy in regard to food, clothing, house accommodation, and expenses for pleasure; possessed, moreover, of great muscular strength and capability of bearing climates reputed unhealthy for Europeans, which, in addition, is characterized by the love of gain, a passion for travelling, few wants and great power of endurance, will not prolong itself and pass far beyond the limit hitherto attained by it in colonizing the world?'

The facts and opinions given in this *brochure* are worthy of careful study. Those who wish to foresee and estimate correctly the main factors in the world's future history cannot afford to neglect the subject of Chinese emigration.

Buddhism: its Historical, Theoretical, and Popular Aspects. In Three Lectures. By E. J. EITEL, Ph.D., of the London Missionary Society. Trübner and Co.

Feng-shui; or, the Rudiments of Natural Science in China. By E. J. EITEL, Ph.D., of

the London Missionary Society. Trübner and Co.

Studies of the kind exemplified in these pamphlets are of great interest at the present time. The scientific study of religions has begun, and is daily advancing. An author possessed of a fresh and retentive mind, and residing for many years in the East, is able, if he examine *con amore* the religious ideas of the people, to convey much valuable information to European readers.

We do not wonder that Dr. Eitel grows eloquent in treating on Buddhism. Of all heathen religions this is the most sympathizing with human woe, and the most missionary in its organization and in its history. The character of Shâkyamuni, as a lover of mankind, and a great moral teacher, stands out in grand relief, the loftiest and most imposing figure in Indian history. To draw attention to this man and his work, and to the marvellous development of his system after his entrance into the Nirvana, as his followers euphemistically call his death, is to do a good thing, for the English public needs to know more on these subjects.

What Barthelémy St. Hilaire has done for French readers with a classic elegance of style, Dr. Eitel has aimed to accomplish in briefer form for England. In lectures of a popular cast he has thrown together a large selection of facts, the fruits of much reading. Some of his statements are questionable. 'Buddhism has fulfilled a great mission, which it was appointed to fulfil by the providence of God.' Speaking of the savageness of the Mongols, he says, 'they were brought under the influence of morality by those indefatigable Buddhist zealots for whom no mountain was too high, no desert too dreary.' 'The strong point of Buddhism lies in its morality, and this morality is equal to the non-Christian morality of our civilized world.'

We would rather say that Buddhism is a human attempt, on a vast scale, to do that in the way of redemption which only God, in the Christian revelation, can do for mankind. The Mongols were worn out by the excess of their military violence; their empire was too great to be ruled, and no victorious people was ever so easily conquered. Their power decayed because they are not a strong people. They are weak in character, in intellect, and in morality. Happy would it have been for them if Buddhism had made them moral. It has not done so; no class of Asiatics are more immoral than the Mongol Lamas. Further, the moral system of Confucius is much more truly moral than that of Buddha. Buddhism denies the immutable distinctions of morality, and the modern Confucianist attacks Buddhism on the ground of its practical nullification of the duty of filial piety and of loyalty to the prince.

The second work belongs more to the category of religion and superstition than to that of natural science. The author would have done better to call his book an account of Chinese geomancy. This treatise takes the reader into the midst of Chinese thought of the modern cast; as, in the absence of science, it exercises

itself wildly on the physical aspects of nature. All intelligent Chinese disbelieve profoundly in Feng-shui. To this fact the author does not seem to have drawn attention. But the multitude of ignorant believers in it is countless, and the absurdity of the doctrine unparalleled. Everywhere in the universe there are supposed to be lucky and malignant forces moving in certain directions. The geomancers claim to be able to attract to graves and houses the lucky influences, and avert from them the evil ones. Truly science has a mission to teach as well as Christianity. While the Chinese populace continues ignorant, and open to delusion, there may always occur a repetition of the horrors of the Tientsin massacre. Let the English reader ponder in Dr. Eitel's pamphlet the teachings of the Feng-shui, that farrago of nonsense, half Hindoo and half Chinese, and ask himself if it is strange that rumours of witchcraft and poisoning should spread like an epidemic over the Chinese land, springing from infinitesimally small causes, but producing vast evils in society.

Higher Schools and Universities in Germany.
By MATTHEW ARNOLD, D.C.L. Macmillan and Co.

Mr. Arnold takes occasion, from the publication of a second edition of a portion of his report on German Schools and Universities, to launch a long preface *suo more* at the unfortunate heads of English Nonconformists; although why he should so trouble himself, if his judgment of their present system be correct, we can scarcely see. 'Yes, the cause of the Nonconformists is destined to suffer eclipse, not to be the rallying-point of the Liberalism of the future; and religious history's final sentence on this cause, whatever praise political history may bestow on it, will be a severe one. It will say of it, even after all its advocates have been heard, and everything has been weighed which tells in its favour, that in temper and contentiousness it began, by temper and contentiousness it perished.' If it pleases Mr. Arnold thus to don the garb of the prophet, and to utter vaticinations which the entire history of the past and all the real indications of the present contradict, it is no business of ours. We listen with perfect equanimity, which would be scornful ridicule, but that we have great admiration for his literary genius, a tender feeling towards him for his father's sake, and a personal liking for some elements of his own moral nature, which induces the mood of feeling with which we regard a very clever but somewhat wayward and petulant boy. We doubt whether Mr. Arnold ever makes a Nonconformist vexed—save, indeed, at the perversion of his great gifts, and the damage that he does to himself by such vaticinations. We are amused at his inconsistencies and optimisms, at the anger of tone and profanity of method with which he gravely inculcates upon us 'sweetness and light,' and at the magnificent disregard of facts and phenomena with which he delivers his judgments. If a Nonconformist may venture to give advice, it is that the most prolific cause of disaster is to undervalue an enemy, and that the most ignominious of all predicaments is to be rudely shaken out of a fool's

paradise. Nonconformists, from the beginning of their history, have been familiar with such judgments. If Mr. Arnold has but the slightest acquaintance with the polemical literature of the past, he will know how his predecessors in the ecclesiastical doctrine of 'sweet reasonableness' speak of the wickedness of Dissenters and of the place they would occupy in history. These predictions, at all events, have been falsified. No party in English social life has been so largely vindicated by the highest historical authorities as the Independents of the Commonwealth, the Nonconformists of 1662, the Evangelical Dissenters of 1750, and the opponents of religious disability of fifty years ago. Every measure of emancipation that even the most bigoted Tories now accept as just and beneficial, was simply a part of the battle against the ascendancy of establishments which Nonconformists had to fight. They have carried nearly all the outworks, and no one wishes to dispossess them. Even church-rates lie in an unwept grave. In the last Parliament the Irish Establishment went, and never since the Commonwealth has a Parliament been in so great general sympathy with the Nonconformist position. The present Parliament bids fair to deprive the Scottish Establishment of all genuine national character even in pretence, and probably it is unconsciously giving the greatest impulse to Disestablishment in England that has been given for years. The advocates of Disestablishment within the National Church in both its extreme parties are multiplying in a rapidly increasing ratio. The Liberation Society nearly doubled its strength at its recent conference, and had so little consciousness of disaster from the recent election, that it positively rejoiced over it as a gain, just as winter is a gain to the fertility of the year. It did not, as Mr. Arnold seems to do, mistake a wave for the tide. It believes in the truth and righteousness of liberal principles generally, and of those of its own ecclesiastical contention in particular, and it deems as lightly of the Tory Parliament of 1874 as of that of 1841. Indeed, relatively, the Liberation element has suffered less than that of any other element of the Liberal party. Unless, therefore, Mr. Arnold consigns the Liberal party itself to a permanent grave, he had better give a little more ambiguity to his oracle concerning Nonconformists. How, in the presence of all the phenomena of English society, both within and without the establishment, a man so clever as Mr. Arnold can conclude that the great principle of disestablishment has suffered such reverse as that History, which has done such noble honour to the Nonconformists of the past, will have such a terrible sentence to pronounce on the Nonconformists of the present, simply amazes us. We intend to preserve his prophecy for the edification of our children—a shocking example that they may be warned by if any of them take to the literature of culture. We need only add that Mr. Arnold's thesis is that Ireland should have a Roman Catholic university nationally endowed, and his 'gird' at Dissenters is because they, decrepit and dishonoured as they are, will not

permit it. They are 'a quantity of inferior people controlling the action of statesmen.' No wonder, when this orthodox Jeremiah, in his zeal for the religion of the Bible, lifts up his lamentation and says, that 'Religion as it exists is merely another name for obscurantism and superstition; that it keeps out light and prevents improvement of any kind,' which is a somewhat severe judgment upon 'inferior people' such as Faraday, Gladstone, Selborne, Bright, and some few others who really reverence it. Unable to deny that under free conditions religion, as judged by statistics, has thriven more than under established conditions, both in America and among English Nonconformists, Mr. Arnold is fain to take refuge in the contention that it is not 'the best type of religion.' Well, if Mr. Arnold is enamoured of the type of religion presented by the present aspect of the English Establishment, its schisms, its convocations, its party leaders, its lawsuits, its literary organs—the *Church Times*, the *Church Herald*, the *National Churchman*, et hoc genus omne—if these be his ideal types of 'sweetness and light,' we have no wish to call his taste in question, we can only ask forgiveness for that measure of Pharisaism which compels us, as Nonconformists, to say, 'If any think good thus to be contentious, we have no such habit, nor the Churches of God;' and we will at once repent of it if among us any scandals approaching these are pointed out to us. We fear that Mr. Arnold's philosophy will sublimely 'pity the facts,' for he gravely tells us—without, however, any reference that might justify the dictum—that 'the majority in England and Scotland like for themselves a public institution of religion.'

We have only to add that from Mr. Arnold we looked for a little better English than we find in this preface. 'A good deal of ignorance about these there certainly, among English public men, is' is not the most elegant sentence that could be constructed; nor should we have spoken of 'a quantity of inferior people;' nor should we have said, 'The bulk of its superstitions come from its having,' &c.

The Principles of Mental Physiology, with their Applications to the Training and Discipline of the Mind, and the Study of its Morbid Conditions. By WILLIAM B. CARPENTER, M.D., &c., &c. Henry S. King and Co.

This treatise, as Dr. Carpenter explains in his preface, is an expansion of the outline of psychology contained in the fourth and fifth editions of the author's 'Principles of Human Physiology,' but omitted from later editions of that work, to make room for matter more strictly physiological. It is, perhaps, well that this forced omission should have occurred, since we have for its results the very important work under review, and as the subject is one well worthy of independent treatment. Dr. Carpenter sends forth his book, he says, 'as a contribution to that science of human nature, which has yet (as it seems to me) to be built up upon a much broader basis than any philosopher has hitherto taken as his foundation' . . .

It is simply designed to supplement existing systems of physiology and metaphysics, by dealing with a group of subjects, which, occupying the border ground between the two, have been almost entirely neglected in both.'

In so far as Dr. Carpenter has fulfilled this aim, his book has supplied a great want in English science. It is too true that our English philosophers have for the most part neglected the very important border-land between these two groups of phenomena roughly labelled Mind and Matter, and it is only the appearance of such works as those of Dr. Maudsley and Dr. Laycock, that has forced them to look the facts of the case in the face. There is evidence of the growing importance of the subject. Theologians trained at the feet of Mansel and Hamilton are perplexed by theories of prayer which are based upon the supposed thorough-going separation of mind and matter; philosophers are perplexed to see how their theories are modified by the external circumstances in which men are placed; and psychologists are beginning to ask themselves if they have done rightly in abandoning the wide field included in the *Περί ψυχῆς* of Aristotle, for their present one with its arbitrarily fixed limits; more especially when they see the temporary success of a school of philosophers, who in their endeavours to recommend to their contemporaries that hybrid between physics and metaphysics—a materialist philosophy—have not neglected to preface their psychology with a few crude remarks on physiology. So far as we can judge of the signs of the times, philosophy is preparing herself for that 'science of human nature' which has to be built up on a much wider basis than any hitherto tried, and the old neglected truth that man is a *whole of body and soul*, whether the individual man, or the life of mankind in history be the subject of consideration, is beginning to reassert itself with power. Physiologists are beginning to see that their science does not treat of the whole of human nature, and are groping to find traces of that other side of it which lies beyond them; and psychologists see that they have not exhausted their side of the problem, unless they give some attention to that mysterious border-land between mind and matter, which has been so little attended to. For proofs of this fact, we can only point to the last book of that distinguished physiologist, Dr. Wundt, the very name of which, 'Psychological Physiology,' tells its own tale, and to the last important contribution to psychology, the 'Zielkunde' of Professor Van der Wijk, whose most interesting and valuable chapter is that which discusses the relation between soul and body, mind and matter in man; while Hermann Lotze, the greatest of contemporary metaphysicians in Germany, has founded his whole system of metaphysics on the basis that man is an inseparable whole of soul and body.

Dr. Carpenter's book is interesting therefore, not merely on account of its intrinsic merits, but because it is a forerunner of a mode of investigation which we think will occupy a large place in the scientific world at no distant date. The problem investigated in the book is, put

shortly, this: mind and matter are the two complements as it were of human nature, man is a whole of soul and body; where do these touch, and what is the influence which the one has upon the other? Two hypotheses have been held—the one is the materialist, which asserts that matter is the ruling element, and that all mental states are results of material or bodily action. This hypothesis is plainly wrong, not to say inadequate. The other is the spiritualist, which asserts that 'the mind is a separate immaterial substance mysteriously connected with, but by no means dependent upon the body, save in so far as it derives its knowledge of external things through the senses, and makes use of it to execute those of its determinations which find outcome in muscular activity. This hypothesis is as plainly wrong, and as plainly defective as the preceding. It is wrong where the other is right, and ignores those very facts which the other correctly maintains. There must, therefore, be a *via media* which will include what is true in both theories, and reject what is false; and this *via media* is the theory of the correlation of mind and matter, or the inclusion of the whole problem within the sphere of the doctrine of the correlation of forces. Matter is force of one kind, mind force of another; they are quite different, but so correlated, that the results of the one can be expressed as the results of the other—this is the solution of the problem. Dr. Carpenter then proceeds to apply his theory, and gives very interesting statements of the results of this application to such subjects as attention, sensation, perception, and instinct, the emotions, habit, and the will. Having discussed these ordinary questions in psychology from his new point of view, he proceeds to pass under review some of the more difficult problems which psychology tries to solve, memory, for example, imagination, common sense, unconscious mental modifications, intoxication and insanity, and he ends with a very suggestive chapter on mind and will in nature.

While recognising the interesting character of Dr. Carpenter's book, it is impossible to overlook what appears to us to be certain defects which lessen its value. It is very vague, and its vagueness often makes it seem rather wordy. At the beginning of a new investigation, there is the utmost need to avoid misleading terms, and keep clear of side issues. Dr. Wundt, for example, begins by defining the relative spheres of psychology and physiology, and thereby is able very easily to show that there is a sphere of investigation between the two, which has not yet been thoroughly studied. Dr. Carpenter begins with mind and matter, and can never wholly free himself from the vagueness which these abstractions introduce. This error in method seems to have arisen from a mistake about the nature of psychology. Psychology is not metaphysics, nor does it belong to psychology to settle the question of a materialist or spiritualist philosophy; it has duties of its own, more humble perhaps, but quite as important, and Dr. Carpenter has, it seems to us, fallen into confusion by neglecting the distinction.

School Architecture. Being Practical Remarks on the Planning, Designing, Building, and Furnishing of School Houses. By EDWARD ROBERT ROBSON, F.R.S.A., with more than 300 Illustrations. John Murray.

This portly and well-illustrated volume is intended to be a *vade mecum* for School Board architects. It is almost the first English work of the kind specially devoted to school building. And its excellency is, that with due regard to artistic excellency, it makes practical requirements its main solicitude. Mr. Robson is, we believe, officially connected with the London School Board, and he could hardly have justified his selection more fully than by this volume. He intimates that in 1873, accompanied by the clerk of the Sheffield School Board, he made a tour of School inspection through Belgium, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and France. We heartily wish it had been practicable to add America, from whom perhaps we have more to learn about primary education than even from Germany. Since then Mr. Robson has erected a hundred new schoolhouses, and justly remarks that the work of the London School Board has occasioned new developments in the planning of Elementary Schools, and afforded opportunities of a kind never before enjoyed by any one. He has evidently bestowed a vast amount of study and skill upon the volume. He not only describes various systems of school planning, and gives a general survey of the principal foreign systems, with nearly 200 illustrations of buildings, apparatus, &c., but gives descriptive plans and views of the various London schools erected by the Board. It is encouraging to think how rapidly and effectively the educational necessities of London are being overtaken. Mr. Robson's volume will be of value not to school builders only, but to all who are in any way interested in primary education. To notice any of the thousand and one details of the volume is impracticable; we can only commend the rare practical sagacity with which they are discussed.

Stories about Animals. By THOMAS JACKSON, M.A. Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

We presume, although it is not so indicated, that this is the second edition of a very fascinating book for young people. It makes no pretensions to learning, originality, or high literature. It is a series of conversations about the habits of all kinds of animals, made interesting by anecdotes concerning them. Perhaps the book would have been better in a more strictly narrative form. The dialogue is not always conducive to interest.

POETRY, FICTION, AND BELLES LETTRES.

Borland Hall. By the Author of 'Olrig Grange.' Glasgow: Maclehose.

The author of 'Borland Hall' has perhaps been a little too determinedly on the watch

against the faults that were traceable in 'Olrig Grange.' In it we had dramatic situations sustained and realized with surprising strength, and a remarkable power of conceiving and presenting character consistently and completely. The satiric vein, too, was strong, but never ran the author into caricature—a very conspicuous tribute to his insight. In 'Borland Hall' we have a more ambitious plot, and certainly more effort after finish of parts; but the characters are hardly so consistently developed, and there is less of unity than might be expected. If the real unity of the lyrical drama—and this is in some sort simply such—is derived from the unfolding of character, the attainment, through many trials, of some balance or harmony that in the last resort meets the demand of the ideal sense, then it is unfortunate that the author here resolves his climax into a compromise between the conventionalism of the common three-volume novel and that of the true drama. Psychologically, he has succeeded in interesting us in Austen Lyell, but he has only led us to a new beginning or crisis in his outward history, which by stimulating reasonable desire, instead of satisfying the imagination, acknowledges incompleteness in the conception of the work. These are the closing words:—

*'But how his work, and how his wooings sped,
And through what hard experience he was led,
Beaten and buffeted, until at length
He learned humility, and found its strength,
And the rude block was shapen and inspired
With beauty thro' his troubles undesired,
As God saw needful for him; that remains
For other days to sing in other strains.'*

The first seven lines are so beautifully expressive, that they might almost stand for the argument to any poem of the class to which this belongs. We only wish the author had been able to place them as motto, instead of where they stand. But having disposed of this point, and hinted at some slight inconsistencies in the self-portraiture of the bold, ambitious, scheming mother of Austen Lyell, as well as in the effect upon him of her confession, we have nothing but praise to bestow. There are lines here and there in her monologue that are worthy of Browning, though the author is wholly independent of his influence. The pictures of student life in that northern town are done with great force and vivacity; the description of the ball and the country round about it is almost perfect, and the portrait of the weak-minded, divided laird, ruled over by his wife, which is given us in a few indirect touches, proves the hand of the master. Milly and Paul Gaunt, who are traced at last as children of 'Borlands Bonnie May,' and heirs of the estate Austen has renounced, are very sweetly outlined; while the lyrics which are scattered through the poem are in respect of variety, range, and nimbleness of rhythm, simply delightful, forming a real addition to our repository of lyrical beauties. We wish we had space to print, 'I bought a Nosegay for my Girl'; 'She is a Woman,' and 'The False Sea.' They are simply delicious, rich in tone, and

pure in sentiment, with a delicacy of suggestion which is but rarely attained, and which conscious polish can never win. And then, 'Andrew Downie, Esquire,' 'cute self-made man and newspaper proprietor,' portrays himself for us in a vein of quite unconscious humour and satire, such as will cause him to abide long in the memory of many a reader as a true type of a great and growing class special to our day of steam and telegraphs and newspapers. Here the 'Downies' have found a faithful voice.

Under the Surface. By FRANCES R. HAVERGAL. Nisbet and Co.

Miss Havergal's former volume, 'The Ministry of Song,' raised high expectations, which are certainly not disappointed by this new one, though it has followed at a surprisingly short interval. There is here great freshness of feeling, fulness of thought, and ready command of measure; and we are glad to find that she is not so disposed as before to adopt antithetic and semi-logical modes of presenting her themes, but has become rather parabolic or allegorical. Some of the short hymns are very true and 'sweet, especially 'Jesus only,' and 'Is it for me?'

Yu-pe-Ya's Lute. A Chinese Tale in English Verse. By AUGUSTA WEBSTER. Macmillan and Co.

Mrs. Webster in her former works has shown rare dramatic instinct, and a certain severity of style, together with great skill in metrical adjustment, but in none of them has she communicated more of her thought, been more illuminative, than in this Chinese tale, which is professedly a reproduction from a French version. With almost needless frankness, she tells us that she is responsible 'for all that may be considered "nineteenth-century;"' and as she has managed to wrap the Chinese character in an atmosphere of fervid mysticism, without destroying reality and whilst maintaining a certain naïve and simple directness of language, she may be considered to have so far succeeded in a very difficult experiment. 'Yu-pe-Ya's Lute'—which magically emits sounds that accord with the inmost thoughts of those who hear it—is skilfully made to symbolize and interpret the relations of art to love, friendship, life, and the poem is quick with passages of the highest eloquence. Yu-pe-Ya—a courtier—returns to his native place there to come in contact with a peasant, who approves himself a true poet and thinker, and with whom Yu-pe-Ya soon swears brotherhood, promising to return next year to see him. This he does, to find that his friend, through overstudy which has been rendered possible to him through Yu-pe-Ya's presents, is dead, leaving the poor father and mother, for whose sake it was that he had refused to go with Yu-pe-Ya to Court, but ill-provided for. Yu-pe-Ya therefore finds at last a mournful pleasure in providing for them. That touch at the grave in the forest, when the sounds of the lute produce such different impressions on the peasants from those produced on those close at hand, is very significant; and so is that snapping of the strings

as he sits waiting. Some of the lyric pieces have that subdued, long-lingering sweetness we have noted as present in Mrs. Webster's songs before—and notably is this the case in that

'Too soon, too fair, fair bliss,
To bloom is then to wane;
The faded bud has still
To-morrow at its will,
Blown flowers can never blow again.'

Songs and Fables. By WILLIAM J. MAQUORN RANKINE, late Professor of Civil Engineering in the University of Glasgow. Glasgow: Maclehose.

A vein of bright humour that never sought to do more than lighten the surface of life, yet often glanced athwart the profoundest truths, and quizzed their applications without hint of cynicism—this was Professor Rankine's characteristic. He was a philosopher, patient and thorough, yet verse was no rein to him, but rather a flowery wreath, which the moment it was thrown round his neck caused him to skip about like a boy at holiday. 'The Mathematician in Love' is exquisite, sparkling with airy fancy and fun, and so is 'The Three-foot Rule.' A most genial spirit speaks through every line of the verse, and the fables show wonderful faculty of compressed expression. We have read the little book with real pleasure; it forms a suitable memorial of the social qualities of a gifted man, and abundantly proves that, if Scotchmen cannot see jokes, they can make them, and of prime quality.

The Poetical Works of David Gray. A New and Enlarged Edition. By HENRY GLASSORN BELL. Glasgow: Maclehose.

It is to be regretted that Sheriff Bell did not live to write the life of David Gray, as he intended to do, for he was a man of pure taste and fine sympathy—genial, and quick to see merit, yet judging always by reference to high standards. But we have here the speech he delivered at Merkland, at the inauguration of Gray's monument, which indicates clearly his conception of the poet of the *Luggie*. It almost agrees with our own. Gray was a true poet—sweet, clear, intense, but sickly and narrow, and introspective. The aptest symbol of him is the lark of his northern fields—now rising, singing, till he is a 'sightless song,' and then again lost to view nestling in the lowly furrow. There is no steadiness nor strength of wing. We think one or two of the sonnets are as perfect as anything out of Keats or Wordsworth; others are immature. Passages in the *Luggie* are elevated and sustained, but it fails as a whole. We regret that the Torquay Poems, published in Mr. Buchanan's volume—'David Gray,'—are not given here.

Songs of Two Worlds. Second Series. Henry S. King and Co.

In everything that respects form it would have been very difficult indeed to surpass some of the poems in the earlier series, to which we tried to do justice at the time of their appearance. If in any respect this second series can be said to be superior to the first, it is in a cer-

tain mellowness and warmth of tone of which hardly more than the promise was given in the earlier book. The very first poem in the volume is proof of this. It is styled to 'An Unknown Poet,' and is a reminiscence of the writings of Henry Vaughan, the Silurist, whose quaint, tender reveries, breathing health as they come to us across what seems an artificial atmosphere, well deserve the celebration. It is a wonderful combination of insight, melody, picture, and suggestion, and it is as finished as it is full of subdued emotion. These few stanzas are in our idea very perfect, subtle in their thought and feeling, yet clear and simple in their movement, brightened and elevated by phrases of exceptional felicity :

'There, on thy musings broke the painful sound
Of arms ; the long-plumed cavaliers
Clanged through the courts—the low fat fields
around
Were filled with strife and tears.

'Constrained by promptings of thy ancient race,
Thy gown and books thou flung'st away,
To meet the sturdy Roundhead face to face
On many a hard-fought day.

'Till thy soft soul grew sick, and thou did'st
turn
To our old hills ; and there, ere long,
Love for thy Amoret, at times would burn
In some too fervid song.

'But soon thy wilder pulses stayed, and, life
Grown equable, thy sweet muse mild,
Sobered by tranquil love of child and wife,
Flowed pure and undefiled.

A humble healer thro' a life obscure,
Thou did'st expend thy homely days ;
Sweet Swan of Usk ! few know how clear and
pure
Are thy unheeded lays.'

* * * * *
'So quaintly fashioned as to add a grace
To the sweet fancies which they bear,
Even as a bronze delved from some ancient
place
For very rust shows fair.'

'The Organ Boy' brings out a strong contrast in a most powerful and felicitous way ; the 'Ode on Fair Spring Morning' is full of touches that show how deeply the spirit of this singer has been moved by many of the grand problems of the time ; and indeed there is a whole section of the poem which might be profitably analysed on this ground, had we but space. We can only direct our readers to such poems as 'The Apology,' 'The Touchstone,' 'Tolerance,' and a 'Hymn in Time of Idols,' for verification of our statement ; and for pure lyrical utterances to these three :—'Oh, Snows so pure,' 'In Springtime,' and 'On the Brick.' In a few of the pieces the thought lies rather too unreduced in the refining medium of imagination ; but from this the 'New Writer' is more and more escaping, and—true proof of his real poetic gift—he generally relieves himself from this with most completeness where he lays upon himself (what always proves to the uninspired the greatest burden) the more involved and

trying forms of rhyme. To the genuine poet these are no chain, but are rather like the silken band on the carrier bird,—the evidence of freedom, and of a charge to cleave the upper air, to bring tidings to the distant waiting ones.

Theology in the English Poets—Cowper, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Burns. By the Rev. STOPFORD BROOKE, M.A., Chaplain to the Queen, &c. Henry S. King and Co.

Mr. Stopford Brooke's attempt to demonstrate a 'theology' in certain English poets, in an extended course of Sunday afternoon lectures in his own church, seems at first rather like an innovation, or a desperate bid for notoriety. But a perusal of the volume dissipates the thought of such an originating cause. He keeps so close to the quality he seeks that, while giving us in little a summary sketch of the leading tendencies of English poetry from Cowper almost till the present time, he is never tempted into the *merely* æsthetic or literary view ; and has really come very near to success, in showing how the pulpit might be made to 'bear on subjects other than those commonly called religious, and to rub out the sharp lines drawn by that false distinction of sacred and profane.' We confess to a pleasure in hearing that they had succeeded to 'an extent greater than he had hoped for'—there being in the attendance at St. James's Chapel 'many persons who were before uninterested in religious subjects at all.' There can be no doubt, that, to a mournful extent, the tendency of the ordinary, strict, old-fashioned preaching is to discourage the idea that many of the commoner aspects of life have a religious side at all ; and a great point is gained, when thoughtful people are led to see that religion, as the *supreme* interest in life, interpenetrates and takes up into a higher reach every possible detail of life. But opening the pulpit to such a course is not, at the same time, without peculiar dangers. For one thing every preacher has not the broad spiritual sympathy, the exquisite discernment, and large catholic judgment of Mr. Brooke ; and the fear is that were the practice to become common, many Christian ministers, in their direct and special attempt to exhibit 'political, historical, scientific, and artistic work, in their connection with theology,' would too easily pass to matters on which men are not 'commonly agreed ;' and thus the fomenting of faction instead of edification might too often be the result. But the effect of such a movement, in the way of leading preachers generally to greater readiness in using helps from contemporary interests of every kind, is useful, and calculated to aid in a very needful reform, both among Churchmen and Nonconformists.

Passing from this point, which would require many pages to discuss it fully, we have in these lectures what is properly a very delicate, subtle, and from its own point of view, an exhaustive estimate of Wordsworth, and his influence on English thought and literature. The Wordsworth lectures occupy two-thirds of the whole volume. After tracing the process by which, through Goldsmith, Gray, and

Cowper, Nature gradually came to be recognised as a living presence, the garment of a divine essence, and how there stole into English poetry the idea of *humanity*, man as man, apart from all conventional notions of men—an idea, which though anticipated by Burns, was quickened wondrously by the great phenomenon of the French Revolution. Mr. Brooke exhibits the operation of this influence on Wordsworth; and by a closely sympathetic, yet minute examination of the leading ideas of the poems, skilfully interwoven with many interesting and suggestive biographical facts, has really given us one of the very ablest studies of Wordsworth which we possess. Principal Shairp, in his delicately conceived essay on Wordsworth, in his early volume of 'Studies,' has glanced in the direction of *some* of the thoughts here developed, and followed up; but he was too much intent on the merely literary aspects of Wordsworth's poetry, systematically to seize and signalise the gradually varying aspects of the teaching. One of the most prominent instances of Mr. Brooke's catholicity is his acknowledgment of the evil results, in several respects, of Wordsworth's later devotion to a narrow ecclesiasticism, which actually led him at one period to oppose the opening of the universities to Dissenters, and the doing away of tests. The adequate representation of Mr. Brooke's systematic interpretation, however, would take us far too long here; but we desire to send such of our readers as are inclined to this kind of study, to the book itself, where there is much to interest as well as to inform. But we may be allowed to say that we cannot help thinking that a good deal might have been gained if Mr. Brooke had recast the work out of the lecture form, which involves a good deal of repetition, and some risk of chronological confusion, unless the reader has already made himself intimately acquainted with the lives of the poets dealt with. On Burns Mr. Brooke throws a good deal of light; but, in spite of all his sympathy with the man, and his admiration for that abounding passion and 'delight of love,' with which Burns wrapt, as in a halo, all outward natural things, we think he is a little inconsistent with himself, when he says that Burns was not 'stern with himself any more than he was with others.' Rather, we think, he was in this a 'Scotchman of Scotchmen,' his worst excesses, as he himself once said, in almost such words as these, were but wild, blind efforts to escape from the devil's scorpions of his own condemnation. Mr. Brooke is nearer the mark when, towards the end, he relents, and says, with the discrimination of a true sympathy—'He was at least true, and he never flinched from self-blame. But he had no force to make self-blame into active repentance; and he went on sinning, and being sorry (miserably self-damned had been the true word), and sinning again, to the end of the chapter.' But it is difficult indeed to express this without seeming merely to follow Carlyle, and a little effort at a less simple explanation may be pardoned. We heartily thank Mr. Brooke, however, for a few hours of unquali-

fied delight with Wordsworth and Burns, in his company.

The Legend of Jubal and other Poems. By GEORGE ELIOT. William Blackwood and Sons.

George Eliot has not given us in this volume much new matter of a kind likely to add to her great reputation. The four longest poems—'Jubal,' 'Armgar,' 'Agatha,' and 'How Lisa Loved the King,' have previously appeared in magazines, and they form 186 out of the 240 pp. which compose it. Different as they are in structure and intention, they are so dominated by certain radical ideas, that none acquainted with present day literature could well mistake their authorship. Properly it is the fatality of the past. 'Jubal' represents Genius clinging to a Past consecrated by its necessary self-sacrifice, yet condemned to a more painful sacrifice—that of the loss of personal identification with the gift conferred—from the dull misery of which death is the only door of escape; and the lesson is wrapt up in the stateliest strain of blank verse we have read for a long time. Then 'Armgar,' whose being is song, losing which power

'We should lose
The whole we call our Armgar,'

also loses her gift, to find at last fulfilment of her ambitions in the lowliest sphere of duty; a lesson which George Eliot is so fond of teaching through her heroines—witness Dorothea in her last great novel—that we may well regard it as being in her mind one of the most essential of human disciplines, that special gifts are mere will-o'-wisps till consciously consecrated to common service, with no thought or desire of fame. 'Agatha' is quaint and rich in picture, and 'Lisa' is brighter than George Eliot usually is. Of the new matter, 'A Minor Prophet' is satirical in bent, but weighted, too, with her peculiar ideas, here taking a form that clearly hinders the fusing of imaginative forms, and now and again we have very faulty lines. 'Stradivarius' is a study a little in the manner of Browning. 'Brother and Sister' is full of music, and 'Two Lovers' comes as near to the 'lyrical cry' as George Eliot has ever reached. 'O, may I join the choir invisible,' with which the volume ends, is the utterance of the main element of her pantheistic creed, and with some fine lines, almost worthy of Wordsworth, ends rather tamely, as we think, with a hope to

'Be the sweet presence of a good diffused
And in diffusion ever more intense,'

which might have stood for a motto to prose, had she not added—

'So shall I join the choir invisible,
Whose music is the gladness of the world.'

But this again can be read not otherwise than as a sort of poetic figure in view of the burden of Jubal.

Serbian Folk-Lore. Popular Tales. Selected and Translated by Madame CSEDOMILJ Mijatovics. Edited, with an Introduction,

by the Rev. WILLIAM DENTON, M.A., Author of 'Servia and the Servians,' &c. Isbister and Co.

Slavonic Fairy Tales. Collected and Translated from the Russian, Polish, Servian, and Bohemian. By JOHN T. NAAKE, of the British Museum. With Four Illustrations. Henry S. King and Co.

The comparative study of folk-lore has now been reduced to well-known scientific principles; and those who collect and translate from less known tongues, what is fast fading out of the common recollection before the full light of civilization, do a great service to science and literature, even though they aim, in the first instance, merely at amusing others. Mr. Ralston, Mr. Cox, Mr. Thorpe, Miss Frere, Mr. R. Hunt, and Dr. Dasent are among the most notable recent names in this department, but others are coming into the field, and deserve to be welcomed. The more we know the more are we assured that all these tales may be traced back to a very few originals, that had been lipised in rudest form round the earliest hearths of the race, ere yet they had moved from their original home in the East—the differences now discernible arising mainly from the infusion of local colour and the necessities imposed by the fresh circumstances in which the reciters were placed. The variants, as Mr. Denton admirably puts it in the preface to these Serbian folk-tales, 'are so numerous that the number of strictly original folk-tales is but small, and it is at length evident that various primitive legendary and traditionary elements have been combined in most of these tales. The only originality consists in such combination. They resemble a piece of tessellated work, made up of cubes of coloured stone, the tints of which are really few in number, though they admit of being arranged into a variety of figures, after the fancy of the artist.' A few are found everywhere, most wondrously combined with strange additions and incidents. 'Cinderella,' for example, and 'Beauty and the Beast,' both of which we have here, and the latter in a very choice form from the Norse, also, as 'East o' the Sun and West o' the Moon.' Dr. Dasent, too, also gives us 'The Two Step-sisters,' identical with 'The Wicked Stepmother,' which we have here from the Servian, by Madame Mijatovics, the little alterations being only such as the climate of the country would render needful. But oftentimes the original 'furniture' of the story, the palaces, the camels, &c., of the East, are quite implicitly accepted, and remain compacted in stories naturalized in northern climes. The way in which very often the witch destroys her victims, by throwing round them a hair of her head, is noticeable; and there are hundreds of such peculiarities for those who are curious enough to search them out. Mr. Naake adventures over the wide field of Slavonic folk-lore generally, presenting some excellent specimens from the Russian, thus so far supplementing Mr. Ralston's recent volume; but he has not been so fortunate with the 'Servian,' inasmuch as no fewer than four of those he has given are included in Madame

Mijatovics' selection. These are 'The Snake's Gift; or, the Language of Animals,' 'Right or Wrong,' 'The Maiden who was Wiser than the King,' and 'The Three Brothers.' It is the more unfortunate for Mr. Naake that Madame Mijatovics may well claim precedence, since these four tales, with some others of her selection, were published in *Good Words*, nearly two years ago—which fact, if Mr. Naake had been aware of it, would probably have led him to choose others. We regret to say, too, that there is certainly more of literary finish and manner, more polish of expression, and less of naïve familiarity of style in Mr. Naake's versions than in those of Madame Mijatovics. And we cannot help thinking that this is a capital fault. The Russian and Polish tales which are given to us seem less open to this criticism, and sometimes—as in the case of the 'Snow Child'—there is a delicious child-like naïveté and freedom, together with real humour and pathos of the finest kind. We regret that we cannot go into any details about the stories, or the mythological motives that have been held to underlie them—solar or other. We must simply content ourselves with saying that merely as story-books suited either for adults or for children, they will be prized—Mr. Naake's volume, in this respect, especially, because of its expressive pictures (though of the costume we are not quite sure); while scientific philologists and scholars will receive both volumes as rare additions to their stores.

Conquered at Last: from 'Records of Dhu Hall and its Inmates.' A Novel. Sampson Low and Co.

This is a story of considerable power, somewhat overcrowded with incident and overdone with passion, and evidently by an unpractised hand. The latter is evinced not only by the frequent repetition of the formula of dismissal when the characters are done with—'so he fades out from the story,' but by somewhat more serious offences against Lindley Murray. The idiom 'he is rather more stooped,' would hardly pass in a Civil Service examination; nor is the use of the transitive verb 'set' for the intransitive 'sit'; nor of the verb 'elicit' for the adjective 'illicit,' to be very highly commended. They somewhat perplex us, inasmuch as there are other characteristics of the book which indicate a person fairly educated, and not altogether ignorant of good society. The story is too complicate for even a suggestion of its course to be given. It must be sufficient to say that it is an Irish story, and moves among lords and ladies; and although it is occasionally a little magniloquent in its descriptive bits, and somewhat entangled in its threads, it contains elements of considerable power, and is much above the average of modern novels. Occasionally there are scenes of rich Milesian humour, as, for instance, when the hero's attentions to Olive are misunderstood, and the inpouring of the whole family with their congratulations makes explanation impossible. The dark lines of tragedy in the characters of Philip and Lucy are well interwoven. The character of old Lord Rathmore

is cleverly conceived and wrought out. Mrs. Fitz-Gerald is charming—we could imagine her to have three lovers buzzing about her at once more easily than Hildreth, who is a trifle too mysterious, while Violet is a little too shadowy. The conclusion—the chapter of formal verdicts notwithstanding—leaves too many threads hanging loose; we have no doubt that everything comes right, but unless the author purposes some continuation of the records, we ought to have been told about the mystery of pretty Ellen, the flight of Hildreth, and the winning of Violet; we are not quite sure either whether Philip is alive or dead, and whether Basil is the head of the Iretons. It seems as if the artist's grasp had relaxed, and his puppets fall out of sight anyhow. All these criticisms, notwithstanding, the novel is strong and promising, with considerable power of character-drawing, description, and invention. The author mainly lacks what careful work will soon give—minuteness of artistic finish.

For Love and Life. By Mrs. OLIPHANT. Three Vols. Hurst and Blackett.

Mrs. Oliphant's new novel contains many paragraphs and pages of charming writing, acute observations, and just and elevated sentiment, and her characters are delineated with her accustomed discrimination and firmness, that of Edgar especially is a noble character, well conceived and developed. The various members of the little Scottish clan to which Edgar belonged are also skilfully discriminated. Shoobreds should find itself famous, although we never heard that one of the firm married the daughter of an earl. But Mr. Tottenham is a good representative of an aristocratic shopkeeper, full of benevolence and destitute of false pride; and Lady Mary, her theories of women's rights notwithstanding, is a worthy and womanly mate for a true and manly man; but notwithstanding many indications of power, the novel is hardly worthy of Mrs. Oliphant. Why is it that so many of the stories of successful lady novelists are so thin, and meander so much into mere description and sentiment? If it be worth while to write a novel at all, it is surely worth while to construct for it a good plot. We are sorry to class this novel among those which remind us of the fatal fluency of a certain class of preachers; the knack of writing about nothing, and of filling two or three volumes with the merest shred of incident, is ruinous. The story does not get on, it is as vacuous as a conventional sermon. There is no reason why it should ever have been begun, or why it should ever end. The whole of the incidents of the first two volumes of 'For Love and Life' might be narrated in one of its pages. Could not Mrs. Oliphant have informed herself a little better about non-episcopal marriages in England? Anybody out of a novel would have gone at once to the Registrar's office of the district, and not have spent days in hunting up former attendants at a defunct Methodist chapel. From the 'Chronicles of Carlingford' to 'For Love and Life' is a long interval.

'B.' *An Autobiography.* By E. DYNE FENTON. Three Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

The strength of this clever novel lies in its descriptions and its portraiture. It is a novel of character, the plot is not much; so greatly does the writer delight in his specialty, that he devotes a chapter to an epilogue of pure description, the incident in it being conveyed in a single line, to the effect that in the midst of the scene so elaborately described 'B.' and Evie were walking. We have not often received a more vivid impression of stern discipline and miserable childhood than from the opening chapters. The tone of the writer is sarcastic, almost cynical; but he describes the seamy side of life with very great power. The only pleasant characters in his 'Vanity Fair' are Evie and odd old Miss Gurgess. The fault is exaggeration, even the names given to the various personages in the story are oddities exaggerated into grotesque. A great deal of wholesome castigation of follies, fashionable and unfashionable, is administered. Much charity and some wisdom are exercised in the exhibition of faults even in favourite personages, and the whole is well inlaid with keen and clever remarks and similes; here is one,—'His features had a stamp of sensuality combined with feeble will about them; a look that showed plainly he was one of those upon whom a woman's influence may have the same absorbing power which a sheet of blotting paper has when applied to handwriting, all the crisp definition of character is lost, while there is left in its place only a pale colourless scrawl.' The story may be commended as that of a shrewd and clever disciple of Thackeray—who essays also to delineate 'Vanity Fair' as he conceived it, with a Gulnare for a mild kind of Becky Sharp.

By Still Waters. By the Author of 'Occupations of a Retired Life.' Henry S. King and Co.

Mrs. Mayo, who has written some of the best stories with a directly religious tendency which we have recently had, has here tried a somewhat hazardous experiment; and we are not sure that she has quite succeeded. She has endeavoured to sustain interest with a quartet of characters who are held in very direct contrast to each other. The working of the foil is only too apparent for the feeling of perfect satisfaction that nature has been had recourse to for broad and human qualification so often as might be desired. And when, as we cannot help thinking, the lesson is but inefficiently brought out, in a story which is professedly and vitally dependent on its teaching, a sense of dissatisfaction may well be felt. Of course, much of the 'higher criticism' is wrong-headed and unjust in denouncing such writing *primò facie*, simply because direct teaching is a leading aim of the work; for in all cases the intention of the artist should be had regard to, if the work is worthy of criticism at all. But we cannot help thinking that there is a deal of effort and forcing in this work; the characters don't come naturally somehow. Sarah and

Tibbie, and the old man and his grandson, who has been held at arm's length so long, are in the last result too easily and too suddenly acted upon. To change the whole course of a life that has formed deep grooves for itself, demands a very powerful force of some kind, and a woman of the type of Tibbie, as she is first presented to us, is notoriously hard to influence. But it scarcely needs to be said that the book abounds in wise sayings, and passages of really good writing, and that its tone is in every way good and lofty, in spite of an occasional condescension, not only to vulgar phrases, which may sometimes be needful to bring out traits of character dramatically, but to slang expressions which can never be so. Besides, we miss the type of which Miss Brooke formed such a good specimen in the last story we had from Mrs. Mayo, for poor Mrs. Stone is, to our thinking, a less successful study in every way.

My Mother and I. By the Author of 'John Halifax, Gentleman.' Isbister and Co.

Mrs. Craik is always delightfully pure, and healthful, and elevating, and she succeeds in teaching us almost without our knowing it. We are carried along in the quiet current of her story, and gradually light breaks upon us like happy after-thoughts. She never strains our attention by forced incidents, but contents herself generally with a demure faithfulness that never loses freshness. 'My Mother and I,' a passage out of the family life of the Picardys, is simply exquisite in this respect. It is astonishing how by sheer delicacy the authoress can make so much of so little. A common family estrangement, the unexpected meeting of Colonel Picardy and his grand-daughter in the town of Bath, the reunion, the young girl's love for her cousin Conrad, and her awakening to the knowledge that her grandfather has other views for her—this is the whole; but in the young lady's own unsophisticated, unpretending way of telling it, there is real art. We will not say that this is one of the very best of Mrs. Craik's stories; but as a quiet story, moving on planes of very limited interest, and running out into no more than one volume, which could be read in a couple of hours' time, we regard it as very exceptional, and worthy to take the place of much that passes for clever and striking and powerful in current fiction.

Phantasmion. A Fairy Tale. By SARA COLERIDGE. With an Introductory Preface by Lord COLERIDGE, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. Henry S. King and Co.

The profoundly interesting memoir of Sara Coleridge which has just been given to the world has excited curiosity about the fairy tale written for her children which is referred to in it, and justifies this reprint of it. We cannot, however, endorse the almost unqualified eulogium which Lord Coleridge bestows upon it. We scarcely wonder that it has been permitted to drop out of circulation, and we can hardly think that even in this resuscitated form it is destined to long life. It is doubtless very clever—

only a woman could have written it, and scarcely any other woman than Sara Coleridge—but it has the unpardonable fault of tediousness. It is more interesting in its parts than as a whole. It is too crowded with incident, and too little relieved by the sentiment or fancy of imagination. The chief exercise of the imagination in its construction is inventiveness. It is a curious and not very symmetrical puzzle, ingeniously put together, but somewhat tedious and perplexing in the labyrinthine process. We are therefore inclined to endorse Mr. Pickering's judgment rather than that of Lord Coleridge. With all its rare qualities it will scarcely be popular; a trained mind may sustain its interest in it to the end, and appraise its intellectual excellencies—hardly an untrained one. It lacks fancy, and fun, and airy grace. It is a fairy tale as solemn as a sermon, as serious as history. It is, notwithstanding, a book to be read, and, from a literary point of view, abundantly deserves reprinting. We have read it through with interest, but scarcely wished it longer. We shall be curious to hear the verdict of the nursery, to which we have consigned it. Incomparably the best things in it are its exquisite lyrics, some of which are almost perfect.

Johnny Ludlow. In Three Volumes. Bentley and Son.

This is certainly a very remarkable piece of work—the more so that it pretends so little. It is just a series of simple stories, told, according to the dramatic assumption, by the stepson of a Worcester squire; but so faithful are the portraiture of the various characters—high and low—which are introduced to us, so genuine the humour,—wonderfully heightened sometimes, too, by the use of a local turn of speech,—so true and telling the unaffected pathos that most often goes hand in hand with it, and so graphic now and then the bits of unaffected description, that we are sure no one could read it without being benefited, and very few without being alternately moved to laughter and tears. There is no plot, no ostentatious effort to connect the stories, and yet they have more of real dramatic relation than many novels that are studies in plot, and at every point sacrifice truth and character for the sake of it. We have seldom read anything more natural, and at the same time more moving than Wolfe Barrington's taming. The quiet way in which the mother, of whose great grief he had been the direct cause, comes in and by sheer devotion subdues his rebellious spirit, is done with great power and artistic concentration. The story of poor Jake is very pathetic, and so is that of Dick Mitchel, the ploughboy, which seems in a few pages to make us more vividly realize the dull, unrelieved misery of the agricultural labourer's life than all the facts and statistics which the Union leaders have yet brought to light. There is fun in 'Jerry's Gazette,' but some serious meaning too; there is satire in the story of the Pells, with their vulgarity and extravagance, and their sudden downfall; and 'Sophie Chalk,' with all her clever *finesse* and scheming,

so near to success, and yet defeated, exposed, and punished, is not without purpose, though the lesson is not directly unfolded. We cordially recommend this book to our readers, as pointing the way to a new field which writers of fiction might well cultivate a little more.

Aileen Ferrers. By SUSAN MORLEY. Two Volumes. Henry S. King and Co.

Aileen is a very charming creature, drawn with great firmness and delicacy. The authoress has succeeded in a portraiture of perfect goodness without a touch of goodness or a feeling of insipidity. She is not

‘too good
For human nature’s daily food,’

but a woman to inspire ordinary mortals with the love which is reverential passion. Nothing could be more difficult than her disentanglement from Ralph, and yet it is so managed as to even raise her in our esteem. The psychological puzzle constituted by the nobility of character of both Aileen and Ralph is a very complicated and delicate one, and upon it the interest of the story runs. It is done with great discernment and skill. The characters of Lady Grace and Basil, too, are so perfect that we might suspect the authoress of optimism but for the counter portraits of Mrs. Vane and Mrs. Gilbert Ferrers, which are delineated in their hard, worldly selfishness, not coarsely and repulsively, but with just enough of delicate and discriminating shadow, to enable one to conceive disagreeable women, maintaining their position in the social circle, but exciting in nobler natures just the recoil which, while it does not hinder intercourse, effectually bars friendship.

We will not tell the story, but only say that Miss Morley has written a careful, sensible, and interesting novel, and written it exceedingly well. Her sentiment is as pure as her style is excellent. If this be her first book we may hope for great things from her.

Hours in a Library. By LESLIE STEPHEN. Smith, Elder, and Co.

There are some delightful morsels of criticism in this volume. We are accustomed to associate strength and a certain hardness with Mr. Leslie Stephen’s writing, but here we have many proofs of the delicate discernment which alone can come from sympathy. Defoe is very skilfully dealt with; we do not think we have ever seen the secret of his remarkable success more carefully searched out or presented in more felicitous style. Perhaps there is an added attraction in that these criticisms do not profess to be exhaustive, but only to form a kind of attractive talk; and yet in spite of the half-colloquial form, there could scarcely be anything better than the two essays on Pope, whose morality is proved to be of a very artificial character. ‘That Richardson was, as we have said, something of the milk-sop, is obvious; but it is not so plain that that is no very serious objection to a novelist,’ is a very apt way of putting it, and truthfully expressive besides; but when it is found that

this forms but a sort of text for giving the reason why the art of novel-writing is more and more passing over to women, its critical value will at once be apparent. The essay on ‘Sir Walter Scott,’ in the thoughtful justification of him in some points against Carlyle is, perhaps, the most vigorous piece of writing in the volume. ‘Nathaniel Hawthorne’ is hardly so successful, but the subject is so ‘elusive’ that it is hard to keep a steady point of view. One or two sentences, however, on the result of the Puritan inheritance, and the position which, on account of it, Hawthorne took up towards the picturesque, are very expressive. But sometimes Mr. Stephen brings in a false note, and a misleading one, by his analogical illustrations. It is not quite worthy of him, for instance, to say that ‘Poe is a kind of Hawthorne and *delirium tremens*!’ though it sounds smart. *Balzac* is cleverly dealt with; shrewd analysis, clever presentation of traits, and ingenious tracing of tendencies, we certainly have here; though we remember to have read a good while ago some articles on *Balzac* by Mr. Frederick Wedmore, which, though less felicitous and brilliant in mere phrasing and separate points, seem to have suggested some sentences here, as probably Mr. Page’s ‘Hawthorne’ did.

Palladius on Husbandrie. Edited from the unique MS. of about A.D. 1420, in Colchester Castle. By the Rev. BARTON LODGE, M.A., Rector of St. Mary Magdalen, Colchester.

Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century. Edited, with Introduction, Translation, and Notes, by the Rev. R. MORRIS, LL.D. Second series. With three Thirteenth Century Hymns.

The Complaynt of Scotlande ryth ane Exortations to the Thre Estaitis to be vigilant in the Defens of their Public Veil. A.D. 1549. With an Appendix of Contemporary English Tracts. Re-edited from the originals with Introduction and Glossary by JAMES A. H. MURRAY. Parts I. and II.

The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman, Dowel, Dobet, and Dobest. By WILLIAM LANGLAND (1393 A.D.). *Richard the Redeles.* By the same Author (1399). *The Crowned King.* By another hand. Edited by the Rev. WALTER SKERT.

Generydes: a Romance in Seven-line Stanzas. Part I. Edited by W. ALDIS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A., Bursar of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Extra Series, XIX. *The Myroure of our Ladye.* Containing a devotional treatise on divine service, with a translation of the Offices used by the Sisters of the Brigittine Monastery of Sion at Isleworth during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Edited by JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A., F.S.A., Rector of Beverstone, Glouc. Publications of the Early English Text Society for 1873. N. Trubner and Co.

Of ‘*Palladius on Husbandrie*’ there is little to be said beyond what its title denotes. It is a fifteenth century English version of the Roman writer’s ‘*De Re Rustica*’ in rhymed

seven line stanzas. The editor has not with this part issued any preface, or given any account of the MS.; but the text is accompanied with marginal index notes and foot-notes giving many of the original Latin words.

Dr. Richard Morris's second series of 'Old English Homilies' is of greater interest. These, like those in the former series, Dr. Morris thinks are in their present form transcriptions from earlier copies, and are modernized by the transcriber. The dialect of the transcriber the learned editor states to be East Midland, and that in which the Homilies were originally written was, he thinks, Southern or West Saxon.

The matter of the Homilies is for the most part simple, wholesome reading—ecclesiastical ceremonies being, as might be expected, more insisted on than the greater number of the readers of this review would deem good; but faith and righteousness of life hold the chief places. 'Our lord Saint Paul' is spoken of as 'the head teacher of all holy churches,' whence it seems that his authority is not only of post-reformation recognition. The following extract from the Homily on the Creed will show something of the form and substance of these discourses. The passages quoted are from the translation, the original being too different from modern English to be intelligible to those who are not students of the older forms of our language.

'The true belief the twelve apostles put into writing ere they departed through the whole world to preach Christianity. But each of them wrote his verse, and St. Peter wrote the first. And the psalm which they all wrote is called the Creed, after the first word of the Psalm; and at the beginning of Christendom (Christianity) each man learnt the Lord's Prayer and Creed before he received baptism.

... You all know your creed, as I suppose, though you do not all know what it signifies. But listen now and attend to it, and I will teach you, by God's help, so that ye shall know.' The writer then comments on the Creed, clause by clause. On that asserting belief in Jesus Christ he says—

'He is called the Saviour for that He delivered mankind from the deadly venom that the old devil blew upon Adam, and upon his offspring; so that their fivefold powers were altogether infected with venom. But our Lord Jesus Christ, through His five holy wounds, shed His blood and gave it mankind to drink, and therewith [took] out of them that deadly venom, and with His short death delivered them out of eternal death, and with His brief sore [pain] rescued them out of everlasting sickness, and gave eternal health to all those that were willing to receive it.'

Appended to the Homilies is another version, with East Midland peculiarities, of a Moral Ode, copies of which with a translation have already been printed in the first series of the 'Old English Homilies,' and another version in an 'Old English Miscellany' (p. 58), already edited for the Society by Dr. Morris. A recent writer in the *Athenæum* (No. 2,895, p. 361) points out that the rhymes of this poem

throw much light on the questions in dispute with reference to Chaucer's rhymes.

The 'Complaynt of Scotlande' and the accompanying tracts are selections from the paper weapons, which, together with those of steel and iron, were throughout the sixteenth century employed by the Scots and English against each other, in hope thereby to hinder and to hasten the union of the realms, which at last came about without being either accelerated or delayed by any of the efforts of its partisans or opponents. The principal work is written by a Scottish patriot, who dedicated his book to Queen Mary of Guise, and, as may hence be inferred, opposed with all his might the English party. The tracts in the Appendix are on the English side of the controversy. Mr. Murray has written a very full introduction, giving an account of the circumstances in which the 'Complaynt' and other documents were written, of the MSS. of the 'Complaynt' now existing, of the several parts of the work itself, of its language—which he states to be Middle Scotch—and of its authorship, which he thinks uncertain.

Mr. Skeat gives us the third reprint of the 'Vision concerning Piers the Plowman,' from the 'Whittaker' text, or Text C. It is printed from Dr. Whittaker's own MS., and collated moreover with several MSS. preserved chiefly in Cambridge. This C-text is shown to be later than the B-text, which has already been published by the Society. Dr. Whittaker held a different opinion based on an allusion in the B-text to the burning of heretics. Mr. Skeat has shown that heretics were burnt in England before the Act 'De Heretico Comburendo' was passed. He has done this by quotations from Wiclif's sermons and by other evidence. He also shows that the B-text is intermediate between the A and C-texts, and assigns his reasons for thinking that it was written in 1393. The peculiarities of arrangement, omissions, additions, dialect, spelling of this last form of the famous vision, are reviewed with careful scholarship.

'Richard the Redeless' is now also printed for the third time. The date of this poem is brought within extremely narrow limits, and is attributed to William, the author of 'Piers the Plowman,' notwithstanding the very different opinion entertained on this subject by Mr. Wright. The arguments are very abundant and conclusive. 'The Crowned King' was an early imitation of 'Piers the Plowman,' addressed to Henry V. just before his campaign in France. The whole of these 144 lines are now printed for the first time. Their quaintness and admirable advice to Prince Hal, if it was really he, are worthy of the spirit of the great alliterative allegory on which the present editor has spent such boundless pains.

The part of the 'Romance of Sir Generydes' which now appears, is unaccompanied by preface, introduction, note, or glossary, some or all of which aids to the right appreciation of the work will probably be issued with the second part. Until that shall be published no further remark need be made than that the

poem—stated to be printed from a MS. of A.D. 1440, that is to say, during a period singularly barren in English literature of that kind—is easy and graceful in its verification, and graphic and vigorous in its descriptions.

'The Myroure of our Ladye' is full of interest. It was written, says Mr. Blunt, for the Sisters of Sion, a religious community which existed at Isleworth from 1415 to the dissolution of the monasteries; and consists of a 'Rationale' of Divine Service in general, with a translation and explanation of the 'Hours' and 'Masses' of our Lady, as they were used at Sion. Mr. Blunt gives a short but clear account of the foundation of the House. The period during which such foundations were frequent had passed when Sion was established in the reign of Henry V. Within a week from its foundation the Council was to begin its meeting in Constance, at which the first loud cry for the authoritative Reformation of the Church of England was made which culminated in the destruction of the monastic system in this country; and almost simultaneously 120 alien priories were being dissolved by Henry V. before he began the campaign which ended in Agincourt. Yet for a century and a quarter Sion was an exceedingly prosperous foundation, until it was suppressed by Henry VIII. Slowly thus are great changes effected in the habits of men.

Sion was one of two royal foundations made by Henry V. soon after his accession, the other being an establishment of Carthusian monks at Richmond, on the other side of the Thames. That at Isleworth was a nunnery of the Order of St. Bridget, a reformed branch of that of St. Augustine. St. Bridget was a Swedish princess who had lived about 100 years before the foundation of Sion, and the choice of this order appears to have arisen out of the marriage of Philippa, daughter of Henry IV., to Eric XIII. of Sweden and VII. of Denmark. In the embassy in charge of this marriage she had travelled to her husband's court. After the dissolution of the monastery the house and demesne at Sion was retained by the Crown. The sisters retired to another Brigittine house in Flanders to be restored for two short years to Isleworth during the reign of Mary Tudor. At its close they went back to Flanders. 'After many changes of residence and great poverty during the next half century, they were at last established in a new Sion at Lisbon in the year 1594. Here they still remain, restricting their community entirely to English ladies, and retaining the keys of their old English home, in the hope of eventually returning thither.' In the subsequent history of Sion itself the fact most remembered probably is that Lady Jane Grey was residing there 'when she was persuaded to become a nine-days' queen, and thence she proceeded in state to the Tower.' It was in 1604 granted by James I. to Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland, by whose representatives it has been since held.

Mr. Blunt says that at the dissolution no fault with the Sisters of Sion could be found. Their proper number was sixty, and there

were also twenty-five brothers, of whom thirteen were priests, four deacons, and eight laymen. They had, of course, a separate house from that of the sisters, and a distinct but adjacent chapel, with an opening from one to the other by a gate which was unlocked only for the entrance and departure of the clergy when they said Mass at the altar in the sisters' chapel. Much information on this subject is given in Mr. Blunt's volume 'Worthies of All Souls,' noticed on another page.

The learned editor points out the interesting evidence afforded by the Myroure of the tendency to vernacular services seen in conventual houses so early as the middle of the fifteenth century. Here we have versions more than a hundred years older than those in the Prayer Book of the Lord's Prayer, Te Deum, Benedictus, Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis, Nicene Creed, Gloria in Excelsis, and other parts of the old service of the Church. There is also a 'Life of St. Bridget' for those who may wish to become better acquainted with that holy person, or with what she was reported to have been. The book itself, however, consists of treatises on Divine Service, and Reading and Expositions of the Services throughout the week, and for certain special occasions. Of the character of these treatises and expositions we have not space to write. They are much directed to the inculcation of the worship of the Virgin, and contain quaint fancies; but they are written eloquently and display much earnest religious feeling.

Correspondence of William Ellery Channing, D.D., and Lucy Aikin, from 1826 to 1842.
Edited by ANNA LETITIA LE BRETON. Williams and Norgate.

The world will not soon tire of the grave, sympathetic, humane, and genial letters of Dr. Channing—they were the chief charm of his memoir. He delighted, like Southey and Arnold, to pour out his soul in letters, and, like most of his cultivated countrymen, felt an eager interest in the progress of English thought and life. This correspondence began in 1826, when Dr. Channing sent Miss Aikin his essay on Milton. The two were drawn together by certain religious sympathies, Miss Aikin being a Unitarian, and having an intense dislike of both Evangelicals and High Churchmen, as also of Church establishments. The correspondence gradually became more frequent and confidential; and at length discussed all matters of interest in politics, literature, theology, and general social life. The interest of the volume consists in the contemporary judgments of two persons, both eminent in literature, concerning persons and events, now judged by history. We must say that even concerning English men and things Dr. Channing's judgments are the clearest and fairest. In Miss Aikin's letters there is a feminine one-sidedness, which sometimes passes into spite. Dr. Channing has not infrequently to vindicate from her disparagements her literary contemporaries, such as Scott and Coleridge and Carlyle; and free-thinker as she was, she was a devout believer in British institutions, which

she sometimes vindicates with asperity against the criticisms of her republican friend.

When we remember what changes in English life, political, ecclesiastical, social, and literary, occurred during these eighteen years, the rich field of observation and criticism which is occupied by these letters will be understood. Although the letters make no pretensions on either side to the literary ability of those of Southey and Sara Coleridge, they are high-toned, sensible, and penetrating, and exceedingly interesting. They were never intended for publication. Indeed to prevent their publication an agreement was made that the whole of the correspondence should belong to the survivor; hence the letters to Dr. Channing were sent to Miss Aikin after his decease. Dr. Channing greatly valued Miss Aikin's letters, and laid himself out to elicit her opinions, often, he felt, at the risk of his own reputation for cautiousness. He wished therefore, as he told her, 'to guard against the possibility of their being published.' Miss Aikin and her niece, the editor, construed this, however, as relating only to parts of the letters; and thus, in the exercise of the editor's discretion, such portions of them as she thought Dr. Channing's interdict would not apply to are published. We cannot regret the publication, although we feel uneasy about the casuistry by which it is justified. Not the least instructive parts of the correspondence are its unfilled prophecies; but we must refer our readers to the volume itself.

History of English Literature. By H. A. TAINÉ, D.C.L. Translated from the French by H. Van Laun. Vol. IV. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.

This volume completes M. Van Laun's revised translation of Taine's *chef d'œuvre*, and so greatly is his work improved by niceties of rendering and pointedness of expression, that while it is faultless English, it carries the point and epigram of brilliant French. It would be difficult to name a translation which so felicitously renders the aroma as well as the idioms of one language into eloquent expressions of another. It seems a pity, now that the results of M. Van Laun's *labor limæ* are before us, that it was not bestowed before the first edition was published.

M. Taine's work is a most eloquent and sparkling contribution to our literary criticism. Its pages are brilliant with epigrammatic rhetoric. We know not where to look even in Macaulay for more eloquent descriptions or more acute characterization than the contrast between England and France—Tennyson and Alfred de Musset—which closes the work. And in this instance the rhetoric does not betray truthful criticism. Doubtless, France is as dissipated and as daring as England is respectable and cautious. But surely the wild visions of the former are not to be preferred for any end of social life to the regulated judgments of the latter. The history of the two peoples is a sufficient comment upon their respective characteristics. The more brilliant

lights are lurid, and practically lead astray; the more subdued lights may be the calm, clear sunshine of nature, in which things are seen most truly, and life is realized in its highest conditions.

No doubt Tennyson is inferior to Alfred de Musset in that fitful and daring originality which is the result of the supreme poet's visions, and which, among our English poets, Shelley possessed in a supreme degree, and Swinburne possesses in a far inferior degree; but it is vision which lightning-flashes enable; and again one thinks of the calm, clear sunlight in which Shakespeare and Goethe were content to see things. Whether is the greater faculty, to clothe familiar things with divine beauty, or to see lurid shapes of less familiar things, uncertain whether they be angels or fiends? Nightmare fancies are not to be compared to calm realizations of many-sided thought. Balance of faculty has deceived acuter critics than M. Taine. Poor Alfred de Musset! He 'must be read in Paris.' Does M. Taine mean this for a note of poetical transcendence? May God keep us from the type of national life congruous to poets like Alfred de Musset! Nor can we desire types of poets who need as the conditions of their genius such a life as Alfred de Musset lived and such a death as he died. M. de Taine has, however, wronged the genius of his illustrious countryman. His profligacy was its culpable accident, not its essential condition. It is but one instance of the ill-balanced judgments which are the grave qualifications of M. de Taine's very brilliant book.

Essays, Critical and Narrative. By WILLIAM FORSYTH, Q.C., LL.D., M.P., Author of 'The Life of Cicero,' &c., &c.

We must give Mr. Forsyth credit for an orderly method of treating his themes, large knowledge of certain fields of fact, and a fair style. But he has little elevation, and seldom touches his subject with colour, even where it would seem naturally to lend itself to such treatment. He seldom makes great points, and his thoughts are never so fused as to run freely into imaginative moulds. His criticisms of De Quincey and Eugène de Guérin, for example, are for this simple reason inadequate. His remarks on Carlyle, Dickens, Macaulay, and Emerson are very sensible, but often misleading, especially where he speaks of Emerson as *spasmodic* and a disciple of Carlyle. The article on Brougham's Speeches, and the Lecture on Cobbett are much more in keeping with his mode of writing, and the two articles on 'Legal Reform' show capacity to take large views; and this is especially seen in the contrast of the Scotch and English systems of criminal procedure. The sketch of the interior economy of Portland Prison is one of the very best things Mr. Forsyth has done, though of course it is not so ambitious as some of the Quarterly Essays. The volume will, no doubt, be found attractive by many, for it is full of information, to the sources of which in some cases it would be difficult to go.

Romano Lavo-Lil: Wordbook of the Romany, or English Gipsy Language. By GEORGE BORROW. John Murray.

The veteran author of 'The Bible in Spain,' and 'Lavengro,' has furnished us with a singularly interesting contribution to our knowledge of a most obscure subject. He has dotted down, without much attempt at orderly arrangement, a number of curious facts bearing on gipsy life and language. He has given a vocabulary of the Eastern tongue which is still spoken by this strange people, and indicated various relations of it with the Sanscrit, both in its root forms and its combinations. Short sayings, scraps of religious idea, tales which appear singularly destitute of moral sense, verses which here and there have a faint gleam of poetic feeling, a translation of 'The Wisdom of the Egyptians,' and some account of 'gypsyries' in England follow one another in the volume. The most romantic thing in the book is the author's account of an extraordinary English Gipsy woman of surpassing beauty and terrible powers, who has moods and ways which might make her at one time a Mrs. Heep, at another time a Lady Macbeth, and then again a Geraldine. The account of 'Thomas Herne,' in Gipsy and English, shows that the former language depends largely on English verbs, nouns, and prepositions for the construction of its sentences. There are, moreover, fragments of French, Turkish and Spanish, Teutonic and Greek, scattered here and there in the vocabulary and specimens of Romany. We cannot say that Mr. Borrow has inspired much interest in these people. Their absorption among the dregs of our population will not be of any advantage to them, but we fail to see anything to admire or to wish to preserve in the methods of life and thought so ingeniously hunted up.

The Works of Alfred Tennyson; Early Poems. (Henry S. King.) This elegant little volume is the first instalment of various editions of the works of the Laureate which his new publishers promise us. It is the first of a 'Cabinet edition' in ten half-crown volumes. We like everything about it but the red binding, which should be reserved for things more militant or utilitarian than poetry. An admirable photograph of Tennyson is given as a frontispiece. For pocket use, this is perhaps the most convenient edition of Tennyson issued yet.—*Old-Fashioned Stories.* By THOMAS COOPER. (Hodder and Stoughton.) Mr. Cooper's literary ability, aided by the circumstances of his history, have given him a success which is in danger of making him presume. Very few men, even of the highest genius, can afford to have published the mere sweepings of their study. These tales of Mr. Cooper's youth are scarcely worth republication. They are both slight and crude, and fail to take hold upon the reader; while the over-confidence and jolly goodfellowship of the preface excites unnecessary prejudice against a genuine and highly

gifted man whose honourable and manly course has won for him strong commendation and sympathy.—*'Innocent': a Tale of Modern Life.* By MRS. OLIPHANT. Fourth edition; with Illustrations. (Sampson Low and Co.) It is enough to say of Mrs. Oliphant's 'Innocent' that its rapid progress through four editions, to the honour of a place among Low's 'Standard Novels,' is a sufficient justification of the high praise which we bestowed upon its first appearance, as a powerful and independent study of character.—*Mistress Judith.* A Cambridgeshire Story by C. C. FRASER-TYTLER. Second edition. (Sampson Low and Co.) The publishers have also done well to add so soon to the same series perhaps the sweetest story and most perfect idyll of the season. Notwithstanding an undue character of melancholy, and yet all the pathos of life is in its sorrows, 'Mistress Judith' will long occupy a place on the shelf of select fiction, which we read over and over again.—*Old Acquaintance.* By MRS. BROTHERTON. (Smith, Elder, and Co.) Mrs. Brotherton has collected into this volume a number of short but clever tales and sketches apparently contributed to magazines. If we say the stories belong to the Enoch Arden family, we may perhaps suggest their character; they deal largely, and as if by a kind of fascination, with the sins and sorrows that pertain to man and wife. They are written with a good deal of dash and cleverness, and impress one as a brilliant dinner-out does. Perhaps we were prejudiced by the somewhat sentimental gushing of the dedication; at any rate, although admiring some of the things in the stories, none of them have pleased us. There is nothing exactly wrong in them; and we may be prudish, but we put the volume out of the way of our girls. Devoutly echoing the desire of the writer that 'our fiction be kept pure,' we would preserve it much more largely from even the purest treatment of illicit relations of the sexes.—*'What Can She Do?'* By the Rev. E. P. ROR. (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.) A story with a good wholesome moral, intended to set forth the vices of fashionable education, although with no pretensions to high literary character. It narrates the fortunes of a New York merchant who is suddenly reduced from Fifth Avenue affluence to poverty, and dies, leaving his helpless wife and three daughters penniless. Edith the heroine shows what a strong hopeful nature can do in the greatest straits and amid the heaviest troubles. It seems right that she should marry Arden, although this is more congruous in American social life than it would be in our own. The story is worth reading for its exhibition of character.—*The House of Raby: or, Our Lady of Darkness.* By MRS. GEORGE HOOPER. (Henry S. King and Co.) Messrs. King have added this powerful and well written story to their Cornhill Library of Fiction. In feebler hands, the curse of hereditary insanity might become repulsive, in Mrs. Hooper's hands it is simply tragic.—*Five Weeks in a Balloon. A Voyage of Exploration and Discovery in Central Africa.* From the French of JULES VERNE. With sixty-four Illustrations by RIV.

Second Edition. (Sampson Low and Co.) Jules Verne is inimitable in his scientific burlesques. While they are the very perfection of nonsense, rivalling Munchausen himself in impossible adventures, they are so much more than nonsense from the extensive scientific knowledge upon which they are constructed, that they really convey a great deal of valuable information. This is one of his earlier books. We remember meeting with a translation of it in the United States some four or five years ago. This is, apparently, an independent translation and is somewhat compressed. Whether the 'second edition' refers to the original or to this translation we are not told. Its twofold purpose is to convey an idea of what has been done in African discovery, and to satirise some of the 'travellers' tales' that have been told us. Livingstone crossed the continent on foot, Dr. Ferguson and his companions cross it in a balloon; and in telling us what is known about it they recount marvellous adventures. M. Jules Verne has invented a literature.—*Virtue's Imperial Shakespeare*. Edited by CHARLES KNIGHT, with illustrations by Cope, Leslie, MacLise, E. M. Ward, W. P. Frith, H. S. Marks, and others. Div. VI. (Virtue and Co.) The present division of this superb work includes *Othello*, *Timon of Athens*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, and *Troilus and Cressida*. The illustrations are Cope's 'Othello relating his Adventures'; Richardson's 'Prince Henry'; 'Poins and Falstaff'; Ward's 'Juliet in the Cell of Friar Lawrence'; Leslie's 'Queen Katherine'; and Pott's 'Prince Arthur and Hubert.' Both in its literature and its illustrations it sustains the peerless character of this edition of our great dramatist.—*Cassy*. By HESBA STRETTON. Author of 'Lost Gip.' (H. S. King and Co.) 'Cassy' is not quite so touching as 'Lost Gip,' but it makes up for this in its admirable sketches of character and fine passages of description, such as that of the 'Forest,' 'Old Simon,' the dwarf, and the 'Old Master,' and 'Mrs. Tilly' are admirable bits of portraiture. Perhaps it is as careful a piece of work as has yet come from Miss Stretton's hand.—*Civil Service*. By J. T. LISTADO. (H. S. King and Co.) This is a novel of Irish life. The scene of the plot is laid in a small town on the Eastern coast of Ireland, called Selskar; and after a short and somewhat grandiloquent description of the locality, the author proceeds at once to unfold the tale. The society of the small town is well described, and the reader is here introduced to most of the *dramatis personæ*, among them to a young fellow who may be called the hero of the story, and to a Mr. Hugh Haughton, a scion of the great family of the Haughtons, who are the squires of the place. It is around the quarrels and intrigues of this family that the story is entwined. Our hero, after one or two delightful flirtations and other social incidents of a more or less interesting character, goes into a Government office in England, whither most of the interest of the middle part of the story is transferred. From this time the plot thickens rapidly, and finally culminates in a most exciting trial at law, in Selskar, to decide the rival claims of members

of the Haughton family. This trial ends in a result which is totally unexpected by the spectators in the court, though partly guessed and hoped for by the reader; a result which confounds those who have been basing their hopes on an utterly unscrupulous course of scheming, and crowns our hero and the charming girl he is about to marry with a happiness which the reader rejoices has fallen to their lot. The book is not free from faults. Descriptions now and then verge on the ridiculous, as when, in two or three places, a young lady's eyes are described as 'emitting a violet light.' Nor can we sympathize with the author in the fate he has found for a rich, beautiful, and spirited girl, whom he has married, as it seems in mere wantonness, to a dry, middle-aged Government official. At the same time, the plot is well conceived, the story lively and abounding in incidents, the dialogues spirited, the characters vividly drawn, and the whole book one which will interest and fascinate the reader.

THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, AND PHILOLOGY.

Supernatural Religion. An Inquiry into the Reality of Divine Revelation. Two Vols. Longmans and Co.

Although written with a certain air of candour we cannot describe this work as quite a candid performance; and with much assumption of impartiality we cannot acquit the writer of betraying a certain bias which vitiates the conclusion he arrives at. The writer's intention is twofold—first, to criticize the supernatural in general; and, secondly, to discuss the claims to be authentic of the documents on which Christianity rests. He professes to undertake a fresh investigation; but it is, in reality, an attack on the two fundamental lines of proof on which our religion rests—the *a priori* and the *a posteriori*. With regard to the former the writer assumes—and we may remark *in limine*, that there is quite as much assumption in his stand-point as in ours—that all religions alike lay claim to the supernatural, and that these claims are about equally true and equally false. They are either mythical distortions of physical facts, or legendary exaggerations of great and heroic actions; but in neither case do they bear the test of investigation. They are the glorious dreams of the world's infancy, and they fade into the light of common day when modern science turns her critical glass to look at them. This, as every one remembers, is the tone of half-insulting homage to the supernatural which M. Renan adopts; and though the tone of this writer is more serious and less ironical, there is no doubt that his view is the same. His second position, that the documents themselves are untrustworthy, grows of course out of the former. If the supernatural in general is discredited, the Record, which is filled with such old wives' fables, cannot be worth much attention. In-

deed, the writer might have spared himself more than two-thirds of his labour. Nearly half of the first volume, and the whole of the second, is taken up with negative criticisms, second-hand from the German, which those who are familiar with Bauer, Schweitzer, Scholten, and others, may take as so much surplusage. We shall not follow the writer through these excerpts from German criticism. He would, probably, admit that, but for Bauer and his school, his second volume could not have been written. We may, therefore, refuse to follow him into criticisms which are only echoes of echoes.

Confining ourselves to the first half of the first volume, we think the question which he raises *in limine* is entitled to respectful consideration, and awakens the thought which Strauss has formulated in the phrase 'Are we still Christians?' Undoubtedly, if there be no supernatural then away with the pretence of Christianity. Let there be no deception about it; no more masquerading of pious angurs, like the old school of Naturalists, unable to look each other in the face, an I to say, as Rousseau remarked of the Pastors of Geneva in his day, whether they were Christians or not. For that reason we think that Strauss' outspokenness did an unspeakable service in Germany, for which we could almost thank and forgive him for all the rest of his criticism. He helped to clear the air from these mephitic vapours of half belief which are deadly to real truth and conviction. We have no complaint, then, to make of the writer for beginning with the supernatural, and placing it Uriah-like in the front of the battle, to be slain by the first dart of modern criticism. We agree with him, moreover, that it is a mistake to assume, as Paley and Mozley, and other orthodox writers do that admitted the being of a personal God, the whole question of the supernatural may be taken as assumed. For it is one thing to admit that God may work a miracle, and another to say that he has done so, and that we are able to distinguish what are true and what are false miracles. In fact the question has been argued too much *in vacuo* on both sides, as if the Being of God were the point on which the question turned, and not His perfections, or rather to speak more strictly still His relation to us.

This leads us to the point, where we think this writer, in common with many others, forgets that to have no prepossessions in this matter is in reality to have them. The question of the truth of the supernatural in general, more especially of Christianity, turns on antecedent probability more than many writers on the evidences suspect. A great deal has been said for and against the miraculous on the assumption that no amount of evidence could prove a miracle, for of two probabilities it was greater that testimony should be false than that a violation of the laws of nature should be true. The usual reply to Hume has been the Whatelean distinction between probability before proof and after. It has been argued that there is not a single remarkable fact of history which was not antecedently improbable. Whately's Historic Doubts as to the existence of Napoleon Bona-

parte was supposed to dispose of objections of the class of Hume's. The miracles, however extraordinary in themselves, rest on evidence; and granted that the evidence is strong in itself and circumstantial enough, *cadit questio*. We do not think Hume's argument can be disposed of in this off-hand way. On the contrary, we think that from the Deist's point of view, and much more from the Atheist's, a miracle is so improbable that the accumulation of testimony is only piling up false witness. Paul's question to Agrippa, 'Seemeth it to thee a thing incredible that God should raise the dead?' is one the incredibility of which exists in the state of mind of the person to whom the testimony is produced. In other words we can never treat Christianity as a *caput mortuum*, an extraordinary historical fact requiring strong historical proof to vouch for it, but nothing more. This is the line which writers on the evidences generally take up, and a writer against the supernatural meets them on their own ground.

But suppose we change our ground. Suppose we set out with certain postulates vouched for, no matter how—whether we call it the voice of conscience, or the common consent of mankind, or the aspirations of the better class of men—but assuming in any case that the spiritual in man, whatever that means (we do not define it, but only assume its existence) seems to require some objective reality corresponding to it; then the whole question assumes a new shape. Man as a being, depraved indeed, but with desires after what is holy, just, and good, longs for deliverance and reunion with the Divine. Either there is a God, and these aspirations come from Him, and are in themselves a pledge of deliverance, or there is not; and then all is a mockery, and we 'roll the prayer to wintry skies.' But assuming that there is a God, and that we are made in his image, we are then in an attitude to see how miracles are as reasonable, as to the unspiritual Deist or Atheist they are unreasonable. That we are not orphans, and that in Richter's language we do not behold instead of an eye an empty socket, and hear a moan through the universe 'There is no God,' is indeed the key to the position. Redemption, in the strict sense of the word, is not conceivable without an apparatus of miracles; but the previous question is one not so much of evidence as to the truth or falsehood of the supernatural, but as to the spiritual facts of man, and as to whether they raise a presumption in favour of such a redemption. From the point of view from which we look at it, and ours we think is the point of view of intelligent belief, not of mere blind credulity, the supernatural is antecedently probable. That God should visit and redeem His people, and attest it by signs and wonders, seems to us as rational as to those without these spiritual prepossessions it seems irrational and incredible.

We do not then blame the mere scientist for rejecting the supernatural *in toto*. He is consistent from his point of view as we are from ours. The only question is whether his point of view is the right one, and as there is no arbiter between us but human nature we appeal to that tribunal. Tried *in foro scientiæ*, the

supernatural is wildly absurd, and we should give up the case. Tried *in foro conscientie*, and the case is altered. Thus it is that the *testimonium animæ naturaliter Christianæ* comes in here with its full weight. The presumptions are now all in its favour, as before they were all against it.

Now we complain of this writer because he tries to look at the supernatural as Renan does, as a mere question of testing evidence by men of science. This jury-box view of religion is the absurd view of the unspiritual evidential school of the last century. We thought it was dead with the school that brought it into fashion, but it creeps up again and again. The writer finds fault, for instance, with Dr. Stoughton, for illogically assuming that there are certain presumptions in favour of miracles, without which the bare testimony would not be sufficient. But to our thinking Dr. Stoughton is quite as logical as his critic. It is a question here not of logic but of fact. There is a spiritual philosophy, whether we agree with it or not. The preparation of the Gospel is found wherever men are seeking after God, if haply they may find Him, though He is not far from any one of us. The whole of Paul's argument on Mars' Hill turns on this, and the reason why there is so much scepticism among men of science is, because the orthodox misstate their case as often as their opponents. Unspiritual dogmatism confronts an unspiritual scepticism. Is it to be wondered that there is no *mordant* in such a case between reason and faith? The colours will not bite, because the combining element is wanting.

To all that this writer has to say of ecclesiastical miracles and prodigies in general, we say nothing. He is welcome to puerilities of this kind, and may make what he likes of it. But the true miracle (the alarm bell of the universe, as John Foster finely called it) rests on a different footing. It is rational, because antecedently probable. There is much that we should agree with in the writer's after-criticisms. He disposes of Dr. Irons very well, who would have us believe in the Bible and in miracles on the authority of the Church, which is only a round-about way of asking us to believe in Dr. Irons; he is welcome to put such irons as these in the fire. But let sceptics say what they like, our spiritual instincts, the longing for immortality, the yearning for deliverance from sin, the desire for re-union with our Father in Heaven—these *assumptions*, as he calls them, do excite a prepossession in favour of miracles, which makes the difference between an electric conductor and non-conductor. If this writer's mind is unable to respond to any of these instincts, then instead of sitting down to criticise the supernatural, he would do better to study himself. Illogical as it sounds, Christianity is either self-evidential or it is not evidential at all. As a remedial system, it assumes a corresponding sense of need in us, and if we have no sense of dependence, then it has no message for us. They that are whole need not a physician—but they that are sick. To negative criticisms we have only one reply—try it.

The Life of Christ. By FREDERICK W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S. Two Vols. Cassell, Pether, and Galpin.

Affluent as has been the Christological literature evoked by Strauss's first '*Leben Jesu*,' and manifold as have been its forms, there was room for the kind of biography that Dr. Farrar has here supplied. Discarding all prolegomena, and restricting his collateral matter to notes and an appendix of excursions of some fifty pages, Dr. Farrar simply tells the great Gospel story, addressing himself to the popular rather than to the learned mind. He is, however, thoroughly qualified by general scholarship and by special study, for justifying the conclusions that he reaches, and the views that he propounds; so that, while popular in form and eminently readable, his scholarly basis and reasons are adequately indicated either in the inlaying of the text or in the foot-notes.

The position of Dr. Farrar is that of the orthodox evangelical school, and his work is, generally speaking, a vindication of the conclusions reached by those who believe in the supernatural and mediatorial work of our Lord as the Incarnate Son of God and the Redeemer of men, and who believe that the New Testament is a divinely authoritative record of His life and teaching. Perhaps one great service of the work will be to show that such conclusions are not the ignorant assumptions of a weak and superstitious religious feeling, as is often and with much superciliousness affirmed, but that they rest on the investigations and deductions of a scholarship every whit as extensive and profound as that of antagonistic schools. The truth is, that mere scholarship is the prerogative of no school; of itself it cannot determine religious truths; although it is equally true that religious truth, in its scientific claims, cannot be determined without it. Dr. Farrar's tendency to a somewhat glittering rhetoric is a good deal more subdued in this history than it is in his sermons, although we should have liked his work better had it been still more simple. Some passages, however, deepen into rich pathos, under the march of his eloquence and of his reproductive imagination, although here and there a pictorial touch escapes him which facts hardly justify; as, for example: The Quarantania is described as 'looking over the sluggish bituminous waters of the Sodomitic sea,' which suggests a proximity much nearer than twelve or fourteen miles; that our Lord on His way to Gethsemane crossed the wady of the Kedron, 'and up the green and quiet slope beyond it.' The chapter on the Passion, however, is one of the most tender and powerful in the volume. In it, as elsewhere, the spell of Dr. Farrar's eloquence is very great. It suffices to suggest moreover what could not be put into exact words. Those who have read Mr. Ward Beecher's '*Life of Christ*,' or at least that part of it which is published, may from it derive a sufficiently just impression of the method of Dr. Farrar's work, only Dr. Farrar employs the *apparatus criticus* of an accomplished classical and German scholar; the effect

of which is seen in the richness of his narrative, the great breadth of his reading, and in the way in which, with much artistic skill, it is shaped so as to anticipate adverse judgments. The apologetic and the history are combined in a very masterly manner. In reading Mr. Beecher's book we could not help wishing that its chapters had been sermons, and that, disregarding questions of scholarship, save as embodied in results, he had employed his great rhetorical genius in painting a series of pulpit pictures of the scenes of our Lord's life, such as he only among living orators can paint. His book suffers somewhat from too severe a repression of his great gift of oratory. Dr. Farrar's scholarship makes us feel that sometimes his rhetoric could be advantageously subdued.

Nothing is more conspicuous to discerning readers than the wise, reverent judgments of Dr. Farrar's work. He does not press theory, or the natural desire to understand too far. Many questions over which theorists have waged fierce battle—for instance, the external character of our Lord's temptation—he refuses to pronounce upon. His is the wise reverence that knows the limits of the knowable. We feel, however, that it is an incongruity even to suggest that the temptation to turn stones into bread might have been incited by the shape of the stones, that 'the stones were perhaps the *lapides judaici*, which assume the exact shape of little loaves of bread.'

Of course there are conclusions of Dr. Farrar from which we differ. For instance, we do not think the reasons which he assigns for rejecting Tabor as the mount of transfiguration are conclusive. We do not say that it was, but its claims cannot be disallowed on the grounds assigned. The length of the ridge of Tabor—the fortification at its eastern end notwithstanding—gave ample room for the event described. The passage in Mark is too indefinite to bear Dr. Farrar's construction that Christ did not pass through Galilee until after the transfiguration, nor is *Paneum* one of the slopes of Hermon—an insignificant hill. No doubt 'many a spot on the slope of Hermon where he could pray with his disciples' might be found, but this is true of almost every hill in Palestine. The present writer, too, looked at the probabilities of both localities, and came to the conclusion that Tabor has claims fully equal to those of Hermon.

On the whole, we must speak very highly of Dr. Farrar's elaborate, learned, and yet eminently popular work. For the general reader, as distinguished from the polemic, it is by far the best life of Christ that has appeared. It is reverent but not credulous; it gives the results of the latest scholarship, English and Continental, without obtruding them; it rests the entire progression of the history upon an evidential basis, and yet the latent or suggested proof never stiffens the flowing narrative, or interrupts its eloquence; one simply feels the coherence of the whole. And how much more natural and simple Dr. Farrar's position is than that of unbelievers. Dr. Farrar has rendered a much greater service than the simple form of his book may at first suggest. He has lifted our thoughts

from mere details to the beauty and harmony of the entire conception of our Lord which these wonderful gospels present. And perhaps this is the most effectual way of resolving even difficulties of detail—at any rate it reduces them to the category of things for which some explanation is possible to his work. Dr. Farrar has brought a ripe and wide scholarship, to which the manifold archaeological, historical, geographical, and philological achievements of our age have contributed in an amazing degree; also a keen spiritual discernment, a reverent religious sympathy, and a glowing and fervent eloquence, which have contributed a distinct and important element to modern Christology.

Present-Day Papers on Prominent Questions in Theology: Catholic Thoughts on the Bible and Theology. Second Series. By the late **FREDERIC MYERS, M.A.**, Perpetual Curate of St. John's, Keswick. W. Isbister and Co.

We explained in a notice of the first series of these posthumous meditations of the Rev. Frederic Myers, how the manuscript of this remarkable and cultivated man has at length come into possession of the public. It is interesting to observe that the *postscript* of the latest of these Catholic Thoughts was dated in the year 1848; seeing that the author appears even then to have confronted most of the problems of modern Biblical criticism and historic and dogmatic theology. If these meditations had been published thirty or even twenty years ago as the deliberate convictions of a clergyman of the Church of England, the cry would have been fierce, and the courts of law, and other methods of coercion, would have been set in motion to express the dissatisfaction of the authorities of the Church. Nothing can be more explicit than the author's belief in the Divine revelation contained, or involved, in the Holy Scripture. There are passages of rare force and eloquence, in which the moral and spiritual claims of the Bible are lifted above all other literature, sacred or profane; yet we have never seen the position of the anti-literalist maintained with more stringent force, or the dogma of verbal inspiration demolished with greater succinctness. There are a few points which when urged from the purely and intensely Christian standpoint have almost the force of novelty. The author shows that the charge of *adding* to the words of God is as serious as that of *subtracting* from them, and makes it abundantly obvious that the principles on which the canon of both the Old Testament and the New were decided, make to the present hour the largest demand on the exercise of the right of private judgment. He defends the position that in the formation of the entire collection, there is not the slightest hint that a supernatural or miraculous force was in operation, that the Jews until the time of the Captivity were singularly listless and careless about the preservation of their sacred books, that no authority to which we are compelled to bow determined or adequately limited or even stated the principle on which the books of the New Testament were collected. He recognises the objection arising from the difficulty of detaching the eternal truth from its temporary clothing,

the Divine thought from its human envelope, and he does so with singular freshness, beauty, and reasonableness; but we think he pushes the law of 'accommodation' to human ignorance and weakness to an extent which would render the task perilously difficult. The volume deserves extended analysis and here and there stringent criticism. The historical reflections which abound in the second part of the work run counter to current opinion on the destiny of Israel, and on the origin of its religious ideas, but they are modestly set forth with such an air of strong conviction that they carry with them great weight. Prophecy in Scripture is not to 'be conceived of under the form of an image of history thrown from the future upon the present; but rather under that of a prominent principle continually reproducing itself in the future.' Much space is devoted to the discussion of this 'principle' of prophecy, and to the consequences derivable from the ultimate principle of Protestantism. The author leaves it to be inferred what was his position towards Theology proper; and we have no space at present to set forth his views in any detail. The two volumes are charged with healthy thinking, and profess to be a specimen of Christian Positivism, stripping many facts of the delusive glamour and illegitimate sentiment that has been thrown around them. They are throughout profoundly reverent and sympathetic, and are models of Christian controversy.

The Religion of Israel to the Fall of the Jewish State. By Dr. A. KUENEN, Professor of Theology at the University of Leyden. Translated from the Dutch by ALFRED HEATH MAY. Vol. I. Williams and Norgate.

The new Theological Translation Society seems to have arranged its publications in the order of rationalistic development. The comparatively conservative rationalism of Keim was followed by the more daring speculations of Baur, and now we have in Kuenen what may, we suppose, be regarded as the *ne plus ultra* of rationalistic history. Dr. Kuenen not only deals with the records of the Old Testament as Niebuhr dealt with the myths of Rome, but he reduces them to pretty much the same value. We will, however, give his own representation of his stand-point.

He rightly affirms that the Jewish and Christian religions can be included in a homogeneous group of 'the principal religions' only if there exist no specific difference between these two and all other forms of religion. Unless it be from want of thought, this cannot be admitted by those who derive Jewish and Christian religions from special Divine revelation, and all other forms from human invention. For this idea places so deep a gulf between these two and the rest of 'the principal religions,' that their union in one group can only lead to misunderstanding and confusion.

That this belief is entertained by Jews and Gentiles is indubitable, and the rise of it has to be accounted for. Dr. Kuenen reminds us, however, that it is a belief common to the fol-

lowers of Zarathustra, Sakya-Mooni, and Mohammed.

Modern theological science does not start from this belief. It applies 'impartial criticism' to these systems, in the application of which the rise of such belief evolves, but only to be rejected, inasmuch as it was the outcome not only of national vanity but of ignorance of other nations and religions. In answer to the question, whether 'the belief in Israel's selection is still tenable in our days?' Dr. Kuenen 'does not hesitate to reply in the negative.' 'We now perceive that the means of which God was formerly thought to have made use are altogether disproportioned to the end which in reality was to be attained.' 'Our conception of God, and of the extent of His activity, of the plan of the universe and its course has become far too wide and too grand for the ideas of Israel's prophets to appear any longer otherwise than misplaced in it.'

Dr. Kuenen affirms that 'this belief in the exceptional origin of the religion of the Israelites is founded simply and solely on the testimony of their holy records.' 'Although considered as a whole, the Old Testament may with justice be adduced as testifying in favour of supernaturalism, its separate parts, regarded by the light of criticism, speak loudly for a natural development, both of the Israelitish religion itself and of the belief in its heavenly origin.' 'He who relies upon the impressions made by the whole, without interrogating the parts one by one, repudiates the first principles of all scientific research, and pays homage to superficiality.' Quite true, but surely the admission is fatal; is it not strange that the separate parts should each point in a direction opposite to that in which the whole leads us, and that in the judgment of many very learned and laborious critics of the parts, the impression produced by the whole is really an induction from them? But we do not wish to criticise so much as to put our readers in possession of Dr. Kuenen's stand-point. On these principles he rejects the supernatural and applies disintegrating principles of rationalistic criticism to the Old Testament records. He assumes, as a matter of course, that 'the last twenty-six chapters of the Book of Isaiah are not the productions of Hezekiah's contemporary, but of a later prophet, who flourished in the second half of the sixth century B.C.; that by far the most, if not all the Psalms which bear David's name, are incorrectly ascribed to him; that the fortunes and prophecies of Daniel were committed to writing in the year 165 B.C.' These discoveries, and the modern chronological arrangement of the books of the Old Testament render possible for the first time a real history of religious ideas in Israel. The narratives of the exodus from Egypt and the wanderings of the Israelites through the desert, are made known to us in narratives 'probably written about the middle of the eighth century (about 750) B.C.; others are evidently still more recent, and no one can be proved to have been written before the year 800 B.C.' As the exodus from Egypt falls in the year 1320 B.C., 'on the most favourable supposition, therefore,

a period of more than five centuries intervenes between the event and the earliest account; which completely disposes of Moses and the historical authority of the Pentateuch. Dr. Kuenen's method, therefore, is to begin with the eighth century, the period of Isaiah, which 'we know with sufficient certainty from the writings which it has produced,' and to attempt an explanation of the then religious condition of Israel. Then follows an attempt to deduce from it an account of Israel's previous fortunes, a kind of inverted process of evolution applied to history; which is as if the history of England from the Conquest were deduced from the condition of the people at the period of the Reformation. Next, in a general and preliminary manner, he attempts to determine the course which Israel's religious development *must* have followed. Next, as the imaginary lines deepen, the author sketches the outlines of the history of Israel's religion before and during the eighth century; after which he goes regularly forward, and has no more occasion to depart from the chronological order. We do not deny the scientific legitimacy of this method in the absence of historical documents. The monstrous assumption of Dr. Kuenen is that there is no literature in the Old Testament older than the eighth century. This conclusion is reached by a purely subjective process of historical consciousness and of ingenious castle-in-the-air-building. Ewald is nowhere compared with Dr. Kuenen. As much is to be said for the poems of Homer as for the Pentateuch of Moses. And yet these writings have been the religious authorities of an intelligent people, and are so to this day; and have moreover been accepted as supernatural by the intellectual and scientific mind of Christendom, that is, by the most advanced thought of the world for two thousand years. In their chronological order they follow the laws of scientific development, both of theological thought and religious life. On Dr. Kuenen's assumption, through the course of eight centuries, on the ordinary assumption of thirteen, a miscellaneous series of pamphlets was accidentally produced, of marvellous theological, religious, moral, and social congruity; the last related to the first, in strict development, and in many ways attesting the first; all being attested by Christian writers, by intellects such as those of Jesus and Paul. Great are the credulities of scepticism! It would be futile to nibble at little bits of Dr. Kuenen's argument, which is minute and subtle. Its gratuitous assumptions and extravagant conclusions will be its sufficient refutation with all who can test genuine historical evidence.

Speech in Season. By the Rev. H. R. HAWEIS, M.A., Incumbent of St. James's, Westminster Street, Marylebone, Author of 'Thoughts for the Times,' &c., &c. Henry S. King and Co.

There is, it must be admitted, a slight touch of pretentiousness about the title of some of Mr. Haweis' recent volumes; but then authors are not always responsible for this, as was shown by Dr. Guthrie, in one instance, when

he modestly warned his readers that the title was not one of his choosing. Mr. Haweis has a certain bright dashing way with him, which generally must make listening to his preaching very pleasant, indeed. He has resort to all sorts of expedients to enliven his discourse, some of which old-fashioned people might not like. But then he tells you so plainly that he is new-fashioned, that you need not advance this criticism. We are not sure, however, of the good that can be done in the pulpit by such a semi-professional excursus as we have here on *Insanity*, in the sermon so named: is it not possible there might have been some of Mr. Haweis' hearers—more especially that he is so well up to the needs of the times—to whom his details of 'symptoms' might have been inexpressively painful? In the sermon on Baptism we have some remarks about animal magnetism, which we cannot help thinking are slightly open to the same objection. But magnetism intentionally plays so large a part here that we have some doubt about its being in advance of the times. The 'Priesthood, Magnetic and Spiritual,' is, however, in several respects, a powerful discourse, and that on the 'Action of Prayer' we have read with pleasure. There is a good deal of thought in the Sermon on 'Dogmatic Theology,' and generally, even when his desire to be pungent savours a little of flippancy, we see the result of knowledge and culture. The book is in every way well worth reading; though the question will sometimes arise, in the course of reading it, is this 'high-pressure' intellectual preaching, as we may call it in opposition to the simple, homely, colloquial style, and the decidedly sensational style, likely to have much real influence? No doubt, however, Mr. Haweis finds that it attracts hearers and interests readers; the one danger is that it may be overdone. Mr. Haweis has, on the whole, kept as yet on the right side.

The Mysteries of Christianity: being the Baird Lecture for 1874. By T. J. CRAWFORD, D.D., F.R.S.E., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. William Blackwood and Sons.

By 'mystery' Dr. Crawford understands 'some matter pertaining to the Divine character and procedure, which even when revealed is not fully comprehensible by us.' The difficulty of comprehension is referable to several distinct causes, and the analysis of these causes provides a chapter in the 'grammar of assent.' The author insists with great pertinence upon the unreasonableness of setting aside the mysterious doctrines of Christianity simply on the ground that 'we cannot believe what we do not fully understand;' but he dismisses the phrases 'mysterious doctrine' and 'revealed mystery' as inaccurate, on the ground that the mystery encompasses the *subject* of the doctrine, the *reality* which is revealed. So far as the mystery is unveiled it is not mysterious, so far as the subject is reduced to the form of doctrine, it is deprived of its mysteriousness. The explanation of these facts and truths and their relation to other facts and

truths, being matters concerning which no revelation is made, and concerning which no faith is required from us, constitute the very essence of the mystery. There are several respects in which a revealed doctrine may be considered as having mystery connected with it. The absence of internal evidence by which the doctrine can be verified: the transcendental nature of the subject: the limited extent of the disclosure: the seeming inconsistency of the doctrine with other doctrines or with dictates of our rational or moral faculties: the inadequacy of human language: and the contrariety of the dispositions of man as a fallen creature rendering the judgment obtuse or misleading. These topics furnish the material of the first five lectures of the series, and touch the heart of the question. Thus, *e.g.*, the inadequacy of language to express the imperfectly apprehended facts of the nature of the Godhead is well illustrated in the ambiguity of the term denoting the unity of the Godhead, the insufficiency and over-connotation of the word 'person' to denote the distinctions compatible with oneness of God; and the positive error involved in the careless use of the word 'decree' or 'ordain' with reference to the Divine purposes.

It would be beyond the compass of a brief notice to characterize the treatment that Dr. Crawford has given to the mysterious element in the Doctrine of the Trinity; but we think he has made a fine point in showing that Christian Doctrine does not affirmatively say what is the nature of the plurality; and that what it is alone competent to do is to negative the Arian and semi-Arian, the Sabellian and Trithetic hypotheses or explanations. The same kind of treatment is given to the doctrine of the Union of Natures in the person of Christ, and just criticism is passed on the apparent temerity of the authors of the Confession of Faith, in the definiteness and abundance of their affirmations. The Doctrine of the Atonement, the Work of the Holy Spirit, the Purposes of God, are the remaining topics to which Dr. Crawford applies the general principles expounded in the earlier lectures. A keen dialectician, a fair and honourable antagonist, an eloquent and masterly expounder of Christian theology, a philosopher who has not trifled with any of the aspects of modern thought, has here found a congenial theme for his distinguished powers. He assumes the fact of a revelation, and is not careful to convince those who do not grant this fundamental datum of the entire inquiry. Those who question the 'procedure' of God, or blunder into Pantheism over the stumbling-block of moral evil, are not confronted in the argument. The volume is a luminous and valuable contribution to Theology, not a vindication of the bases and claims of Theology to a place in human science.

Christian Dogmatics: A Text-book for Academic Instructions and Private Study. By J. J. VAN OOSTERZEE, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Utrecht. Translated from the Dutch by JOHN WATSON GORDON, B.A., Vicar of Newburgh, Lanca-

shire, and MAURICE J. EVANS, B.A., Stratford-upon-Avon. Hodder and Stoughton.

This second volume of the Theological and Philosophical Library is, in its department, as important as the first. It is a noble beginning to have two such works put into the hands of English readers. Dr. Oosterzee intends his Handbook to Christian Dogmatics to be a companion to his volume on the *Theology of the New Testament*. We cannot here speak of the place and importance of scientific dogma. Those who disparage it would make Christianity an effete sentiment rather than a scientific philosophy. And yet if it be not a scientific philosophy of the Divine nature on the one hand, and of human nature on the other, it is nothing, for no religious system can or ought to continue that cannot give a satisfactory intellectual account of itself. Dr. Oosterzee intends his volume to be not only a scientific account of Christian dogmas, but also an exposition of Utrecht theology. It represents what he calls the '*Evangelical Churchly* standpoint.' It is a manual and not a 'perfectly elaborate treatise,' and its importance as an apologetic will be appreciated by those who know the state of thought in Holland for the last half century. We can only indicate the author's method. An elaborate introduction treats of the character, sources, history, and claims of Christian Dogmatics. The first part treats of 'the Apologetic Foundation,' viz., *Religion, Revelation, and Holy Scripture*. The second part treats of the 'Dogmatic Superstructure.' 1. Theology; embracing God, the Sovereign of the Kingdom of Heaven; the nature of God, the works of God. 2. Anthropology; man, the subject of the Kingdom of Heaven; including man's original nature, present condition. 3. Soteriology (objective); Christ the founder of the Kingdom of Heaven, His Person. 4. Soteriology (objective); the salvation enjoyed in the Kingdom of Heaven. 5. Soteriology (subjective); the constitution of the Kingdom; the demands of the Gospel; the work of Grace. 6. The Church, Ecclesiology; the training school of the Kingdom; the nature of the Church, the means of grace. 7. The Future (Eschatology); the completion of the Kingdom of God; the personal condition, the consummation of all things.

Dr. Oosterzee is a moderate Calvinist, and holds generally to the symbols of Dort. As to Eschatology he holds that we have Scripture warrant (1 Pet. iii. 19, 21; iv. 6) for believing 'that for those who from no fault of their own, knew not the Gospel, opportunity will exist even in the separate state for hearing of the way of life;' this, however, does not apply to wilful rejectors of salvation, who he believes will endure throughout eternity the conscious suffering of penal retribution. The general characteristic of the book is great lucidity of well-balanced statement. It is pre-eminently a wise and reverent, as well as a very able book.

Signs and Wonders in the Land of Ham; a Description of the Ten Plagues of Egypt, with

Ancient and Modern Parallels and Illustrations. By THOMAS S. MILLINGTON, Vicar of Woodhouse Eaves. With many Woodcuts, (John Murray.) The plagues of Egypt have presented great difficulties to Biblical students; nor have these difficulties been diminished by the fact that in the inscriptions and papyri which have been discovered and deciphered by modern enterprise and scholarship, no allusion to them has been found. The absence, however, of direct confirmation from the hitherto discovered records of Egypt may be accounted for by the reticence and partiality of the priests, who, as keepers of the national records, would decline to transmit to the future any memorial of defeat or humiliation. And the simplicity of the narration contained in the book of Exodus carries with it its own confirmation. It is no strain of swelling words, or rhetoric, but the simple and natural description of one who records what he had seen. Mr. Millington's book, although adding nothing fresh to what we already know respecting these memorable and mysterious plagues, merits high commendation, as a careful and conscientious attempt to gather up all fragments of evidence bearing on the subject. The volume throughout is written with great clearness, and is richly illustrated.—*Born Again; or, the Soul's Renewal.* By AUSTIN PHELPS, D.D., Professor in Andover Theological Seminary, Author of 'The Still Hour.' (Hodder and Stoughton.) The subject of this volume demanded the hand of a master. It has often been treated in a manner so shadowy and perfunctory as to give the reader no light or elucidation. But Dr. Phelps has risen to the height of the great subject, and in a series of chapters, marked by clearness of thought and felicity of style, has discussed the nature, source, and instrument of the new birth, together with the kindred questions of responsibility, and sovereignty, and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. We do not remember to have seen in any treatise on the subject the Divine sovereignty and human responsibility in the soul's renewal so fully elucidated and harmonized. The volume has our hearty approval, and we commend it to the attention of our readers.—*Hades; or, the Intermediate State of Man.* By HENRY CONSTABLE, A.M. (Elliot Stock.) After a careful perusal of this book, so full of tortuous criticism and inculcating the gloomy and chilling doctrine of universal death, we could not help feeling that it breathed the spirit of a disciple of Sakyamouni, rather than that of a professed believer in Christianity. According to Mr. Constable's view, all spirits—and in this respect Christ, men, and beasts, stand on the same level—are absorbed into the Divine essence, and cease to have separate and conscious existence. How a man who professes to read and study the Scriptures could so labour to extinguish their light, and crush the instincts of his own nature, it is difficult to conceive. Not only does he warp and turn aside the teaching of Christ and Paul, but all teaching that kindles the hope of immortality is distasteful to him. Plato, to whom he frequently refers, is the object of his deep and

settled dislike. To him chiefly he traces the idea of immortality, which it is the object of his book to extinguish. We cannot tell how Mr. Constable arrived at the gloomy notion which he endeavours to inculcate; but we marvel at the spirit of dogmatism and assumption which pervades his book, and would remind him that had he been more moderate and reasonable in his tone he would have been more likely to command a large number of readers.—*The Gospel of the Childhood. A Practical and Devotional Commentary on the Single Recorded Incident of our Blessed Lord's Childhood.* Luke ii. 41 to end. Designed as a help to Meditation on the Holy Scripture for Children and Young Persons. By EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D., Dean of Norwich (Rivingtons.) The design of this little book is very admirable, and its whole tone and spirit are equally so. Originally addressed by Dean Goulburn to his choristers in Norwich Cathedral, it is now presented to the young generally as a book of devotion and of instruction respecting the childhood of Christ. Nothing could be better adapted for the purpose intended. It is clear, simple, and natural, and eminently fitted to draw attention, and to awaken thoughtfulness in the young.—*Christ Crucified. Lectures on 1st Corinthians ii.* By ADOLPH SAPHIR. (James Nisbet and Co.) Although these lectures were not prepared by Mr. Saphir's own hand, there are no indications of defect in style or arrangement. They are distinguished by his usual lucidness, force, spirituality, and beauty of expression. The little book is throughout a full and high-toned exposition of the grand and essential principles of the Gospel. Founded on the Apostle's noble words addressed to the Corinthians, they breathe their spirit and expound their meaning. Whilst admiring the spirit and tone of these lectures, we may add there are here and there some forms of expression to which we should not feel disposed to subscribe. The little book will be eminently acceptable to the more earnest and spiritually-minded among Christians.—*The Healing Waters of Israel; or, the Story of Naaman, the Syrian. An Old Testament Chapter in Providences and Grace.* By J. K. MACDUFF, D.D. (Nisbet and Co.) The remarkable and beautiful incident of Naaman has formed the subject of many volumes, but in no case have its pertinent and striking lessons been more aptly presented than by Dr. Macduff. He always writes gracefully and fluently. His works have secured many readers, and a very wide circulation. The present volume, we doubt not, will share in the popularity of its predecessors.—*The Dietetics of the Soul; or, True Mental Discipline.* By ERNST FREEHERRN VON FRUCHTER-SKEEN, M.D. Edited by Colonel H. A. OUVRY, C.B., and revised from the 32nd German edition. (Keeley and Endean.) There are many good things, and not a little nice mental analysis in this book, but we do not think that it will generally be accepted as sound and suitable dietetics of the soul in this country, notwithstanding its popularity in Germany.—*Echoes from Distant Footfalls; or, the Origin*

and Unity of the Human Race. By the Rev. J. BOYES, F.S.A., Author of 'The Englishman's Bible,' &c. (Hodder and Stoughton.) Mr. Boyes is evidently well acquainted with most questions connected with geology. He is no mere theorist, and in this little volume he has turned his knowledge to good account. In a few well-written chapters, evincing considerable research, he contends for the Biblical account of the origin and unity of the human race. To readers who have not time or opportunity to examine larger works, Mr. Boyes' book will prove highly serviceable.—*A Scotch Communion Sunday: to which is added certain Discourses from a University City.* By the Author of 'Recreations of a Country Parson.' (Henry S. King and Co.) The volume consists of two parts, a long and elaborate form of the services of the Communion Sunday among Presbyterians in Scotland, and half a dozen of discourses on various subjects. The discourses are in Mr. Boyd's usual style. No passion, no fervour, no eloquence, nothing but the plain, commonsense talk of an intelligent man. But if Mr. Boyd means to intimate that his form of communion service is a fair representation of that generally observed by Presbyterians throughout Scotland, we think he must be mistaken. In the University city of Edinburgh, in the Established Church, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is in some instances, if not generally, observed with great simplicity, unencumbered with the elaboration of action, sermon, and fencing of tables. It is to be hoped that this simple mode of observance will extend throughout Scotland.—*For the Work of the Ministry: a Manual of Homiletical and Pastoral Theology.* By WILLIAM GARDEN BLAIKIE, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Apologetics, and of Ecclesiastical and Pastoral Theology, New College, Edinburgh. (Strahan and Co.) The Christian ministry and preaching have of late been the subject of frequent animadversion. Modern preaching has been disparaged, and pronounced inferior to that of past times. To this we decidedly demur; but if it were so, it could not be traced to any lack of manuals and lectures on the subject. It has been viewed in all lights, and the fullest instructions have been given as to its best and most efficient style. Not a few books on the subject have come to us from America, and several have been produced among ourselves. But we do not know any volume which so fully discusses every question connected with the Christian ministry and preaching as that of Dr. Blaikie. The purposes of the ministry, the call to it, the history of the Christian pulpit, the qualities of effective preaching, preparation for preaching, pulpit style, modes of delivery, pulpit elocution and manner, devotional services, and a variety of topics connected with pastoral work are treated with great sagacity, fulness, and adaptation. No preacher, whether just entering on his work or enriched with the experience of years, could fail to be benefited by a careful perusal of this volume. Dr. Blaikie has done essential service by giving it to the public.—*God, the Soul and a Future State;*

a Twofold Popular Treatise. By THOMAS COOPER. (Hodder and Stoughton.) This is a book by a strong-minded and thoroughly qualified man. Thomas Cooper is no sciolist or flimsy sentimentalist. His understanding is vigorous, his attainments are great, and his experience of mental conflicts manifold. Well qualified, therefore, to treat of great moral questions, he now, in addition to his other works, presents in a permanent form a series of lectures which he has delivered in various places. Abiding by the good old form of argument, and the evidence of design, he has produced a vigorous and telling book.—*Thoughts on the Essence of Christ's Atonement.* By WILLIAM FROGGATT. (Hodder and Stoughton.) The subject of this volume is the foundation and centre of Christianity, and it is treated by the author with remarkable breadth, discrimination, and force. All theories which limit the Atonement, or involve the idea of penal suffering on the part of Christ, he shows to be unfounded and unsatisfactory. The question of faith is treated with a clearness and simplicity eminently gratifying. The volume will amply repay a careful perusal.—*Long Evenings, and Work to do in Them.* By MRS. BAYLY, Author of 'Ragged Homes,' &c. (James Nisbet and Co.) Mrs. Bayly is well known as an earnest and enlightened worker for the amelioration of the moral and spiritual condition of the masses. Personally, and by her writings, she has done much, nor can the present volume fail to add to her usefulness. It is well written, and abounds with what is fitted to interest and instruct all readers. After an introduction full of incident, and descriptive of work, follows a series of chapters on Wycliffe, Gutenberg and printing, Tyndall, and the writer's plan of conducting her classes. Her sketches of Wycliffe, Tyndall, and Gutenberg are full, and are written with great spirit, discrimination, and clearness. Although much has been written respecting these distinguished men, and nothing new remained to be said, Mrs. Bayly's sketches merit, and will amply repay a perusal.—*The Wise Men; who they were, and how they came to Jerusalem.* By FRANCIS W. UPHAM, LL.D. (Hodder and Stoughton.) The journey and visit of the magi or wise men to Bethlehem have perplexed many inquirers, and, in some instances, have led to the rejection of the chapter of the Divine narrative in which they are recorded. The subject is unquestionably surrounded with grave difficulties, and demands candid, careful, and thorough examination. Without these the character of the magi, the country from which they came, the inducement under which they acted, the reception they experienced at the hands of Herod, and the splendid offerings they presented cannot be appreciated or understood. On all these questions Dr. Upham has bestowed an examination at once thorough and scholarly, has removed all difficulty, and has invested the whole subject with singular interest. In no instance that we recollect has the visit of the magi been so fully and luminously investigated, or so completely substantiated as a part of the Divine history. Evidence and illustration

are gathered from a great variety of sources, and are so happily combined that they cannot fail to secure the assent of every candid reader. And whilst the volume is erudite, and fitted to command the attention of scholars, it is so clear in arrangement and so simple and lucid in style as to commend itself to general readers. It has our earnest commendation.—*The Old Book Tested. Popular Queries about the Bible.* By the Rev. JOHN WHITE, Belfast. (Hodder and Stoughton.) Notwithstanding all that has been done by scholars and theologians to vindicate the claims of the Bible, there is room for such a book as Mr. White's. Its simple, direct, and practical character commends it to the masses, who have been misled by flimsy and oft-repeated sophisms, but have no qualification or opportunity for reading learned and elaborate defences of the truth. The Divine origin of the Bible, its adaptation to man, its teachings, its effects, and its claims are treated in a highly creditable manner, and fitted to be eminently useful. Mr. White has done well in permitting his modesty and shrinking from publication to be overcome by the solicitations of his friends, and in giving this book to the world. Its dissemination among the working classes, for whom it is chiefly intended, would doubtless be attended with most beneficial results.—*The Divine Glory of Christ.* By the Rev. CHARLES J. BROWN, D.D., Edinburgh. (The Religious Tract Society.) The design of this little book is very praiseworthy; and if it cannot claim originality, it is to be welcomed as a confirmation of truth already fully substantiated. Cavillers and disputers, who reject the Divinity of Christ, may fail to find anything fresh or convincing in what is here written, but devout readers who have accepted the testimony of Scripture will find not a little to confirm their faith in the Son's equality with the Father, and to give brightness to the hopes which are drawn from His power to save.—*The Realm of Truth.* By ELIZABETH T. CARR, Author of 'Country Towns' (Henry S. King and Co.) The subject of this volume is one of the highest importance, and is treated with marked ability. It consists of two parts—in the first a variety of questions of the profoundest interest are discussed with a clearness and felicity of thought rarely surpassed. Truth, as a real and living thing, entering into all moral relations, constituting the essence of justice, wisdom, and law, and centering in God, is illustrated and enforced with great discrimination and niceness of philosophical analysis, and is invested with the widest range, and the highest authority. In the second part the questions discussed are not less important. Our space, however, forbids our examining, or even specifying them all; but that on 'Truth as the End of Education,' merits at the present crisis special notice. The enlightened and comprehensive views contained in that chapter would do much to dissipate the false and mistaken notions which are entertained by multitudes on the question of education. It is shown that something higher than reading, writing, and arithmetic, and than classics, mathematics, lectures and examinations is required for a

right and sufficient educational process, both for individuals and communities. It is wisdom, meaning the highest kind of development, that is required, which mechanical drilling and mere intellectual training cannot secure. This will sufficiently indicate the advanced and enlightened views of the author, and serve to assure our readers that on all the topics discussed in the volume there is the same high intelligence and the same able and thorough treatment evinced. Nothing, indeed, could be better adapted to awaken a high tone of moral and religious thought than the views of the author, and the distinguished ability with which they are unfolded.—*Nehemiah the Tirshatha: His Times and Lessons.* By T. MONTAGUE RANDALL, Vicar of Langham, Norfolk. This is a highly-interesting and instructive comment on the book of Nehemiah. The circumstances, the character, and the historic connections of the Tirshatha, or Governor, are admirably explained and illustrated, and moral and spiritual lessons are fitly and beautifully deduced. The substance of the volume, the author informs us, was delivered to a village congregation, and afterwards dictated by him, as he is nearly blind. These facts are stated by him to secure the indulgence of his readers. This was unnecessary, for the book is not only well conceived and full of information, but is written in a style clear and flowing. No one can peruse it without pleasure and profit.—*Anecdotes, Illustrative of Religious and Moral Truth.* By MATTHEW DENTON. Fourth Series. (S. W. Partridge and Co.) Another collection of anecdotes, carefully made, arranged with skill, and pervaded by an amiable and devout feeling. They are intended for use in preaching. Mr. Denton, in his eulogy of illustration, properly reminds us of our Lord's example; but he forgets how late in His ministry He began to speak in parables, and that none of his disciples, so far as we know, followed his example. He also changes Cromwell's famous 'wart' into 'wrinkles.'—*Christianity in Great Britain: an Outline of its Rise, Progress, and Present Condition.* A Series of Articles contributed to the *Daily Telegraph*. (Hodder and Stoughton.) The *Daily Telegraph* conceived the idea of soliciting from representative men of different religious communities a statement of the principles and positions of their respective churches. The paper on the Church of Rome was approved by Archbishop Manning; that on the Church of England by the Archbishop of Canterbury; that on the Wesleyans by the President of the Conference. These papers, therefore, may be assumed to be authoritative. The paper on the Church of Scotland was written by Principal Tulloch; that on Nonconformity by Mr. Dale, of Birmingham. These two papers are therefore endorsed only by the personal authority of their writers. We have no need to be ashamed either of the principles enunciated by Mr. Dale, or of the position they have gained. Every reader must be struck with the contrast between the manly, confident, almost jubilant tone of Mr. Dale's paper, and the timid, apologetic, and vague paper of the Episcopalian writer, and in a less de-

gree of that of the Roman Catholic writer. Mr. Dale states the fundamental principle of the English Established Church, shows how Nonconformity took its rise, states simply and unpolemically its distinctive principles of Church life, and the reasons why disestablishment of the Episcopal Church is sought. He then indicates the doctrines of Evangelical Nonconformists, their modes of worship, their Church organization, their institutions, their religious and ecclesiastical life, and their political and social characteristics. We regret very much that the other systems included have not been dealt with with equal thoroughness. The volume, however, is interesting, and gives considerable information.—*The Villages of the Bible: Descriptive, Traditional, and Memorable. Sabbath Evening Lectures in Brighton.* By Rev. PAXTON HOOD. (Hodder and Stoughton.) The test of pulpit fitness is the degree in which any given theme subserves practical theological instruction and religious edification. In seeking various forms of teaching, these are the only limits of the preacher. Mr. Hood has hit upon a theme that is both fresh and suggestive. Its peril is lest it should lead a poetic and imaginative mind into excess of mere description or narrative incident. This peril Mr. Hood has not altogether escaped. A multifarious reader, he has made large use of the works of Palestine travellers; a discursive thinker, he has caught fancies as well as truths in every direction. Fertile in imagination he has filled his lectures with pictures, some of them very charming. Altogether he has produced a very attractive volume; only we could have wished that the scenery had been more subdued to the great spiritual themes of which it is but the accident.—*Protestantism: its Ultimate Principle.* By R. W. DALE, M.A. (Hodder and Stoughton.) An eloquent and trenchant lecture delivered in Exeter Hall to the Young Men's Christian Association—dealing, with a flavour of the old anti-Papal spirit, with the assumptions and intolerance of Rome, and asserting against these the inalienable right of every man to approach God directly, without the intervention of either priest or church; and, as involved in this, the equal right to exercise the individual judgment, with such aids of course as may be practicable, upon the teachings of Scripture, the claims of churches, and all other matters proposed to men in connection with their religious life. 'The direct access of the soul to God, the direct access of God to the soul—this is the ultimate principle of Protestantism.' Hence Justification by Faith; the doctrine of a standing or a falling church, not hardened into a dogma, but as an experience of the spiritual life. Mr. Dale's inculcation may be gathered from the following sentence, which all reasonable men will endorse: 'Whenever and under whatever pretext men invade each other's civil rights and disturb the peace of the State, the authority of the State should interfere. If a priest at the altar provokes resistance to the civil authority, the sanctity of the altar should not shelter him; I would try the priest before the common tribunals, and I

would punish him just as severely as I would punish any other man for using the same language in any other place. If a priest conspires against the State, I would not let his priestly character protect him against the penalties inflicted on other men for conspiracy. If, under the name of excommunication, a priest utters a public slander on the character of any citizen, let the priest be tried for slander, and let him be punished for it.'—*The Physiology of the Sects.* (Samuel Tinsley.) 'The Physiology of the Sects' is not without cleverness, but it is the cleverness that is constantly trying to be smart, and that as constantly, perhaps unconsciously, passes into caricature. There is no feeling of the artist who wishes to present a just and full portrait. The portraiture is that of the coloured 'absurdities of *Figaro*, the judgment that of the reckless amorphisms of the *Saturday Review*. We are amused at the cleverness, but utterly unaffected by the moral. The writer is not malicious, he tries to be fair; but he is too clever not to be both superficial and ignorant. For example, he has no perception that the claim of voluntary educationists to connect religious with secular teaching, which led them to take the burden of primary education upon themselves, and the claim to have religious teaching separated from secular teaching, now that the Government have taken charge of primary education, are two congruous applications of the same great principle. His ignorance is evinced in his delineation of a doctrinal tyranny among Independents, of which the most advanced of the body which has ever been in the van of English liberty are profoundly unconscious; and generally, in his seizing upon accidental peculiarities, and presenting them as portraits. His delineations have about the same relation to their living subjects as Mr. Disraeli's Bath letter had to Mr. Gladstone's legislation. They are simply amusing; for all other purposes they are worthless. It is holding up to nature a concave mirror with grotesque lines in it.—*The Bards of the Bible.* By GEORGE GILFILLAN. Sixth Edition. (Hamilton, Adams, and Co.) A book which has reached its sixth edition has passed out of the province of contemporary criticism. The present edition is neat and popular in form. The book is the best of Mr. Gilfillan's productions.—*The Holy Catholic Church; its Divine Ideal, Ministry, and Institutions.* A Short Treatise, with a Catechism on each Chapter, forming a Course of Methodical Instruction on the Subject. By EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBOURN, D.D. (Rivingtons.) Highly as we value some of Dr. Goulbourn's works on spiritual religion, we resent and lament the transcendent narrowness of this production. It is a treatise on the Anglican view of the kingdom of God and the Christian 'society founded by our Lord.' It begins by begging the question of the unique character of one particular society, the advantages of which no admitted moral or spiritual resemblance in other societies founded for similar purposes can by any possibility approach. The author soon advances to the so-called proof (?) that 'the Church of England is the only church which holds Christ's commission

to preach and administer the sacraments;' and lands us at last, with amazing simplicity, in the assurance that 'the Prayer Book is for us the authorized guide into the teaching of the Bible, on the ground that it is the voice of the Primitive Church, guiding us into the truth as the pillar of the cloud and of fire guided the Israelites.' The good man has the effrontery finally to assure us that in short, 'there would be an end of controversy and a good prospect of quiet growth in grace if we could acquiesce in the Bible as interpreted by the Prayer Book.' *Et hoc genus omne.* This is the kind of book which leads so many to doubt the Divine origin of Christianity, and the honesty of its professors. A most sweet method is adopted of impressing upon the young catechumen the excellence of the Athanasian Creed, the suggestiveness of the story of Korah and Dathan, the representative character of the ministry, and the peculiar view of the Eucharist as taken by the author. The lofty tone of the work written by Dr. Goulbourn on personal religion alone prevents our characterizing this book as it deserves.—*Eternal Life in Prospect and in Possession.* By Rev. JOHN GRAHAM, of Sydney, N. S. W. (John F. Shaw and Co.) The fervent, affectionate, evangelical spirit of the writer breathes throughout this volume. It is not his purpose to discuss with those who doubt the authority or reliability of Holy Scripture the question of immortality, or the resurrection, or the blessed life, nor to strike out new methods of proof or new analogies. He does not profess to deal with either the modern Pantheist or the pure Materialist, yet these might read his meditations with advantage. He pronounces strongly in favour of the faith of the Old Testament saints in the future life, repudiates the invention of purgatory, and identifies the 'Paradise' of the New Testament with 'Heaven.' He speaks consolingly of 'reunion and recognition in heaven,' and of the 'resurrection' as the crown and completion of the eternal life. He resists the idea of resurrection taking place at death, as directly discountenanced by Scripture, but very beautifully discusses the full possession of the eternal life in the gift of the Comforter, and by the indwelling of Christ in the soul. These pages are characterized by intensity of feeling, abundant scriptural exposition, and much practical appeal.—*Lectures on Preaching.* By HENRY WARD BEECHER. Second Series. (T. Nelson and Sons.) The second series of these addresses by Mr. Ward Beecher, on the subject of preaching and pastoral work, is even more excellent than the first. The lofty tone, and the healthy and life-giving spirit of the argument are as admirable as the matter. The whole conception of Church life, of the Sunday-school, of the Prayer-Meeting, of the Christian worker, of hindrances to success, of the function of music and song, and of the nature of revivals of religion is of the most stimulating kind. Like many men of great natural eloquence and large experience of life, Mr. Beecher makes numerous references to his own personal and family history, to his early difficulties, and to the splendid successes of his later ministry. 'most any methods of work would alike pros-

per in the hands, and with the consummate tact, energy, and enthusiasm of such a man. Still it is well to know how he would have others work, and what methods are recommended by his philosophy and experience. The grand motive of all the service, and the moral and spiritual energy which can alone vitalize any machinery—the sublime end of winning the souls of men from sin and selfishness to God—are nobly conspicuous throughout these pages. All ministers, especially those who are preparing for pastoral service, will read these large-hearted, burning words, and profit by them.—*The Study.* Helps for Preachers. From English, American, and Continental Sources. First Series. (R. D. Dickinson.) It is difficult in words to discriminate 'The Study' from 'The Preacher's Lantern,' and similar miscellanies, which minister by essays, sketches, anecdotes, and sermons to the need of preachers. When one thinks of the twenty or thirty thousand men who have every Sunday to preach, and of the large proportion that, from one cause or another, are utterly disqualified to think strongly or interpret justly for themselves, one is thankful for whatever vigorous and scholarly helps can be furnished to them. Perhaps the specialty of 'The Study' is, that its dissertations are longer and more elaborate. The volume before us contains three able papers on the 'Evidence to be derived from the Success of Christianity,' by Moses D. Hoge; half a dozen eloquent and vigorous papers on 'The Constitution of the Human Soul,' by Dr. Richard S. Storrs, of Brooklyn; nine papers on 'The History of our Lord's Passion,' from the German of Dr. F. W. Besser; some of Mr. Beecher's Yale lectures on Preaching; and a variety of miscellaneous papers by Dr. McCosh and others, on topics pertaining to preachers and theology; together with a large number of sermons and sermon notes. The papers are generally well selected and able, and 'The Study' may fairly claim rank with the very best serials of its class.—*A Treatise on Homiletics, Designed to Illustrate the True Theory and Practice of Preaching the Gospel.* By DANIEL P. KIDDER, D.D. With a Lecture on the Plan of a Sermon. By W. G. T. SHEDD, D.D. Third Edition. (Dickinson and Higham.) *A Treatise on the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons.* By JOHN A. BROADUS, D.D., LL.D. (Hamilton, Adams, and Co.) We have previously spoken of the excellence of these manuals. Dr. Kidder's work is now enriched by a very valuable appendix on the Literature of Homiletics, and by the lecture of Dr. Shedd, on the plan of a sermon, which is sensible and well put. It is a fine testimony to the value of Dr. Broadus' work that its first edition should have been accompanied by a recommendation from Dr. Angus, of Regent's Park College, and that Rev. B. Hellier, of the Wesleyan College, Leeds, should be employed by authority of the Wesleyan Conference to edit the present edition for the use of the junior preachers of that great denomination of our fellow-workers. We can cordially commend the volume for its succinctness, common sense, and judicious counsel.

THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW,

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ART. I.—*The Mystics of the Fourteenth Century and their connection with the Reformation.*

- (1.) *Deutschen Mystiker des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts; Meister Eckhart.* Edited by FRANZ PFEIFFER. Leipzig: 1845.
- (2.) *Hours with the Mystics.* By ROBERT ALFRED VAUGHAN. 1873.
- (3.) *The History and Life of John Tauler, &c.* By S. WINKWORTH. London: 1857.
- (4.) *Theologica Germanica, &c.* Translated By S. WINKWORTH. London: 1854.
- (5.) *Nicolas von Basle, Leben und . . . Werke.* By Dr. CARL SCHMIDT. Wien: 1866.
- (6.) *Die Gottes-Freunde im vierzehnten Jahrhundert.* By Dr. CARL SCHMIDT. Jena: 1854.
- (7.) *Werken van Jan van Ruusbroec, from the Publications of the Maatschappij der Vlaemsche Bibliophilen.* (Ser. 3, Pts. 1, 4, 7, 12). Ghent.
- (8.) *The Life of the Blessed Henry Suso.* By HIMSELF. Translated from the German by J. F. KNOX. London: 1865.
- (9.) *The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Atonement.* By ALBRECHT RITSCHL. Translated by JOHN S. BLACK, M.A. Edinburgh: 1871.

CHURCH historians, who have made the great Reformation of the sixteenth century a special field of investigation have been too apt to ignore that most interesting period of the development of ecclesiastical life and doctrine which is contained in the three preceding centuries, and have overlooked in a great measure the many tendencies in the old Catholic Church which were slowly pre-

paring it for the great outburst of religious feeling which was to rend it asunder. Protestants have very commonly held that there have been two periods of great illumination in the Church of Christ,—the age of the Apostles and of the earlier Fathers of the Church, and the age of the Reformation,—and have been content to pass over the progress of theology and Christian life from the time of Augustine to the revolt of Luther. Whatever does not come within the limits of those two periods has been represented to be either of little practical worth for the student of the history of theology, or valuable only as affording an example of continuous decay. And Roman Catholics, who have always tried to show that the Reformation was the result of unchristian influences at work without the Church, have, as was to be expected, altogether ignored or denied any connection between the old Catholic Church and that new religious life which set Roman Christendom at defiance.

Nothing has done so much to show how mistaken both parties have been, and how idle is the attempt to treat the Reformation either as a wholly isolated outburst of religious illumination, or as a merely anti-christian revolt, than the many critical histories of the growth and development of individual doctrines which have appeared within the last twenty years. The historical portions of works such as Dorner's 'Doctrine of the Person of Christ,' Müller's 'Doctrine of Sin,' and Ritschl's 'Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation,' show us that the mediæval or scholastic period is by no means such a barren one as has been supposed, and the more we study them the more thorough becomes the conviction that

no doctrine of Christian theology can be accurately known unless its history and growth during the times of the old Catholic Church be carefully traced and investigated.

The idea of 'development,' too, that most characteristic of modern conceptions, has taught us that everything has its birth and being in *time*, and has a growth or on-going. Every outburst of religious life has its history. It is the child of time, and grows on in time as surely as the man or the tree. Its beginning may have been long hidden, nothing may have been seen of it until it has suddenly, as it seems, leapt into life; but the small beginning and the slow growth on to maturity have been there, and must be traced and known if we are to know the true nature of the religious outburst itself. Church historians have already begun to recognise this, and no longer try to explain religious events as if they were solitary phenomena. They now see that in order to account for any occurrence in religious life, and any new phase in religious doctrine, they must be able to link it on to what has gone before, and show how the new product has long lain dormant like the seed in the warm earth yet cherished and quickened by numberless hidden influences. They must point out its first birth when it leaves the protecting soil, and endeavours to push its way out to the air and the light. They must be able to tell what gentle breezes of popular enlightenment and national circumstances have welcomed its young beginnings, and must trace its growth bit by bit until it so gathers strength as to overcome all obstacles and stand forth revealed in its might. It is to such a conception as this that we owe the elaborate histories of individual doctrines like those above mentioned, and the admission—now almost universally made,—that the Reformation Church, while repudiating the mediæval type of Christianity, arose out of the Mediæval Church. Modern writers on the history of Protestant dogmatic such as Dorner and others recognise the importance of a knowledge of Pre-Reformation Church life and doctrine, and are not content merely to describe the various outstanding peculiarities in Reformation doctrine and controversy. They endeavour to explain more or less satisfactorily, by a reference to past and contemporary movements and emotions in the hearts and minds of men and people, how and why the Reformation Church came to be what it was, and not something else. With them the 'Reformers before the Reformation' are not solitary individuals who held opinions exactly the same as Luther, but somehow or other were accidentally dropped down on the

world's stage a century or two before him; they are rather men who have got a partial glimpse of the great truths which were growing onwards to revelation, and show, as outstanding examples, the gradual preparation of the Church for the doctrines to be revealed.

Among the many influences at work in the old Catholic Church which were slowly preparing the way for its disruption in the sixteenth century, few were more powerful than mediæval mysticism, few have attracted so much attention from theologians, and none has so much general interest. Mysticism has always great charms for a large class of minds, and mediæval mysticism has special attractions for every devotional-minded man, and for every one who can admire a noble, pious, and lonely life. For those old mediæval mystics were for the most part men who had felt, more than others, the weariness and sorrow of human life. Their lot was cast in evil days, in times when men were really tried, and forced to show of what stuff they were made. They lived, as it seemed to them, in the last days of an evil dying world—

*'Hora novissima, tempora pessima sunt, vigilemus!
Ecce minaciter imminet arbiter, ille supremus.'*

and it behoved them to live, though in the world, spiritual heavenly lives, not of the world. They were the Stoics of the Middle Ages, with the hard morality of stoicism softened and humanized by the Christian ideas of love and the common brotherhood of mankind, and the stoical idea of a universal moral commonwealth of men transformed into the hope of the coming kingdom of heaven. The same influences which were at work in the early decline of the old Empire of the Cæsars to make thoughtful and devout men betake themselves to stoicism, turn their backs in proud scorn on an evil, hopelessly evil world, and live mostly within the circle of their own ideas,—those same influences were busy during the long decay and downfall of the Holy Roman Empire, leading men to betake themselves to lives of solitary mystical contemplation, to despair of anything like organic church life, and to turn away from a world too hopelessly bad to become regenerate. Mediæval mysticism, as we shall afterwards see, is from one point of view a revival of the old Roman stoicism with Christianity superadded.

The mediæval mystics were all of them men who had lived and suffered as few have been called on to suffer, and who have recorded for us their sorrows, and how they were able to endure, and even in some mea-

sure to triumph over them. It is this that gives to their writings such power over our hearts, and awakens in us such sympathy with their lives, their sayings and doings. The sympathy of sorrow brings all men nearer each other, and annihilates in a way that nothing else can the length of time that stretches between this nineteenth century of ours, and the far-off period in which these men lived and laboured, sorrowed and were comforted; so that their 'noble little books,' as Luther called them, can never be to us mere books, collections of ideas, or records of opinions, but are rather the living voices of human souls speaking to us with directness and power, awakening all our feelings, and stirring us to the bottom of our hearts.

'I suppose,' says George Eliot, in the "Mill on the Floss," 'that the reason why the small old-fashioned book, for which you need only pay sixpence at a book stall, works miracles to this day, turning bitter waters into sweetness, while expensive sermons and treatises newly-issued leave all things as they were before, is, that it was written down by a hand that waited for the heart's prompting; it is the chronicle of a solitary hidden anguish, struggle, trust, and triumph: not written on velvet cushions to teach endurance to those who are treading with bleeding feet on the stones. And so it remains to all time a lasting record of human needs and human consolations; the voice of a brother who ages ago felt, and suffered, and renounced—in the cloister, perhaps, with serge gown and tanned head, with chaunting and long fasting, and with a fashion of speech different from ours, but under the same silent far-off heavens, and with the same passionate desires, the same strivings, the same failures, the same weariness.'

It is because of this intense human interest which there is in mysticism, and especially the mysticism of the fourteenth century, that their contributions to theology have become perhaps unduly prominent, and have had a place yielded to them in theological discussion which is scarcely their due; and that the full worth of mysticism can never be felt, nor can the good work done by it in the world ever be measured, if we look upon it as merely a branch of old Catholic theology. We cannot help loving those old mystics, and longing to get near them in spirit; they were such great-souled, tender-hearted, sorrowing men, full of earnest duty, full of steadfast daring, full of noble manhood; and in this mood we care little for doctrines or systems. It is the men we seek to know, not their theological opinions. This, which may be called the human interest in mediæval mysticism, as opposed to the theological, requires to be clearly stated and kept in mind, whenever

the influence of these mystics is discussed; but when it has once been acknowledged we need not again refer to it. What we have to do with in this article is not the power which the mediæval mystics have exercised in all times, because of the depth of their human sympathies, or because they lived great lives; our business is with their special influence as a class or school of theologians on contemporary and future theological doctrines. No doubt these mystics, like all men, and especially like all men whose lives are pre-eminently more interesting than their opinions, are to be tried and tested as individuals who thought their own thoughts and lived their own lives, and they themselves would have so wished to be tried. Eckhart or Tauler would have objected as vehemently as the late Frederick Denison Maurice did, to any critic who would have spoken of their 'system,' or discussed their writings as representing a 'school' of thinkers. But the purpose of historical criticism absorbs the individual in the class of which he is a member, and must do so, even at the risk of some injustice towards the men whose opinions are criticised. Nor is there much harm done to the individual, if the critic bears in mind, as he ought always to do, that it is only the doctrine which he is describing, and whose effects he is tracing, and does not seek to limit the sphere of the man by the spread and power of his more distinctive opinions.

It is necessary to separate with some clearness at the outset, mysticism, in so far as it is an object of interest to the theologian and in so far as it influenced the development of theological doctrine, from the more widely felt interest which all men, whether theologians or not, must take in the lives of the principal mediæval mystics; for the distinction has often been forgotten, and the special theological meaning of many of the doctrines of mysticism has by many critics been so connected with the pious lives of those who have held and taught the doctrines, that 'mystic' is often believed to mean 'one who is more pious than his neighbours.'

Mediæval mysticism, whether considered as a whole, or as divided into several branches, is by far too wide a subject to be discussed in a short article like this. To show how all the various doctrines and opinions, whether theological, moral, or philosophical, which have been classed under the common name mysticism, have come to bear that common name, to trace the historical connection between the various stages of its growth, and how much each teacher or sect brought into the common stock, is one of

the most difficult tasks yet to be accomplished in historical theology, and one that cannot be attempted here.* We accordingly set aside many interesting questions which at once are suggested by our subject: Who was the pseudo-Dionysius, and what the influence of his writings on the mystical theology of the Western Church? What was the theological influence of Scotus Erigena upon Eckhart and Tauler? and many such like. We must make no mention of the school of St. Victor and its many pious disciples. No attempt must be made to distinguish the true ethical mystics from the many immoral sects which laid claim to the name. The curious theological and political questions suggested by the terms *Fraternitatis*, *Brotherhood of the Free Spirit*, *Beguines*, *Beghards*, &c., must be left unnoticed. We propose to confine our attention to the mystics of the fourteenth century, or rather to Eckhart, Tauler, Nicolas of Basle, Heinrich Suso, and Jan van Ruusbroec, and their followers, and seek to trace the connection between the mysticism they taught and the theology of the great Reformation which came two hundred years later.† It was in the fourteenth century that mysticism reached its bloom-time, and those theologians who are inclined to make the connection between the Reformation and mysticism somewhat close, select the writers we have mentioned, with Thomas of Kempen and the author of the '*Deutsche Theologie*' as the typical mystics.

Eckhart, or Meister Eckhart,‡ as he is

* The only thorough-going attempt to solve this problem, so far as we know, is that of H. Schmid in his '*Der Mysticismus des Mittelalters in seiner Entstehungs-periode*, Jena, 1824,' and it is too vague and inaccurate to be of much help to the student.

† By 'Theology of the Reformation' is meant the theology of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, as opposed to the theology of the Old Catholic, of the Roman Catholic Churches, and also as opposed to that of the Socinians. The connection between the theology of the Mystics and that of the Reformation Church is a purely critical question, and we purpose to treat it as such. We take the doctrines of both systems, not for the purpose of defending either, but simply to find what is the connection, if any, between them.

‡ Since Hegel, in his '*History of Philosophy*,' said that Eckhart was the father of German philosophy, and his writings an anticipation of modern speculation, there has been no lack of monographs describing his life and writings in many different ways. The best of these is undoubtedly Adolf Lasson's *Meister Eckhart, der Mystiker. Zur Geschichte der religiösen Speculation in Deutschland*. Berlin, 1868. The student should also consult Bach's *Meister Eckhart, der Vater der deutschen Speculation*, Wien, 1864—though this book is in every way

commonly called, was at once the earliest and the greatest of the mystics of the fourteenth century. Born in 1251, the first fifty years of his long life seem to have been spent in calm preparation for its stirring and tumultuous close. Of his early years we know little or nothing—even his birthplace is unknown. According to some biographers he was a native of Saxony, while others, with great probability, say that he was born in Strasburg. He studied at the University of Paris, where he took the degree of Master of Arts. There he laid the foundation of his great theological learning, and after a time became a very successful lecturer. We are told that he knew thoroughly the writings of the principal Church fathers, from Origen to Thomas of Aquin and Egidius of Colonna. His favourite authors were Augustine, Thomas of Aquin, the Pseudo-Dionysius,* and Scotus Erigena, but beyond all he prized the writings of Hugo of St. Victor, whose disciple he claimed to be. In 1289, having resolved to give up his secular occupation, he was appointed teacher of philosophy in the Dominican School of St. Jacques, in Paris, and continued there for nine years. During this period he was created Doctor of Theology by Boniface VIII., a fact which shows that the fame of the Dominican monk had been gradually growing, and that his superiors in his Order and in the Church had discerned his eminent abilities. In 1304 he was made Provincial of his Order for Saxony, and in 1307 he was further promoted to the rank of Vicar-General of the Order in Bohemia, and injunctions were laid upon him to superintend and reform the cloister preachers. It was at this time, when he was nearly sixty years of age, that Eckhart began his life of

inferior to Lasson's; and Dr. Carl Schmidt's essay in '*Studien und Kritiken*' for 1839, pp. 663-7. But whoever would know Eckhart for himself should peruse the work which heads our list, an edition of Eckhart's writings carefully edited by Franz Pfeiffer, that indefatigable editor of mediæval German literature. The book purports to be the first of a series of the writings of the fourteenth-century mystics, but we believe that no others were published. Any references made to Eckhart's writings are made to this edition.

* The works of the pseudo-Dionysius are certain mystical writings in which the theories of the Neo-Platonists and the more prominent doctrines of Christianity are so blended together as to form a mystical theology. These writings, which were very popular with mediæval theologians, and possessed great fascination for any minds at all inclined to mysticism, were ascribed, wrongly it can now be shown, to Dionysius the Areopagite, the Athenian convert of St. Paul. They are the great source of the mysticism of the Western Church.

active work. He travelled a great deal, making tours of inspection, reforming abuses, selecting men whom he could trust for the important office of cloister-preaching, and all the time preaching from day to day to the people. This is the period of his life to which we owe those sermons which have come down to us. From the first his discourses were noted for those mystical expressions and ideas which were to be expected from the student of the pseudo-Dionysius and of Hugo of St. Victor, but they soon began to show that Eckhart was a man of independent thought, who could bring altogether new ideas into his theology, and had the boldness to preach what he believed. His sermons were written in the rude German of the middle ages, but his style made up by its vigour for what it lacked in refinement, and few preachers have been so popular with the common people. When we remember the kind of preaching to which the laity were then accustomed, and how such a book as the '*Gesta Romanorum cum applicationibus*' furnished the preaching friars with the texts, illustrations, and practical applications for their sermons, we need not wonder much that the noble enthusiasm of Eckhart and the deep spirituality of his discourses must have had a wonderful effect on the German mind. Wherever he went crowds assembled to hear him preach, and by-and-bye little companies of praying believers were formed, who looked up to Eckhart as a spiritual father. Encouraged by the work done in Saxony and Bohemia, Eckhart resolved to widen the range of his preaching journeys, and in 1324 he came to Strasburg, intending to preach in all the chief towns of the Rhine provinces. He was now nearly seventy-five years of age, but his activity was untiring. He transacted regularly the great amount of business which fell to the care of a provincial vicar-general of one of the largest of the religious orders, he corresponded constantly with all the little companies of spiritual Christians whom his preaching had aroused to attempt to live higher Christian lives, and he preached to vast audiences from day to day with untiring energy. Hitherto he had suffered no interruption in the course of his journeys, but he was now to array against himself and his work more than one powerful Churchman. When Eckhart came to Strasburg the Rhine provinces were full of the followers of certain enthusiastic mystical sects, who gave great trouble to the bishops of the dioceses. Beghards and Beguines, Lollards, and Fratricelli made Köln their head quarters, and their disciples, we are told, abounded in all the villages and

towns of Rhine-land, from Köln to Strasburg.* When Eckhart preached in Strasburg, and still more notably when he went to Frankfort, numbers of Beghards and of other proscribed sects attended his preaching, and the great preacher had a good deal of intercourse with them. Several members of those heretical sects were admitted into the religious associations formed by Eckhart, and there was so much intercourse between them and the great Dominican as to excite the suspicions of the chief of the regular clergy of the Rhine provinces. Johann of Ockenstein, Bishop of Strasburg, and Heinrich of Virnenburg, Archbishop of Köln, accused Eckhart of holding and teaching the doctrines of the Beghards. He was summoned before a council of the Dominican order at Venice, and it was there decided that Eckhart was free from any taint of heresy. The Archbishop Heinrich, enraged at this decision, and knowing that Eckhart's mystical theology had to some extent leavened the Dominicans, boldly accused the whole Order of heresy, and summoned it, and especially its vicar-general for Bohemia, before the Inquisition. This happened in the beginning of 1326, and the Dominicans at once appealed to the Pope, John XXII. A papal appeal was always a lengthy matter, and the Pope was in no hurry to issue his judgment in a case where such a powerful Order was concerned. Twenty-eight propositions were presented to the Pope, said to be taken from the published sermons of Eckhart. Eckhart, on being asked, acknowledged fifteen of them as his, and the Pope declared that he would give judgment upon those fifteen. While the judgment was still pending Eckhart died, in the beginning of 1329, at the age of seventy-eight. The Pope's bull was issued after his death, two of Eckhart's propositions were therein declared to be heretical, and one or two others pronounced incautious.

* The history and theological and political character of those obscure mystical sects is one of the most difficult problems of the religious history of the middle ages. There seems to be no doubt but that a desire after a more spiritual Christianity than the Church seemed capable of giving was at the beginning the main element in their revolt from the Catholic Church. On the other hand, however, it must be acknowledged, that the life and conduct of many of these sects were grossly immoral, so much so that no modern government could allow their existence within its dominion; and it must also be borne in mind that in many cases their political creed was communistic, and their religion pantheistic. It does not seem unlikely that in all these sects the good and evil elements were mingled, and that each came to the surface as circumstances called them out.

Eckhart did not leave behind him any systematic account of his doctrines in philosophy and theology. These have to be gathered from his sermons and popular expositions, and pieced together by the critic. With his philosophical opinions we have nothing to do here, and shall therefore pass them over without remark,* and we cannot do more than describe those theological doctrines of his which bring out more specially his relation to the Reformation theology.

To understand Eckhart's doctrines aright two things must be always be kept in mind: firstly, his idea that everything external or earthly is only a parable, and is to be treated as such, and secondly his intense *individualism*. He understood better than most men that anything which can be seen or handled is of worth only for the spiritual meaning that lies within it, and this made him needlessly impatient of the external. It was the 'shell to be broken, the husk to be torn off and flung away ere the spiritual kernel could be reached.' It seemed to him that the spiritual meaning could never become the possession of any man until he had first got rid of the external framework, which, if it held, could not but hide the spiritual truth. And his individualism made him quite blind to the fact that if the external thing is valuable only for the spiritual truth it conveys, it is of worth, because it contains and presents the spiritual truth which perhaps could only be presented by such external aids. To his own mind there was no need for those external wrappings, and so he never thought of the aid they gave in preserving and objectifying spiritual truths. External authority, or external limitations of whatever kind, had to be got rid of by the soul that would know and feel spiritual things; and so Eckhart taught that there was no *real* authority in Scripture, in dogma, or in the Church; what was really and spiritually true was something entirely behind and beyond everything external. In this way many doctrines which occupy a very important place in theology, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, are relegated to a very subordinate position by Eckhart.

* Eckhart's doctrine of the soul is shortly given in Sermon 21, p. 88, &c.; his doctrine of knowledge in Sermon 90, pp. 295-9, more especially p. 297; cf. also Sermon 118, pp. 303-307; and his doctrine of the negative, in Sermon 100. There are numberless other passages, but these seem to me the most important. Hegelians call Eckhart the 'father of German speculation,' and think that he was a sort of antediluvian Hegel. Cf. Erdmann, 'Panteismus, die Grundlage der Religion,' and Zeller's Essay in the 'Theol. Jahrbücher' for 1843.

The doctrine of the Church, for example, nowhere appears in his writings. It is not that he makes any formal protest against that doctrine as it was held by the old Catholic Church, but the whole matter is for him so unimportant that it really does not require discussion. Eckhart always mentioned the Church with respect, as was becoming in a vicar-general of the Dominicans, and he always represented himself to be a loyal son of the old Catholic Church, but a *doctrine* of the Church has no place in his theology. He taught the people to honour and revere the Pope, but he plainly intimated that the same Spirit of God which dwells in the Pope, as head of the Church, may dwell in a great measure in the poorest believer. The clergy were to be honoured, he said, for they were the channels through which the grace of God came; but this grace might and did come in many other ways. These views are, of course, entirely contrary to the old Catholic doctrine of the Church beyond whose pale there is no salvation, and if reduced to practice must have led to the destruction of the Catholic Church; but it must be remembered that Eckhart never brought forward any other theory of the Church to take the place of that which he rejected. From his standpoint of pure individualism all such theories were matters of indifference, and he altogether rejected the idea of any objective community through which God's grace comes to the individual believer, whether in the form of an ecclesiastical organization, or of the whole company of believers inspired by the Spirit.

Eckhart taught that the Holy Scriptures were to be revered as the true revelation of God, and he urged upon his hearers the usefulness of studying them with all earnestness. His sermons are eminently Scriptural, if by that is meant full of quotations from Scripture; and he evidently rejected the old Catholic idea that the Scripture was the Word of God only in so far as it was expounded to the people by the Church, the interpreter appointed by God. But with Eckhart Scripture revealed very much what each individual believer made it reveal. Scripture is not, according to his ideas, the record of a continuous historical revelation of God, nor has it always one meaning, to be discovered by due grammatical interpretation and critical appliances; it is rather a series of dissolving views, a collection of changing pictures. Every verse has several meanings, of more or less value, and the meaning least valuable in every case is the plain matter-of-fact meaning which lies on the surface. The plain text, he thinks, must be broken up to get at the spiritual

meaning beneath, and so everything, whether record of national history, of miracle, or of biography, must be spiritualized, or treated as an allegory. Thus, in his sermon on the restoration to life of the son of the widow of Nain,* the city of Nain becomes the soul of man, the disciples the rays of light entering into the soul, and the widow's son the human will, which is met at the threshold of the soul, as it were, and quickened into new life ere the heavenly light can enter. All this means that Scripture is just what it is interpreted to be, and so Eckhart says. The Holy Scriptures are undoubtedly a revelation of God, but the revelation is not contained in the external written word, nor is it to be reached by such outward aids as grammar and exegesis. The true revelation of God is that which comes from the power which can so interpret those dead words and letters as to make them the spiritual revelation of God. And so, according to Eckhart, the Scripture reveals God in an imperfect and external way, the true revelation is that which comes neither from the letter of Scripture, nor from the external voice of the Church interpreting Scripture, but from the presence of the Spirit of God within each man's heart, Who is the true interpreter sent to every believer.

This introduces the question, What is meant precisely by the presence of the Spirit of God in man's soul, revealing to him and interpreting for him the things of God? In other words, What is Eckhart's doctrine of the office and work of the Holy Spirit, the Interpreter? It is evident that Eckhart entirely rejected the old Catholic idea that the Spirit of God, while interpreting divine things to man, acts through a regularly appointed external organization, which when traced back to its last source, is the voice of the Church speaking through its Ecumenical Councils; according to his theory, the Spirit of God speaks to the heart and soul of the individual man, and needs no external machinery to make known what it has to reveal. If the believer's understanding is full of the presence of God, then he will know God's truth. This, according to Eckhart, is the one condition of revelation.† But to understand what he means when he speaks of the presence of the Spirit of God, it is necessary to bear in mind his favourite theory of the *fünklein* or *scintilla*.‡

Eckhart said that there is always within a man a *fünklein*, a spark which is just the presence of God within him, and that this divine spark is the very essence and core of the human soul. It is no supernatural presence, no superadded gift of God's grace, but the essence of the soul itself which in its inmost being is divine. If the light of this divine spark be allowed to permeate through the soul unchecked by the darkening influences of this sensible life, then the whole soul, full of divine illumination, will see clearly and know truly the things of God. The presence of the Spirit of God is, then, according to Eckhart, nothing else than the existence in man of this divine 'soul-centre,' and the believer's understanding is full of the Spirit of God when nothing earthly or sensible interferes with the illumination which this divine 'soul-centre' sends forth. The interruptions of sense and earth are not to be overcome by any special revelation, or mystic trance, or vision; for it is the pure understanding, the reason undimmed by sensible things (for Eckhart does not distinguish between the reason and the understanding) which is the revelation of God in man. It is the human understanding cleared of all sense-coverings which is, according to Eckhart, the *fünklein*, or spark of the divine nature within us, forming the essence of our souls. Man's reason kept pure is the presence of God in man, and is the divine and spiritual interpreter which is to reveal for us in Scripture and elsewhere what is the true and spiritual knowledge of God. There is nothing more curious in the development of Eckhart's theology than his contempt for visions and trances of all kinds, and his thorough and earnest rationalism. All such things as visions, mystic trances, and times of emotional excitement are of the earth earthly, and in his opinion only interfere with our knowledge of divine

Hales, for example, Bonaventura, Albertus Magnus, and Thomas of Aquin use it frequently to denote the result of that restoration of the human soul which takes place when the regenerating grace of God enters and revives it. In borrowing the word, however, Eckhart changed its meaning. He still uses it to denote the presence of God in the soul, but it is not a 'restoration,' but the true and abiding essence of the soul. Thus, by means of a term well-known in the theology of the period to denote the presence of God in His saving grace, Eckhart introduces the Platonic and Neo-Platonic idea, that the soul of man in its inmost essence is just the presence of God. Thus, with Eckhart, *fünklein* means what Plotinus denotes when he speaks of the 'Divine soul-centre,' and he invests it with all the creative and divine elements with which the pantheistic Averroës clothes his *νοῦς ποιητικὸς*.

* Sermon 36, pp. 128ff.

† Cf. 'Daz Buch der Götlichen Troestunge,' sect. 5, especially pp. 436-7.

‡ This word is constantly used by Eckhart, and is evidently a great favourite with him. He probably borrowed it from the scholastic theologians, many of whom, Alexander of

things,* and are to be got rid of with all speed. In short, Eckhart's idea of spiritual illumination given by God to man, which he declared to be alike the source and the test of all knowledge of divine things, is purely rationalistic. His descriptions of the 'fünk-lein,' and its divine nature, read very like Spinoza's theory of the true nature of revelation in his criticism of the inspiration of Hebrew prophecy; and Eckhart, rather than Spinoza, may be called the father of German Rationalism.

If Eckhart is the first and greatest of the mystics of the fourteenth century, Tauler must be held to come next in importance. He had not the great learning of Eckhart, nor his profound speculation, but his lot was cast in more troublous times, when the practical and energetic, as opposed to the speculative and contemplative faculties, found a field for action. Johann Tauler† was born at Strasburg in the year 1290. When he was about eighteen years of age, he resolved to devote himself to a monastic life, and entered a Dominican convent. His superiors sent him to Paris to study in the Dominican college of St. Jacques—the college where Eckhart had taught for nine years, and which he had left only five years before. There he began to study the scholastic theology, and soon showed a decided taste for the writings of those schoolmen who were more or less inclined to mysticism. St. Bernard, Richard and Hugo of St. Victor, and the pseudo-Dionysius were his favourite authors in theology, and in philosophy he studied carefully the Neo-Platonists, especially Proclus.

It is impossible to say how far Eckhart influenced Tauler and led him to become a mystic in theology. The memory of the great mystic must have been held in reverence in Paris when young Tauler went there to study at the Dominican college; and later on in life Tauler must have either met Eckhart, or seen and felt the effect of

his labours in Strasburg. Tauler, a native of Strasburg, would be surrounded by mysticism from his youth; for, as we have already said, that city was a noted centre for various of the heretical mystical sects, more especially for the Brethren of the Free Spirit; and although he altogether repudiated the doctrines of those licentious sectaries, still he could not help being somewhat influenced by them. During the earlier part of his life, however, the person who had the largest share in forming his character and opinions was his friend and companion Nicolas of Strasburg, a Dominican like himself, who was afterwards appointed Inspector of the convents of his Order in Germany. Nicolas was a mystic, like Eckhart; he was a man of great learning, and of a calm, gentle disposition; and his mysticism, less speculative, was more religious, and found outlet in an intense yearning after the 'inward peace' which contemplation of the divine brings with it. In his later years Tauler came under another influence, that of Nicolas of Basle, to whom he owed his 'conversion;' but during the early part of his life no one had more sway over him than his fellow Dominican.

Tauler's labours at Strasburg probably began about the year 1312, and ended only with his death in 1361. This period of nearly half a century included, perhaps, the most disastrous years in the history of mediæval Europe. The previous century had been occupied with the great struggle between Pope and Kaiser, and the great House of Hohenstaufen had fallen before the might of the bishops of Rome. Scarcely had the Papacy triumphed, when it received a blow from which it never recovered; and the Church, weakened by internal dissensions, was now regaining strength to enter into another long contest with the Empire. In 1314, Frederick of Austria and Lewis of Bavaria, were both elected Emperor; both were crowned at Aix, and were forced to submit their claims to the fortune of war. At length, in 1322, Lewis triumphed, and Frederick became the prisoner of his rival. So long as the matter remained uncertain, the Pope, who all along had feared the power of Lewis, and had sided with Frederick, contented himself with aiding his candidate by means of open assistance or secret intrigue; but when Lewis at length triumphed, he put in motion all the ecclesiastical machinery of the Church to crush the new Emperor. All who favoured Lewis were declared excommunicated, and the empire was laid under an interdict for twenty-six years. It is scarcely possible for us to estimate the full force of this terrible exer-

* 'Ouch hinderent sich guote geistliche liute rehter vollekomenheit, daz sie belibent mit ir geistes geluste uf dem bilde der menscheit uners Herren Jêsu Kristi, und hie mit hinderent sich guote liute, daz sie sich ze vil lâzent an visionen, daz sie sehent bildekliche din dinc in irne geiste, ez sin danne menschen oder engele oder uners Herren Jêsu Kristi menscheit, unde geloubent sie der ausprache, die sie dâ hoerent in dem geiste, ob sie hoerent daz sie die liebsten sin, oder eines anderen tugenden, oder sie hoerent, daz Gott dar sie iht tuon wil.'

† Miss Winkworth's very interesting little book, 'History and Life of Dr. John Tauler, with Twenty-five of his Sermons,' contains really all that the student requires to know about Tauler and his times. The best monograph is undoubtedly Dr. Carl Schmidt's 'Johannes Tauler von Strasburg.'

of ecclesiastical power. For more than a quarter of a century the Church preserved a hostile attitude towards the greater portion of the people of Europe, for Lewis was the popular favourite. Everywhere the churches were shut, the sacraments were not dispensed, the people were denied all the ordinary consolations of religion. So bitter was the feeling engendered in the minds of the people against the clergy, that, for a few years before the removal of the ban the uneducated peasantry of Germany confidently expected the coming of a Messiah in the person of Frederick II., the 'priest-hater,' who was to rise from the dead, and free them from the intolerable bondage under which the clergy made them groan.

In Strasburg, as in most other great towns of the empire, the clergy and the people were arrayed against each other. The bishop, John of Ockenstein, and his clergy, sided with the Pope, while Lewis was the people's favourite; and, in consequence, the inhabitants of Strasburg were laid under the ban. Strasburg, though suffering much, was not quite so badly off as many other places, for many of the clergy, being inclined to mysticism, were not so obedient to the Pope's interdict as their brethren elsewhere; and the city contained numbers of Dominican and Franciscan monks, who were not slow to exercise one of the great privileges of their orders—the power to celebrate mass during an interdict, when all other priests were prohibited from any clerical function. It is needless to say that Tauler, the Dominican, laboured earnestly among the people through all these trying years, preaching to them from day to day, and going out and in among them as their spiritual guide and consoler.

At last Lewis, wearied out by the constant persecution of the Pope, resolved to retaliate. In 1338, the Electoral College held their famous meeting, at which they declared that the king of the Romans received his power and dignity from the electors alone, and that the imperial dignity being bestowed directly by God, through the hands of the electors, he who had been legitimately chosen by the electoral princes became thereby king and emperor, without further confirmation by the Pope. Immediately afterwards Lewis issued his celebrated manifesto, in which he made known to all Christendom that the Pope had no authority over the Emperor, and that when he attempted to coerce the Emperor, by means of spiritual interdicts sent forth upon whole nations, it was the duty of every loyal priest to refuse to obey those interdicts. The effect of this manifesto was to cause a still greater di-

vision between the clergy and the people. In Strasburg, the Dominicans and Franciscans, who had up to this time laboured among the people, withdrew from their work. They had been quite willing to use the privilege of their order, and celebrate mass and other religious rites; but now, when any such action might be interpreted to mean that they took the Emperor's side, and acted in obedience to his manifesto rather than to the Pope's interdict, they thought that they could be true to the Church only by shunning every appearance of disobedience. Strasburg was deserted by all the clergy, Tauler only and two devoted companions remaining, in defiance of the orders of Pope, superior, and bishop, to render spiritual service to the rebellious and doomed city. Happily for the empire Lewis did not rest content with asserting his claims; he soon proceeded to enforce them, by making war on the more conspicuous of the rebel prince-bishops, and compelled them to come to terms with him. Among those subdued was the Bishop of Strasburg, and from 1339 onwards to the death of Lewis, the city had peace.

Great as his labours must have been in this his native city, Tauler did not confine himself to Strasburg, but made various journeys to other towns which lay under interdict, especially to Basle and to Köln. At this latter place he was met and gladly welcomed by several of the disciples of Eckhart, and encouraged by them in his labours. At Basle he met Henry of Nordlingen, an old friend, who held the same mystical views, but took the clerical side in the great struggle between Lewis and the Pope, and was probably introduced by him to the sisters Ebner. Tauler's intercourse with these two highly-gifted Christian ladies was doubtless one of the pleasantest episodes in his long and toilsome life. Mystics like himself, well educated and highly cultivated, strong partisans of Lewis, they encouraged Tauler in all his labours among the people, and kept up his courage when he was often inclined to give way.*

* Margaretha Ebner was a nun in the convent of Mary Medringen, in the diocese of Augsburg, and her sister Christina was Abbess in the convent of Engenthal, near Nuremberg. Margaretha was not so much the disciple of Tauler, as his most intimate friend and adviser. She and her sister were accustomed to have trances and see visions, and Tauler encouraged them to send him accounts of what they saw at such times. Tauler's conduct at this time, labouring as he was ceaselessly among a people forsaken utterly by clergy and deprived of all religious ordinances, must have appeared to these two noble-minded ladies as the very ideal

In 1347 Lewis died, but his death brought no peace to Strasburg nor to the Empire. The year before, encouraged by the Pope, a few of the electors had chosen Charles IV. king of the Romans. He was at once nicknamed 'the priest-king' by the people; most of the States, and with them Strasburg, refused to pay him homage, even after the death of Lewis, and were accordingly laid under an interdict. The old separation between priests and people began afresh, and the laity were left to themselves to provide those religious consolations which according to the ideas of the age could only be bestowed by the clergy. Hostilities broke out afresh all over the Empire, and the horrors of the time rose to their greatest height. The 'Black Death,' the most terrible of all pestilences, caused, it is believed, by the presence of so many unburied dead lying in numberless battle-fields all over Europe, passed over South Germany and France. Neither before nor since have we records of so dreadful a pestilence. In the city of Strasburg alone 16,000 persons died; and in the South of France it has been calculated that two out of every three of the inhabitants perished. During all this terrible time the clergy stood aloof. The Pope's interdict lay between them and their fellow men, dead and dying around them; and in the whole city of Strasburg only three men—Tauler, Thomas of Strasburg, Prior-general of the Augustinians, and Ludolph of Saxony, Prior of a newly established convent of Carthusians—were to be found who would render the last offices of religion to the pestilence-ridden citizens. Then, increasing the terror of the people, companies of white-robed Flagellants wandered over the country, and appearing continually in towns and villages, wildly chanted at intervals—

'Nun hebet auf eure Hände,
Dass Gott dies grosse Sterben wende,
Nun hebet auf eure Hände,
Dass sich Gott über uns erbarme.'

and then, throwing themselves on the ground and confessing their sins, they scourged themselves. Prophets began to foretell the end of the world, and the peasantry were more than ever fixed in their belief that the Messiah they were to expect was Frederick II., the 'priest-hater' and the 'priest-queller.' All through this terrible time Tauler remained in Strasburg, preach-

ing, exhorting, and bringing God's messages of peace to the bedside of the sick and the dying; the labour must have been almost too great for man to bear, but Tauler not only underwent it all, but managed at the same time to write and publish two letters to the clergy of Germany, earnestly beseeching them not to stand idly by, and see the poor people, for whom Christ laid down His life, die excommunicated, for no fault of their own, but because it so happened that sickness and death overtook them during the time of a Papal interdict.

These terrible years passed slowly by, and at length Strasburg was reconciled to the Church, and the clergy again mingled with the people, celebrating mass and the other rites of religion; but the bold appeal of Tauler was not forgotten by the Bishop of Strasburg, who could never forgive the Dominican monk who tried to seduce his clergy from their allegiance to him. No sooner had friendly relations been re-established between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, than Tauler was seized by the bishop, kept long in confinement, and at last banished from the city in which he had so long and so devotedly laboured. For a long time he is lost sight of, or seen only by glimpses, as he appears now in one town, now in another, preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ to the people; but at last we find him again in Strasburg, come back to die in the town in which he had lived and toiled. He was now an old man, seventy years of age, and his life had been a harder one than falls to the lot of most men. His last illness worked out its course in great suffering. For more than twenty weeks Tauler lay in great pain; just before his death he sent for Nicolas of Basle, the confidant and guide of his later years, and he died soon after the visit of the great 'layman,' on the 10th of June, 1361.

Very little requires to be said about Tauler's theological opinions. On most points his views were the same as those of Eckhart; and when he did differ from the older mystic it was not because he had theories which were so peculiarly his own that they can be called by his name, but because he had come under other influences, and, especially in the latter part of his life, had become a theological follower of Nicolas of Basle. Tauler has little or none of the speculation of Eckhart, and his whole life was too much spent in active work to admit of the leisure required to think out into definite shape theological doctrines. But the type of mysticism represented in the man would not be correctly portrayed without bringing into prominence the remarkable account of

of a saintly life; and it is not wonderful to find that in one of her visions Christina is told that he is the 'holiest of God's children now living upon this earth,' and that 'the Spirit of God breathes through him as sweet music through a lute.'

his conversion, and his letters to the German clergy.

We have already alluded to the letters. They were written from Strasburg, at the time when the breach between clergy and people was at its height. The first is a passionate appeal to the devout clergy of Germany not to suffer the people to die by hundreds without the consolation of religion; it appeals to all the nobler feelings of man's nature stirred into action by the example of Christ; and asks how any man, with the heart and feelings of a man, can stand aside and allow multitudes for whom our Lord died, to perish in neglect; and it ends with a fierce invective against the Pope, who claiming to be Christ's representative on earth, yet closes heaven against men, simply because they happen to die while he is at war with their emperor. The second letter is more argumentative. It defines the nature and limits of spiritual and temporal power; shows that the possession of spiritual power implies that it must be used in accordance with the dictates of human justice and reason, and asserts that wherever those who pretend to possess spiritual power use it irrationally and unjustly—cursing, for example, and excommunicating poor people, and even whole nations, because an emperor who is personally displeasing to the Pope has been lawfully elected by the legitimate Court of Electors—the spiritual censures can do no harm to those against whom they are launched, but must recoil on the head of those who have impiously sent them forth. In short, in these two letters Tauler appears as the mystic, who, himself caring very little for any theory of the Church, is yet forced by the circumstances of the time to frame what is at least a negative theory, and to assert the powerlessness of the Church if it attempts to use unjustly or immorally the spiritual powers over which it pretends to have complete control.

The account of Tauler's conversion is too interesting and too important to be entirely passed over. One day, while preaching in Strasburg, he had among his hearers a man who, as he listened, perceived that the preacher, although of an amiable disposition and well instructed in the Scripture, was yet blind to the light of God's grace, and he determined to try and bring him to a better frame of mind. To this end he spoke to him, and got Tauler to promise to preach a sermon on the highest good which can belong to man, which he was to criticise. The sermon was preached, and the stranger began to criticise it somewhat severely. Tauler objected to his criticism as the criticism

of a layman, and was told that there is one Master, greater than all the doctors of the Church, who can instruct even the most ignorant, and that he was as yet untaught by this divine Teacher. Then his mysterious visitor gave him a golden alphabet, or series of rules for self-examination, and besought him to test himself by these. Tauler set himself with all earnestness to the task. Fully two years were spent in severe self-mortification, that his body might be brought under subjection to his reason; he was counted a madman and was forsaken by his friends, and at last lay sick, almost dying, without having found the peace he sought. Suddenly, as he lay in his cell in deep meditation, he heard a wonderful voice speaking comfortably to him, and the peace he had longed for came. Then he essayed to declare to others the peace he had himself found, but when he went into the pulpit he could not speak for weeping. His brother monks forbade him to preach because he had made himself a laughing-stock and had brought disgrace upon his Order, but he persevered. By degrees he recovered his powers, and his sermons began to have a wonderful effect on the hearts and even on the bodies of his hearers. Men fainted and lay as dead,* and at the close of each sermon crowds waited to hear yet more if it were possible; and these powers continued with him until the end of his life. Such is the account given us of his conversion.† It is important for our purpose to notice that Tauler dates his great change from the time when this mysterious visitor, who was no other than Nicolas of Basle, obtained an influence over him, and taught him that God's illuminating grace was not confined to the Church or the clergy, but came to every one of God's people directly from Jesus Christ himself; and that the practical result of his conversion upon his theological opinions was to make Tauler less of a Churchman than he had been, and to

* It is said that Tauler was very much alarmed when he first saw his hearers faint and lie as dead; but Nicolas, more accustomed to such scenes, told the bystanders to give each a warm drink and put them comfortably to bed until they came to.

† Until within the last twenty-five years, all that was known of this history was that it had been found bound up with some MSS. of Tauler's sermons. Many critics believed it to be a forgery, and most others thought that it was merely an allegory; but Prof. Carl Schmidt, after researches in the old library of Strasburg, has proved conclusively that this history is a true account of what actually happened to Tauler, and that his mysterious visitor was no other than Nicolas of Basle, who is the author of the history.

fill him with a belief in the personal inspiration of his new adviser, and of his own ability to obtain direct revelations of God's truth through mystic visions and trances. But to understand the full meaning of these changes in theological belief it is necessary to know more of the man under whose guidance Tauler was brought to accept them.

No student of mediæval mysticism can have failed to note the growth in the fourteenth century of an association, or rather of several groups of associations, the members of which called themselves the 'Friends of God'; and many must have come upon more or less obscure notices of some one who is styled 'the Great Layman' and the 'Great Friend of God,' who seemed to be the founder and recognised spiritual head of these associations; but it was not until Dr. Carl Schmidt published the results of his researches among the MSS. in the old library of Strasburg, that we had any very definite knowledge either of the founder or of the nature of these associations.*

Nicolas of Basle was the son of a wealthy merchant in that town, and was born in the year 1308. He was a lad of good abilities and irreproachable conduct, and was from very early years of a decidedly religious disposition. When about fifteen years of age he became oppressed by a great consciousness of sin, and in order to free himself from the burden under which he laboured, he resolved to renounce the world and devote himself to a religious life. Even at this early stage of his career the independence of his character revealed itself, for he does not appear to have even contemplated entering a convent or becoming a priest; he renounced the world, but made the renunciation in his own way. For five years he laboured to obtain a nearer approach to God, reading the lives of saints and practising austerities.

* Dr. Schmidt found several MSS. relating to this subject, but the most important was a large folio volume containing chiefly letters and papers collected and left by Rulmann Merswin, who had been the founder of a convent of knights of St. John, to which this book had originally belonged. Rulmann Merswin had been a friend of Tauler, and, like him, a disciple of Nicolas of Basle, with whom he had kept up a constant correspondence. The book is chiefly in the handwriting of Nicolas of Laufen, who was secretary to Rulmann Merswin, and afterwards a priest of the Order of St. John, and an inmate of the convent. It contains (1) a MSS. called 'Buch von den fünf Männer,' an account of Nicolas and four chosen companions written by Nicolas himself. (2.) Twenty-two letters of Nicolas. (3.) A religious autobiography of Rulmann Merswin, the history of the first four years being in his own handwriting. Cf. 'Gottes-Freunde,' Preface.

At length God revealed Himself to him, and he found peace. And now he began to feel himself specially inspired by God, and specially taught by the Holy Spirit. Immediately after his conversion he began to study the Scriptures, and found that although he had never received a university education, nor any instruction in theology, he was able, in the space of thirty weeks, to master and understand the Word of God as thoroughly as the most learned doctors of the Church. While separating himself from the Church, and denying her claim to be the mediator between God and man in the revelation of doctrine, Nicolas did not associate himself with any heretical sects. He had no connection whatever with the Waldenses, although some of his doctrines were the same as theirs, and he was the determined opponent of the licentious Brethren of the Free Spirit, and of the pantheistic Beghards.* He occupied a thoroughly independent position between the Church on the one hand and the heretical sects on the other; and the fact of his being a layman enabled him to do this with greater ease and safety than if he had been a member of any religious order. His theology was of a very simple kind, and he had not the perplexing logical mind which prevents a thinker from holding doctrines quite irreconcilable with each other. On most points of doctrine his opinions were substantially those of the old Catholic Church, but along with these he held two doctrines which, when pushed to their logical consequences, would have yielded results entirely subversive of most of the theology of the Church. These were the doctrines of self-renunciation and of private inspiration; and to the mind of Nicolas they are so mutually related, that when self-renunciation is complete inspiration follows.

The doctrine of self-renunciation must form a part of every system of theology, and recommends itself to every pious mind; but it is generally so stated as not to interfere with other doctrines at least equally necessary and equally important. Nicolas and his followers, however, made it the one important doctrine in a Christian theology, and stated it in the most absolute manner. The self-renunciation they taught was not the self-renunciation of Reformation theology, wherein the believer is taught to renounce his own *merit*, in order to gain by confidence in the merit of Jesus Christ a standing before God, and peace of conscience in spite of the sense of sin; it is rather an ab-

* Cf. his 'Buch von den zwei Männer,' in Schmidt's 'Gottes-Freunde.'

solute renunciation of one's own individuality in order to leave all things to God. The doctrine as taught by these mystical theologians amounted to absolute quietism, and if logically adhered to would have prevented every kind of human action and exertion. Nicolas did not go so far as this, but he went far enough to show that his doctrine was, in its practical application, irreconcilable with the doctrines and worship of the Catholic Church. For he taught that if man could only thoroughly renounce himself, and put his self-knowledge aside, he would come to know that all things which he experiences are sent him for his good, and are not to be shunned, but are to be taken as blessings sent by God. Temptations to sin, he thought, should always be faced and never shirked, nor are we to pray to be delivered from them; and in the same way it is not right to pray for any alteration of circumstances, nor even for the coming of the kingdom of heaven. The highest form of the divine life in man is, according to Nicolas, resignation to the will of God, and prayer is a means of bringing about this state of resignation; hence the believer should only pray for a right and suitable frame of mind and will—that is a frame of mind and will resigned to whatever is sent or is to be sent by God in His providence—while to pray for a change in one's circumstances, for forgiveness of sins, for freedom from temptation, for the coming of the kingdom, is to pray that what God sends may be made subject to us, not that we should be made to submit ourselves to it, and so tends to produce self-assertion, not self-renunciation.*

When self-renunciation is complete, the soul of man having become entirely resigned to the Divine will, becomes, Nicolas taught, so entirely assimilated to the Divine nature that it has continual and near fellowship with God. Thus the man who has so far triumphed over his natural inclination to self-assertion as to become wholly resigned to the ways of God, is always in familiar intercourse with the Spirit of God, who communicates to him all divine knowledge. Thus Nicolas claimed for himself and for

such of his followers as had reached a state of perfection in self-renunciation, a direct acquaintance with things divine. God revealed Himself to them, they believed, not indirectly and only through the medium of the Holy Scriptures; but directly and immediately through dreams and waking visions, and in this way taught them to understand perfectly all the sublimest mysteries in theology. It often happened that these revelations consisted in allegorical visions, as when Rulmann Merswin had a vision of a stone successively assuming three shapes, and was thereby taught to understand as he had never understood before the doctrine of the Trinity; while at other times, as in the vision which came to Tauler at his conversion, the revelation was expressed in ordinary language. This *private* inspiration, which Nicolas believed that he possessed, was quite different from the ordinary efforts of the human reason, and in this respect Tauler and Nicolas hold opinions altogether opposed to the rationalism of Eckhart. It was a supernatural gift especially bestowed upon men from without, and showed itself in ways altogether different from the exercises of the ordinary reason. The men who were believed to be possessed of it had in it a new gift, altogether different from the capacities of their fellows, which made them independent of all churchly and other aids to a religious life, and they were, as possessors of the same spirit, brought into such a close spiritual fellowship with each other, that they could, while far distant, correspond with each other through alternate visions.

Of the private history of Nicolas we know very little, but it is evident that he travelled a great deal through Germany, propagating his opinions in a quiet, unostentatious manner. Gradually there grew up around him a society of Christians composed of men and women like-minded with himself, who loved and honoured him as their spiritual father. It does not seem that this society had any definite place of association, or that its members proposed to themselves any practical or political ends and aims. The bond of association was the personal character of Nicolas, and the members were all men and women of pious lives and characters, who, in a profligate and disastrous age, amidst the breaking up, as it seemed, of all mechanical aids to piety, were insensibly attracted towards Nicolas, and through him to each other. They called themselves 'the Friends of God,' to signify that they had reached that stage of the Christian life, when Christ, according to His promise, would call them 'no longer servants but friends;' and they

* Cf. The fifteenth and sixteenth articles in the sentence against Martin of Mainz, one of Nicolas' followers:—

15. Quod perfectus homo non debet pro inferni liberatione ac celestis regni collocatione deum orare, nec illi pro aliquo quod deus est non servire, sed indifferens ejus beneplacitum expectare.

16. Quod in evangeliiis et in oratione dominica non debet stare sic: et ne nos inducas in temptationem, quia negatio non ex Christi doctrina, sed ex alia quacunque negligentia.

included in their number individuals who differed most widely in rank and circumstances. More than one monkish Order had its representatives among the 'Friends of God.' Tauler, Suro, and Henry of Nordlingen, were Dominicans; Otto of Passau was a Franciscan; and there were numbers of laymen. Rulmann Merswin was a banker, Conrad of Brunsberg was Grand Master of the Knights of St. John in Germany. There were women as well as men enrolled as members of the society—for example, the two Ebners, Margaretha and Christina, and Anne, Queen of Hungary.

In such an association as this, where all the members believed themselves possessed of supernatural illumination, and where the possession of such extraordinary faculties was held to be the test of the religious state, we naturally look for extravagant outbursts of enthusiasm; and that such outbursts did not occur is due to the firm rule of Nicolas. This remarkable man must have been gifted in no ordinary degree with the powers of rule and organization. He professed that all those admitted into his association were his equals in spiritual things, because they were taught by the same Spirit and enlightened by means of the same supernatural revelations; he protested against anything like spiritual authority assumed by one man over his fellows; and he rejected with scorn the claim of the clergy to be his guides in spiritual things, declaring that he and his followers were themselves taught by that Master who alone could teach the knowledge of God: but with all this he ruled over his followers and associates with a far firmer sway than did the Pope over the Church. Theoretically, the 'Friends of God' admitted that they were all spiritual equals, possessing the same spiritual gifts, but practically they obeyed those revelations which came to Nicolas, and in renouncing the authority of the Church, gave themselves over to the spiritual tyranny of an irresponsible individual. This was true more especially of the four intimate companions of Nicolas, who accompanied him wherever he went, and obeyed him with instant obedience in everything he commanded. To these four followers Nicolas 'was a God,' nothing was wrong which he commanded, nothing right that he prohibited.* And although Nicolas did not assert

the same authority over all those who were members of his association, his personal power and influence was the only thing which kept his followers united, for after his death the association fell to pieces.

For a long time the 'Friends of God' were allowed to pursue their course unchecked by the Church. They did not court attention, and the name they assumed was one which had often been used to denote earnest-minded individuals who, within the Church, sought after a spiritual as opposed to a mechanical piety. But, towards the end of his life, Nicolas seems to have cherished, and attempted to put into execution, certain ambitious plans of a Church reformation, and this aroused against him the wakeful jealousy of the clergy. After long eluding the vigilance of his persecutors, he was at last apprehended, and, after trial was burnt along with two of his friends. The associations which he had formed held together in a feeble way after his death, cherishing the memory of their founder, and regarding with peculiar veneration the religious biographies and other devotional writings* which he left behind him; but the true influence of the man re-appeared after his death, not in the vitality of the societies he formed, but in the religious lives and labours of one or two of his more distinguished followers.

Two of the followers of Nicolas must be specially noticed, as each of them presents us with a distinct type of the way in which the doctrines of that great mystic tended to

perfectius evangelium quam aliquando apostoli aut beatus Paulus hoc intellexerit.

8. Quod predictæ Nicolao ex perfectione submissionis tibi facte potes, contra precepta cuiuscunque prelati, etiam pape, licite et sine peccato obedire.

9. Quod ex iussione eiusdem Nicolai nullo modo, etiam interficiendo hominem vel cognoscendo mulierem, posses peccare.

10. Quod per talem dismissionem Nicolao perfecte sine formis et ymaginibus factam, fuisti liberatus ab obedientia ecclesie, intrans statum prime innocentie.

11. Quod melius esset tibi ut in fornicationem caderes et resurgens in tali submissione maneras, quam quod ab obedientia eiusdem Nicolai recederes, et sine peccato remaneres.

* The principal writings of Nicolas of Basle are: 'Buch von den zwei Männer' (who these two men were we do not know); 'Die Bekehrung Tauler's'; 'Buch von den fünf Männer' (a religious biography of Nicolas and his four companions); 'Von der Bekehrung eines Deutsch-Ordens-Ritter,' 'Von zwei Kloster-Frauen in Bayern,' and 'Von zwei Clauerinnen, Ursula und Adelheit,' the memoir of two nuns in Brabant. This last is said to have been a translation from the 'Welsch' or Old Walloon dialect, not an original work.

* The veneration in which Nicolas was held by his followers forms the chief part of the indictment drawn up against them by the Church. Cf. The sentence against Martin of Mainz, where, out of fifteen heads of indictments, no less than five make special mention of Nicolas:—

5. Quod quidem laycus, nomine Nicolaus de Basilea, cui te funditus submissisti, clarius et

develop themselves. The two great doctrines taught by Nicolas were, as we have seen, self-renunciation and private inspiration by way of visions and dreams, &c. The doctrine of self-renunciation, in the hands of Jan van Ruysbroeck, led him to abandon entirely all the duties of active life and betake himself to passive and divine contemplation; while the doctrine of private inspiration made his followers justify all his deviations from the old Catholic doctrines as the direct results of the teaching of the Holy Ghost. The doctrine of self-renunciation, in the hands of Heinrich Seuss or Suso, led him to practise the most thoroughgoing and ingenious course of austerities in the hope of reaching a state of entire self-surrender by the triumph of the Spirit over the flesh; and the doctrine of private inspiration led him to spend great part of his time in trances waiting for spiritual manifestations. With Jan van Ruysbroeck nearness to God was to be attained through calm contemplation, and the undisturbed repose of soul and body. His self-renunciation was the renunciation of all anxieties, endeavours, and business of any kind, sacred or secular. God according to him came near to man in the calm of thought. As God in motionless calm permits His thoughts slowly and placidly to evolve themselves in the worlds of nature and providence, so if His worshipper preserves the same calm, his thoughts will evolve themselves in harmony with the Divine, and he will have fellowship with God. With Heinrich Seuss nearness to God was attained by overcoming whatever in us is ungodlike; by trampling beneath us and slaying outright all bodily sensual desires and promptings, so that the soul, free from all foreign and disturbing emotions, may rise at a bound, as it were, to that God to whom it is ever reaching forward to approach. According to Jan van Ruysbroeck, man is in his present state, as a whole of body and soul *like* God, and the doctrine of Christian theology, which is continually before his mind, is the doctrine of the *Incarnation*, whose whole purpose, it seems to him, is to teach this similarity of nature, and as a consequence man's power to imitate God; while, according to Heinrich Seuss, man is like God, because he as a spirit can rise above all fleshly desires and longings; and his favourite doctrine of Christian theology is the *Passion of Christ*, in which he sees the revelation of the way in which man, if he only imitates Christ, can bring himself into fellowship with God. But in order to show these two types of mysticism as they appeared in the lives of men, we must describe more particularly the

characters and teaching of these two distinguished mystics.

Jan van Ruysbroeck,* or more properly Ruusbroec, was born in 1293 in a small village of that name not far from Brussels. While quite a boy he showed a strong inclination for a religious life, and when eleven years of age he was sent to the convent of the Augustinian monks in Brussels. At the age of fourteen he began to study theology, but was a very mediocre student. His acquaintance with theology was never very extensive at any period of his life—the writings of the pseudo-Dionysius, St. Augustine, and one or two others of the Fathers contented him—and he never knew enough Latin to compose in that language. When twenty-four years of age he was ordained priest, and became curate of the Church of St. Gudule, in Brussels, where he acquired a great reputation for unostentatious piety. He got some fame, too, beyond the confines

* Theologians are indebted to the 'Maetschappij der Vlaemische Bibliophyllen' for a complete and accurate edition of the works of Ruusbroec, very carefully edited with a glossary of the obsolete and antiquated words and phrases. This edition contains: 'Die Sierheit der gheestliker Bruloft,' 'Van den blickenden Steen' (a sermon upon Rev. vii. 17, and sometimes ascribed to Tauler; it is to be found in Spener's Edition of Tauler's Works, p. 142, &c.) 'Dat Boec van den vier Becorringen,' 'Die Spieghel der ewigher Salicheit,' 'Dat Boec van vii. Trappen inden Graet der gheestliker Minnen,' 'Dat Boec van seven Sloten,' 'Dat Boec van den Rike der Gheleven,' 'Dat Boec van der twaelf Dogheden van den Kerstenen Gheleven,' 'Dat Boec van den gheestliken Tabernacule' (perhaps the most important of his works). The first four of these writings are published separately by A. v. Arns-waldt, under the title 'Vier Schriften von Johann Ruusbrock in niederdeutsche Sprache,' with a preface by Dr. Ullmann. Surius, who translated into Latin the devotional writings of Henry Suso, has also published a Latin translation of the works of Ruusbroec, but this edition is not trustworthy, for in order to make his author an orthodox Catholic, the translator has altered several passages containing Ruusbroec's more peculiar doctrines, which he believes to be objectionable. The student will also find an admirable summary and criticism of Ruusbroec's mysticism in the 'Epistola Gersonis, super 3^a parte libri J. R. de ornatu Spir. Nuptiarum,' in which Gerson accuses him of holding pantheistic tenets not unlike those held by the Beghards, and for which Amaury de Bene had been condemned by the University of Paris. A disciple of Ruusbroec's, Johannes de Schœnhavia, wrote a defence of his master, and this, along with Gerson's reply, are to be found in Dupin's edition of Gerson's Works, Tom. I., Pt. I., pp. 59ff. The best summary of Ruusbroec's life and opinions is to be found in Dr. Carl Schmidt's 'Etudes sur le Mysticisme Allemand au XIV^e Siècle,' in the 'Mémoires de l'Académie royale des Sciences, morales et politiques.' Savants Etrangers, Paris, 1847.

of his parish and neighbourhood, by successfully meeting and confuting a female preacher of the sect of the Brethren of the Free Spirit, who had made many converts by her persuasive tongue, and had silenced not a few opponents by her ready wit; and he might have risen to some eminence in the Church had he so inclined. But his solid Flemish nature inclined him to remain in his humble sphere, and content himself with a life of quiet work. How he became acquainted with Tauler and Nicolas of Basle, is not known—some assert that Tauler visited Brussels on one of his many journeys—but he soon became a man of note among the 'Friends of God,' and was recognised as one of their spiritual guides. He was not a man of much speculative ability, and he had next to no erudition; but the intensity and power of his Christian mystical spirit gave to this quiet old Flemish curate a wonderful personal influence over all who came in contact with him. His book on 'The Adornment for the Spiritual Nuptials' was written to serve as a manual of devotion among the 'Friends of God,' and describes the course of self-renunciation through the three stages of the life active, the life intimate, and the life contemplative. When sixty years of age he conceived that he had made sufficient advance in spiritual progress to be ready for the life contemplative, and he resigned his curacy to retire to a monastery of the Regular Canons at Groendal, of which he was first prior. In this monastery he passed the remaining portion of his long life, spending his days in what seemed to him the only truly noble and divine task permitted to man, quiet contemplation. He found time however to gather about him a band of earnest preachers whom he sent forth to speak to the people, and he induced numbers of well-born and highly educated men and women to betake themselves to the monastic life, and set his face calmly but steadfastly against the vices of the clergy and of the laity. He died in 1387, at the age of ninety-four, and was buried in the garden of his convent.

Ruusbroec was neither a theologian nor a philosopher, and most of his theology and speculation he borrowed from Eckhart and Nicolas; yet everywhere throughout his writings he keeps his individuality, and shows that he has not merely appropriated but assimilated to his own quiet, deep nature the doctrines and opinions he teaches. His writings are all devotional, and are never technical nor even systematic; but they are full of rich quaint figures and wonderful symbols and emblems, making one think of an illiterate George Herbert. His style is

rough and uncouth, but it has a quiet strength of its own, and reflects very well the rugged living heart in the man. His principal contribution to mystical theology was his division of the work of self-renunciation into three stages, and his idea that the last and highest stage, the life of pure contemplation, was the perfection of this work. According to Ruusbroec, the *life active*, or first stage in the work of self-renunciation, consists in the approach to God by external means. To this life belong penitential exercises, the practice of good works, and obedience to the laws and ordinances of the Church. At this stage a rigorous asceticism is recommended, and the chief and characteristic virtue is Christian humility. The *life intimate*, or second stage, is reached when the external aids to piety are no longer so necessary, and there is within the soul an eternal aspiration towards God, which is reciprocal with God's love going out to man. In this stage the soul is illumined by God's grace, and is enabled to free itself from all spiritual and bodily affections which would obscure the image of God. The *life contemplative*, or third stage, which he called the *vita vitalis*, is reached when our lives are hid with Christ in God. The life of God envelops us, is above us, about us, and yet all throughout us in a way that we know not. The soul is free from all excitement, free even from the rush of aspiration towards God, for it rests on God's love, and its whole exercise consists in thus resting on God; united to God the soul has calm and eternal fruition of Him; and above and beyond all there is something in this life of divine contemplation which is ineffable, and can never be described. Like Eckhart, Ruusbroec thought that the mystical vision of God, which was vouchsafed in the life contemplative, was not given in any dream or emotional mood—excitement of the emotions belonged to the first and lowest stage of the spiritual life—but belonged to the highest faculty of the soul, to the scintilla or spark of the Divine presence, which is the inmost nature of the soul; but he went beyond Eckhart in his description of the likeness of man to God. His healthy Flemish nature was not troubled with any ideas of the sinfulness of the body as opposed to the soul, and so he did not need to busy himself with trying to overcome the strength of the body by elaborate maceration. He sought to contemplate God with his whole being, body, soul, and spirit; and he could not think that that human flesh which Christ hallowed when He became God Incarnate, had first to be got rid of ere man could live a spiritual life. Thus Ruusbroec was led to

meditate much upon the doctrine of the Incarnation. It never assumed the place in his system which it did in the old Catholic or in Reformation theology, for Ruusbroec did not set much store by any doctrine of Atonement; but still the Incarnation was a central point in his theology, for it enabled him, he thought, to see how thoroughly man could assimilate himself to the Divine nature, since it taught how thoroughly God could take to Himself a human nature. If the highest duty of man is the imitation of God—and this is always the main idea in the theology of the mystics—then the Incarnation of God makes it possible for the whole man to join in this imitation. So much for the Flemish type of mysticism. We must now pass to the South-German type.

Heinrich Suso, or Seuss,* was, from his early training and character, a theologian, quite different from Ruusbroec. His father was a rude German knight, fond of martial exercises of all kinds, and delighting in the tourney; his mother was one of those saintly contemplative women so often met with in old German biography. As a boy Heinrich was devoted to his mother; and hers seems to have been the ruling influence in his life. From her he inherited his youthful pious longings, his uniform gentleness, and a certain high-minded delicacy of character, which in after life insensibly charmed those pious ladies with whom he came in contact. In his thirteenth year his parents allowed him to enter the Dominican convent in Constance; from which he was sent by his superiors to Köln, to study theology in the famous school there. There he studied Aristotle and Thomas of Aquin, but soon began to give his whole attention to the mystical theologians. When he was eighteen years of age his mother died, and when

the news reached him he again solemnly devoted himself to the service of God, and resolved to call himself by his mother's name of Seuss, Latinised into Suso. Shortly after his mother's death Eckhart came to Köln, and the young Dominican student began to attend the preaching of the famous vicar-general of his Order. He soon became an enthusiastic disciple, and eagerly defended his master from the charge of heresy, which began at that time to be levelled against him. When his studies at Köln were ended, he returned to his convent at Constance; and although often absent on preaching journeys, continued to be one of its inmates until his death. The pious and highly-strung nature of Suso soon found outlet in many and wonderful visions, which he records in his biography. In one of these visions it was revealed to him that his heavenly name was Amandus; and he carefully recorded the fact in his biography, although while alive he kept it a secret from all men. In one of his preaching tours he visited Strasburg, where he met Tauler, and was probably introduced by him to Nicolas of Basle, and his other spiritual companions; at all events, he soon after became one of the followers of Nicolas, and a member of the society of the 'Friends of God,' and was held in great esteem by them. Christina Ebner, in one of her visions, saw his name written on the blue vault of heaven side by side with Tauler's, and Henry of Nordlingen esteemed him as one of the holiest of men. Heinrich Seuss was not a man like Tauler, to rush into the great battle of life; in the contest between the people and the Church he took the side of the Pope, and preferred a quiet conventual life to the bustle of practical work in perilous times; and yet his enthusiastic nature could not find its outlet in that calm contemplation which had seemed the highest blessedness to Jan van Ruusbroec. Seuss longed to *know* God, to behold Him as He is, to have living fellowship with Him. Solomon's conception of eternal wisdom entranced him, he longed to make such wisdom his own, and devoted himself to the attempt to reach it. In his convent he had a small chapel, constructed for his especial use, on the walls of which he painted symbolic representations of the Eternal Wisdom, and around them mystic sentences appropriate to the symbols. There he sat waiting for the inspiration which prompted him while he composed his 'Book on the Eternal Wisdom.'

In the way in which Seuss determined to seek this wisdom we recognise the workings of a nature which combined much of the character of both his father and his mother.

* The principal works of Suso are:—'Das Leben Heinrich Seuss's von ihm selbst erzählt,' which has been translated into several languages (the English translation stands at the head of this article), and is still extensively read as a devotional book by Roman Catholics; 'Büchlein von der Ewigen Weisheit,' 'Predigten,' 'Preces horarie,' 'Officium Missæ de æterna sapientia.' The 'Büchlein von den neun Felsen,' commonly attributed to him, and usually found in editions of his collected works, was really written by Rulmann Merswin. The best Latin edition of his works is that of Surius. Jahn's *Lesefrüchte Altdeutscher Theologie*, contains a selection of the more important passages from the writings of Suso translated into modern German, and accompanied with valuable notes, comparing his doctrines with those of Plato, Plotinus, and Novalis. The best German edition of Suso's works is Diepenbroch's, to which is prefixed a valuable dissertation on mysticism by J. Görres.

The power and nobility of suffering had always a great attraction for him; this he doubtless inherited from the gentle and high-minded German lady, his mother; while his fixed resolve to fight his way through suffering to the goal he had set before him shows the indomitable resolution of his soldier-father. Like Ruusbroec and other mystics, Seuss thought that the highest religious work was to imitate Christ, and the one Christian duty was to endeavour after a perfect imitation; by imitating Christ men gradually approach nearer God; and when the imitation is perfect they lose themselves with Christ in God. If man is an earthly creature, he thought, born and reared in time, pent within a dull body, and enchained by all manner of sensual lusts, he is nevertheless a spiritual nature, able to be the mirror in which God may reflect Himself. There is within this body, and beneath those sense-affections, a *scintilla*, or *fünk-lein*, or spark of God's presence; and man only fulfils his true destiny when he follows that light on until he gets back to the source from which he emanated, and returns to God, who is his home. But how was this journey to be accomplished? Not, Seuss thought, by the way of clear thinking, or calm contemplation; we must follow the path Christ took, and where He trod there set our steps. For, according to him, Christ's Incarnation and life on earth was in a higher and holier form the very same process as man's birth into this material universe; just as man came, a spark of the divine nature, out from the divine presence into this world of bodily change and decay, so came Christ, the brightness of the glory of the Father, to take to Himself man's nature, and live man's life; and in the way in which Christ returned to the Father men may return. But our Lord returned back again to Divinity by one clearly marked road, by the path of His Passion; and we must imitate Him in His Passion, if we are to follow in His footsteps. It is by bodily suffering then, according to Seuss, that we are to imitate Christ; suffering prolonged until the body has no longer power to clog the soul, and the sensible no longer enthralls the spiritual. In this way, just as Ruusbroec made Christ's Incarnation the centre of his mystical theology, the more ardent and enthusiastic Seuss makes Christ's Passion the great doctrine in theology. In this spiritual life of imitation of Christ Seuss distinguishes three stages:—(1) *purgation*, wherein all creature desires are banished; (2) *illumination*, in which the soul is filled with heavenly desires; and (3) *perfection*, wherein the superior faculties of the soul

being united to God, the soul rests on God, full of sublime contentment, satisfied with sublime love, and full of visions of divine things. In each of these stages the body may at any time rise in revolt against the soul and its spiritual endeavours; and so it must ever be crushed by constant mortifications and penances; and Seuss, as he tells us in his biography, was singularly skilful in inventing ways by which to torture and macerate himself. Thus, according to Seuss, the ideal religious life is attained when the body is thoroughly subdued, and the soul is able to reach towards God without let or hindrance, and in mystic trances, day dreams, and visions of the night hold intimate intercourse with the Father of Spirits.

Such were the opinions of the great representatives of mysticism in the fourteenth century,* and it only remains to summarise them, and compare them with the doctrines of the Reformation theology. To put the matter shortly, what the mystics brought into mediæval theology, apart from their merely Neo-Platonic theosophy, may be summed up under these heads:—

1st. An intense individualism, which made them look at all things from the stand-point of the individual soul, and prevented them from obtaining any glimpse of an organic religious life, whether in the form of a mechanical ecclesiasticism, as in the old Catholic theology, or in that of a community inspired by the Spirit and in possession of the external means of grace, the Word, sacraments, and prayer, as in the Reformation theology, or even in that wider and vaguer sense of a 'fellowship of sentiments which creates a unity amongst all educated men throughout Christendom'—the 'Church which has no name,' of Prevost-Paradol, Dean Stanley, and Dr. Rauwenhoff.†

2nd. An over-strained spiritualism which compelled them to look on all events in history and human life as parables, and which when it came in contact with the Scriptures exhausted itself in a meaningless allegorising.

3rd. The rejection of a doctrine of the atonement for a theory of *self-renunciation*, or rather of the renunciation of all difficult-

* I have not thought it necessary to give any account of the 'Deutsche Theologie,' because it really summarises and presents in a systematic form the results of the fourteenth century mysticism, and it does not contain further developments of any of the doctrines which more immediately belong to the subject of investigation.

† This conception of the nature of the Church has been most fully elaborated by the Leyden School of Theologians. Cf., among other articles, 'Theologisch Tijdschrift' for Nov., 1872, Art. I. De Kerk van Schotland.

ties and impediments to the absorption of the soul back again into God. The great business of man, they taught, was to renounce self, and the one great advantage which Christianity possessed over all other religions was that it alone in the person of Christ furnished man with a model of self-renunciation; for it must always be remembered that the mystical idea of an *Imitatio Christi* is only another way of expressing their theory of self-renunciation. This doctrine assumed a twofold form, inasmuch as

—(1) Some held that self-renunciation is perfect when the soul attains to a state of calm contemplation, and when the reason is purified from all sensible and other hindrances. This may be called the rationalist mysticism. In its theory of an *imitatio Christi*, Christ is the ideal man, who can be imitated because He is man, and its central doctrine is the dogma of the Incarnation. (2) Some held that self-renunciation is perfect when the soul attains to a state of enthusiastic vision, and when it has triumphed over the body, which has been reduced to a nullity by emaciation and maceration. This may be called the enthusiastic mysticism. In its theory of an *imitatio Christi*, Christ is the ideal sufferer, who can be imitated because He brought His body into subjection, and its central doctrine is the dogma of the Passion.

4th. The doctrine of private inspiration, which means, not that the Holy Spirit coming from without into the soul of the individual believer fills it with the presence of God, and so enables him, as it enables all other believers, to know the things of God, but rather that there is within each man a spark of the divine presence which, if not hindered by the blinding influences of sense, will reveal to the individual believer in its own way what is divinely true, and will interpret for him in the way most suitable to his circumstances and needs the spiritual meaning of things.

5th. Lastly, a total neglect of the *historical* element in religion, in revelation, in theology, and even in human life. This last element in mysticism is perhaps only the negative side of the one first mentioned, for an intense individualism implies a neglect of, and contempt for, that intermingling association and continuity of individual interests and aims which make up the organic whole of history; but it is of such importance as to deserve special mention.

It is not difficult to show that many circumstances in the historical position of the mystics led them to adopt these doctrines, but this explanation only removes them further from any relation to the Reformation.

It may be shown, I think, that mysticism has always its birth in a time of disorder and contest, and more especially in a time when there is a violent conflict between the civil and ecclesiastical powers. This was the case as we have just seen in a pre-eminent manner with the mysticism of the fourteenth century. It arose and ran its full course during the stormiest period of mediæval history. The great strife between the Holy Roman Empire and the Holy Catholic Church, which had been going on for long, had reached its height in the contest between Lewis of Bavaria and Pope John XXII. and his successors, Benedict XII. and Clement VI. The twin powers in Europe which had so long grown together mutually supporting and protecting each other, the representatives of civil government and religious authority, the embodiments of material and spiritual order and well being, were now divorced from each other, engaged in a deadly conflict which could only end in the destruction of one or both. Earnest, pious, and right-minded men were often fain to turn their eyes away from the weltering nightmare of external history. The Holy Roman Empire, to which they looked to maintain peace and order in Europe, had become scarcely more than a name, and every election of an emperor was the signal for the renewal of the most deadly disorder. The Holy Catholic Church, once the symbol of all that was holy and of good report, the avowed peacemaker, the defender of the oppressed, the denouncer of wrong doing, the symbol of the triumph of right over might, and the realization of moral force and spiritual power stronger than mere brute strength, had now become a temporal power, which directed the movements of armies and threatened the liberties of nations. The Empire had lost its power to rule, the Church had lost its spiritual character; and European history to the eyes of contemporaries must have been like a horrible vision of dreadful unrealities. To what were earnest-minded spiritual men to turn their eyes? It required greater penetration than those mystics possessed to separate the true course of the development of Church and State from the confused turmoil on the surface of history, and to discern in the present chaos of misrule the convulsive throes ushering in a new national and a new ecclesiastical life. It is true that in the beginning of the fourteenth century the new national life of Europe was appearing, and that the Holy Roman Empire was already being supplanted by a confederation of nations; but those mystics lived too soon to see the full meaning of all this. They could scarcely appre-

ciate the new political order which was beginning to emerge, still less could they take the birth of this new national life as a prophecy of the incoming of a new life for the Church. They could not see that when the incubus of a central power, whose action was purely mechanical and destructive to living national strength, was removed, a new orderly national life which was now struggling into existence would speedily show itself in all its strength; still less could they see in the birth of European nations the prophecy of the birth of national Churches and a new churchly life. They lived too soon for this; they were between the darkness and the day, and the shadows were still upon them. What they saw was the decay of all external force, whether in State or Church. What could they do, but shut their eyes on all outside things, like the old Stoics, and seek within themselves, within the empire of their own souls, for that consolation they sorely needed. Hence came their intense individualism, and hence their despal of organic Christianity in any form, and their contempt for any external means to holiness. They felt themselves alone in the world, and they set themselves to make the best of their solitude. If every external basis and support for government and religion has given way, they said, we have, at least, ourselves left us; within the circle of our own thoughts we have enough to content us; there, if we only seek it, we can find order and peace, and holy quiet. The very causes which compelled the stoic to betake himself to his ideal of a wise man, who is self-sufficient within himself, and to turn his back upon a universe where disorder reigned, begat the individualism of the mystic, and thus the paradoxes of the stoic and the allegorising tendencies of the mystic spring from the same source. I need hardly say, that this comparison between the mystics and the stoics, refers to one point only in the doctrines of each—the individualism which made them turn from external fact to inward idea. On all other points save this no comparison is possible. For there is pervading the whole of the mystical theology an intense and devout spirituality, which marks it off from any pagan philosophy, however refined. ‘There is nothing,’ as Dorner says, ‘more characteristic of mysticism than that it will not stop short at the means, but seeks communion with God Himself—contact of the soul with Him. The sensible tangibleness of divine ordinances does not satisfy it; it seeks the spiritual certainty of God, its salvation, through the present living God, not merely through past actions which may have become mere sym-

bols of His presence; it seeks that the soul may, above all, rejoice in its God.’ But the point here insisted on is, that the same circumstances which made the stoics betake themselves to an ideal life, instead of actively helping to make real life better than it was, led the mystics to seek this near and intimate fellowship with God by one particular way—by despising all external aid as mechanical, and, therefore, unspiritual, and seeking that help alone which was to be found within their own individual souls.

Nowhere is this seen better than in the way, to select one instance, in which the mystics treat what must ever be the central idea of every theology—the idea of Atonement. They rejected the old Catholic theory as too mechanical and external, but they could not conceive of any theory which, while it was spiritual, was yet external and objective, and so they did not attempt to frame any such theory; their idea of atonement could have no basis outside the individual soul, whether of historical fact or external ordinance. And so, in their hands, the theory of Atonement became a doctrine of self-renunciation, or a statement of the means by which all the impediment lying between the inmost core of the human soul, and God, its Maker, may be removed. No doubt the mystics aimed at a nearness to God; no doubt they felt that the one supreme moment in each one’s life was that in which all else fading behind it, the man is conscious of two things only, God the Almighty, and himself in His presence; but the passage of the soul to such a standing, and its action when there, are not described in the same way by the mystic and by the Reformation theologian. The mystic, keeping within the circle of the soul, shows how the perturbing and distracting and blinding affections of sense may be removed until the inmost essence of the soul, the *scintilla*, or spark of the divine presence, is face to face with the Brightness from whence it emanated; the Reformation theologian, going beyond man and his helplessness in things spiritual, describes the awakening, enlightening, and guiding influence of the Holy Spirit. The mystic, keeping within the circle of the soul, shows how the *scintilla*, or spark of the divine presence within man, when once brought face to face with God, who is its home, seeks to lose itself again in that Brightness by renouncing all individuality, as the wave does when it sinks to the surface of the ocean; the Reformation theologian again going beyond man, describes how man, brought into the presence of God, seeks to have fellowship with Him by renouncing all merit of his own, in order to

rest on the merit of the Christ of this God in whose presence he is; or, as Ritschl says, 'the problem of the mystic is how to get rid of his individuality, as created, in order to attain union with God and absorption into His Being. And this is quite distinct from the Reformation problem how to remove one's own merit, in order to gain by confidence in Christ's merit a standing before God and peace of conscience, in spite of the sense of sin.' The religious task of the mystic is based upon a comparison, not between sinner and lawgiver, but between creature and Creator, and designs to do away with the distance which the fact of creation establishes between the two; and the whole means for the accomplishment of this task are to be found within the circle of man's being, and need not be sought for in external ordinance or event of history.*

It is not difficult to see how an individualist theology of this kind tended to destroy the old Catholic Church; its one tendency, as regards that Church, was to disintegrate it and break it up into a mass of isolated individual worshippers, without organic coherence of any kind. But it is very difficult to understand how men like Dörner and Ullmann can see in mysticism a positive element of preparation for the Reformation; and I am persuaded, if Luther had never asserted, with all the strength of utterance for which he is famous, that, next to the Bible and St. Augustine, he was indebted for most of what he knew about 'God, Christ, man, and all things,' to that 'noble little book,' the '*Deutsche Theologie*,' we should not have heard so much about the intimate relation subsisting between the mediæval mystics and the Reformation theology. Luther, undoubtedly and deservedly, held the '*Deutsche Theologie*' in high estimation. He caused the book to be republished, giving it a new title, and introduced it with a characteristic preface; but it is impossible to attach any scientific accuracy to Luther's statement of the effect of this book upon him. No one asserts that Occam, Gabriel

Biel, or Peter d'Ailly were reformers before the Reformation, or that their theology contained in embryo the Reformation doctrine; and yet, though the fact has been too often overlooked, Luther was never weary of praising Occam, and called him constantly '*mein lieber Meister*,' while he so highly esteemed the writings of Biel and d'Ailly, that his biographers assure us he had by heart the whole of the bulky volumes which contain them. Luther's statement was just what a great-hearted grateful man, like Luther, would say about any book or man who had taught him a great deal and done him good. And Dörner has fallen into the grave misapprehension of taking Luther's declaration as a careful historical account of the genesis of his opinions. He seems to have considered it to have been a *fact* that Luther's theology, and, therefore, the theology of the Reformation, had its source in the '*Deutsche Theologie*,' and in mediæval mysticism, and that all that remained for him, or any critic, was to explain or account for the fact. In our opinion it will be very difficult indeed to show any very thoroughgoing connection between two tendencies so unlike. The leaders of the Reformation certainly sought to do away with much of the externality and mechanical routine of ceremony which the old Catholic Church placed between the worshipper and God, and they longed for a near approach to God Himself, as much as did the theologians of the mystical school; but they tried to get rid of the mechanical, and, at the same time, preserve the objective or historical in worship and theology. The main conception with the Reformation theologians was not individualist; they had ever in view a Church—a community of believers—not single, solitary worshippers. The principle of the Reformers was not the right of *private* judgment, but the *responsibility* of private judgment, a social and not an individual idea. They aimed at the reformation, not the disintegration of the Church. Their idea was, that the organic undying Church of God had for a period been enslaved by an anti-Christian hierarchy, who had usurped the name and functions which belonged to the whole body of the people of God, who, taught and inspired by the Spirit of God, were in possession of the Word and sacraments. The duty of every earnest Christian, they held, was to get rid of this *incubus*, which preyed on and concealed under its hideous shade the true historical Church of God, and help to bring it back to its old form and standing, as the Jewish nation was brought back from the captivity in Babylon; for this is the idea expressed

* It may be objected to this that many of the mystics set great store by the sacraments, and especially the sacrament of the Supper; and that in the doctrine of the sacraments and the benefits flowing from them there is a recognition of a doctrine of the Atonement, which presupposes the historical death of Christ, the necessity of an objective ordinance, and of an external ecclesiastical organization; but, in point of fact, very little stress can be laid upon what the mystics say about the sacraments. Their utterances on this point are generally vague and often contradictory, and the most common opinion seems to have been that the sacraments were eminently useful only while men lived the external or imperfect Christian life.

in the title of Luther's great polemical tract — 'The Babylonish Captivity of the Church of God.'

The fundamental idea of Reformation theology was not the intense individualism of the mystics, but a faith as intense in the community of the faithful, an earnest belief in the common life of believers in the Spirit of God, and in a commonwealth of believers which was so true and real and abiding that it did not need that outward mechanism which formed the organic structure of the old Catholic Church. If the external and mechanical ecclesiasticism of the Church, and its seemingly hopeless breakdown, caused the mystics to despair of a commonwealth of believers, and betake themselves to a despairing individualism, it forced the Reformation theologians to penetrate beneath the surface of events, and discern under the changing, tossing surface stream, the steady, strong and silent rush of the great tide beneath, and so led them to exchange a mechanical for a spiritual, yet no less real and objective, Catholicity. The one aim of Reformation theology was to preserve the communal or churchly life of the believer, and yet do away with that external and mechanical structure which had proved such a hindrance to spiritual well-being. It does not belong to my present purpose to show how this idea of a spiritual and yet real objectivity pervaded the whole of the Reformation theology, and how it led its theologians to their ideas of the historical character of revelation, of the plan of redemption, and of the corporate life of the Church; how it led to a scientific interpretation of Scripture, as historical, to a spiritual but objective theory of justification, and to the scientific study of Church history. Still less is it my purpose to discuss how far the actual doctrines of that theology succeeded or failed in embodying their fundamental ideas. My intention has only been to point out the irreconcilable and fundamental difference between the theology of the mystics and the theology of the Reformation.

Mysticism, with its hopelessness of all organic life and its weak impulse to solitary individualism, is at best, even with all its excellencies, a theology of despair; the past is all disappointment, and, as for the future, it has none. The theology of the Reformation, with its hopeful recognition of a common organic life of the faithful deep down beneath the surface disintegration, and its strong impulse to historical theology and a new church life, was, with all its faults, a theology of hope; the past was full of encouragement, even at its darkest periods, and the future was its own.

Mysticism can never yield more than it expects to gain. Every mystic, in theory at least (for most of the mystics were nobler in their lives than in their doctrines), lived in himself for himself; and all that others can gain from mysticism is the quickening of the individual heart, and the strengthening of the individual resolve, and the soothing of the individual sorrow. It can never lead to a great awakening of the common religious life, and can never lay the foundations of a permanent impulse in theology. It has re-appeared again and again in all the various branches of the Christian Church, always concealing in the first rush of its strength the same fundamental weaknesses, and always carrying within it the same seeds of failure and decay. Mysticism has never been a *permanent* influence within the Church of Christ and never can be. Its contempt for the historical brings with it its own punishment. They who know not the divine meaning of history can never make history, whether of nations or creeds; and each new sect of mystics perishes, it may be much regretted, but little missed, by the age in which it has suddenly bloomed, come to fruition, and died.

ART. II.—*The Lesser Light.*

- (1.) *The Moon: her Motions, Aspect, Scenery, and Physical Condition.* By RICHARD A. PROCTOR, B.A., Cambridge, Hon. Secretary of the Royal Astronomical Society. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1873.
- (2.) *La Lune.* Par AMÉDÉE GUILLEMIN. Troisième Edition. Augmentée d'un Appendice. Paris: Hachette et C^{ie}. 1870.
- (3.) *Celestial Objects for Common Telescopes.* By the Rev. T. W. WEBB, M.A., F.R.S. Third Edition, Revised and Enlarged. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1873.

If ever Alexander the Great sat down to weep that there were no more worlds to conquer he must have been a prodigious simpleton. The Macedonian certainly did some very foolish things in his lifetime, but we cannot for a moment believe he ever shed those silly though celebrated tears. So far as his own planet was concerned, he might have known that grief of this kind was perfectly superfluous, and that there were scores of kingdoms he had not yet favoured with his predatory attentions. A thief, who had

picked the pockets of half a dozen parishes in the centre of England, might just as well complain that there were no more parishes to plunder. But if the tradition be really true, it might have pleased the monarch to learn that within an easy distance of the earth—that is, easy as celestial spaces go—there was another world, not less than 2,160 miles in diameter, with a surface about one-thirteenth part as extensive as our own, and with mountains, valleys, and plains which would take a considerable time to overrun and annex. His first question would of course be whether he could hope to ferry his legions across the intervening chasm; but when (after consulting his old preceptor, Aristotle) he discovered that there was small chance of converting the moon into a *champ-de-bataille*, and that he could not hope to gratify his warlike propensities in that quarter, we can well imagine his chagrin would be great, and that he might even be betrayed into an unseemly outbreak of lamentation.

Science has however long attempted to subjugate this remarkable orb. With a nobler ambition than the vulgar covetousness of conquest she has striven to penetrate into its rocky fastnesses, to descend into its enormous caverns, and to explore its mysterious plains. Her object has been to master some of its many secrets, to bring it fairly within the domain of human knowledge, and to constitute it as far as possible an intelligible portion of God's universe. The arms she uses for her celestial operations are telescopes instead of cannon, and spectroscopes in place of rifles; her battles are fought by detachments of philosophers, instead of phalanxes of spearmen; and her victories are for the common good of mankind, and not for the satisfaction of some glutton of glory.

Shall we venture upon an excursion to our satellite, or at any rate attempt to approach it as far as circumstances will permit?

Now, to think of a trip to the moon is to think of Bishop Wilkins. It involves a sigh for the good old prelate; and, if you like, a smile at his wonderful credulity. That worthy man's projects for reaching the 'lunary world' are so frankly foolish, and yet so gloriously intrepid, they are discussed with such a radiant air, and in such a hopeful confiding manner, that one feels as if it would have been an outrage upon all courtesy to hint that there were a few little impossibilities to be overcome; and we verily believe if he had offered us a seat in his flying chariot we should have had some difficulty in declining the honour, even though convinced that we

should share the fate of Icarus in classical story, or of Daniel O'Rourke in Irish legend.

To an astronomical traveller the distance will certainly appear to be a mere bagatelle. Accustomed to the huge figures in which the remoteness of the nearest fixed stars is expressed, the 240,000 miles separating us from the moon will seem to him like a mere hop-skip-and-jump. When we hear of cannon balls consuming centuries in their journey from some orbs, and of light which has not yet reached us from others, though possibly it may have been racing onwards since long before the creation of Adam, the lunar journey will scarcely count in the scale of cosmical mileage. Every now and then we see notices of rural postmen who have traversed an astonishing number of leagues in the course of a lifetime, and who have walked themselves into a pension or a work-house at last. Any one of these valuable servitors of society, who has done his twenty miles a day for forty years (Sundays excluded) could, within that period, have carried our letters across to the Lunarians, had there been a good turnpike road, with houses of refreshment where he might obtain his pipe and tankard, as well as a bed at regular intervals.

But, as we cannot foot it across, and might call in vain for the bishop's 'great ruck,' and know of no carriage builder in Long-acre who would undertake to build us a 'flying chariot,' we must resort to a locomotive engine of a very different description. This is of course the telescope. Unfortunately it will only carry us within a limited range of the moon. Taking into account the drawbacks on distinct vision, when high powers are employed, the first lunar committee of the British Association advised the use of an instrument which magnified a thousand times. In other words, though the size of an object on the orb would then be increased a thousand fold, the effect would be to compel us to pull up as it were at a distance of 240 miles from our destination. Stronger powers may of course be adopted; but the most searching lenses which have yet been applied will only carry us within about forty miles of our goal. There we must pause, unless we can harness Fancy to our aerial car.

Now, forty miles will not enable us to distinguish men or women in the moon; nor even to detect mammoths or mastodons, if such gigantic creatures should exist; nor indeed to make out castles or pyramids, or coliseums, however numerous such erections might happen to be. But still at a distance of forty miles we ought to see much. Physical features and geographical details may

surely be scanned. A lake, a forest, a mountain, a desert, a city of reasonable dimensions, should be sufficiently perceptible, especially when spread out before us, not like a dot or a dab obliquely viewed, but like a panorama perpendicularly displayed. Seen from the earth without a telescope the first peculiarity in the moon which attracts the eye is the existence of a number of dark patches. What are these blemishes upon her brightness? Popular fancy has of course played with them, and delights to discover in them the leading lineaments of a human countenance. With imaginative people they might of course pass, like Hamlet's clouds, for camels, weasels, or whales; but old philosophers had no difficulty in declaring them to be seas. If the orb possessed oceans at all, just such dull level areas as our satellite presents might be expected to appear. And as bays and gulfs and peninsulas characterize our terrestrial expanses, so the broken contour of the lunar spots seemed to suggest a gratifying correspondence in their hydrographical arrangements. Is it surprising therefore that those easy-going gentlemen drew up maps of the moon in which they put down the spots as veritable oceans, and proceeded to give them names as if they had actually been navigated by our Cooks or Columbuses?

And very romantic names they bear! Who would not like to have a sail on the Sea of Serenity, and to cruise for an indefinite period, particularly if prone to thirst, upon the Sea of Nectar? And who would not love to read of the hairbreadth escapes (of other persons) in the Ocean of Storms, or of thrilling adventures (provided they were undergone by a friend or an acquaintance) in the Sea of Cold? For our own part we should be perfectly willing to take a turn in the Gulf of Rainbows; but could any one, in Christian charity, wish his worst enemy to get launched on the dismal Lake of Death?

What rendered this maritime conclusion more probable was that whilst other parts of the lunar surface are crowded with mountains these areas are comparatively free. Certain bold protuberances may be discovered in almost every dark tract, but have we not rocks like Teneriffe, and Iceland, or St. Helena, rearing themselves aloft in the midst of our extensive oceans? The shadows by which the existence of the moon's hills is demonstrated are scantily exhibited on these spots themselves, though they are frequently to be traced in profusion on their borders, as if bounds were set to the play of the proud waters, and the lunar waves broke

upon precipices as steep and stern as our own.

These dark expanses occupy a larger space on the eastern side of the moon than on the western; they take up more of her northern regions than of her southern. They differ of course in configuration, the Mare Crisium appearing in the lunar photographs like a regular oval, whilst the Mare Serenitatis looks like a circular ocean, traversed by a brilliant line, as if a luminous causeway had been flung across the greater part of its extent. Nor are they trifling in their dimensions. The Sea of Showers may be roughly estimated at some 700 miles in each direction, whilst Beer computed that the Sea of Storms comprehended not less than 90,000 German geographical miles.

But, pleasant as it would be to fill these areas with water, and still more to cover them with ships and argosies—we will not say fleets, for we trust the Lunarians have not learnt the use of cannon, and would not disgrace their seas by dyeing them with blood, and fighting their Trafalgars or Navarinos just like their bloodthirsty primaries—we fear that the hope cannot be indulged. The telescope has drained every one of them dry. All the fluid has been pumped out of them by this instrument as effectually as the Haarlem Lake was emptied by wind-mills and hydraulic machines.

For the smoothness of these spaces is only of a comparative character. Minutely scrutinized they exhibit an amount of roughness which is totally inconsistent with the idea of fluid expanses. In a chart of the Mare Humorum we may observe not only slopes and permanent undulations, but ridges running persistently along. In fact this particular sea looks as if it had been the home of an enormous ichthyosaurus (infinitely larger than any kraken ever discovered in Norwegian abysses) which had left its gigantic bones stretching right across after the waters had evaporated under the fierce influences of the sun. But a more fatal feature remains in the hollows or depressions which frequently appear. These vary in breadth and depth, but evidently descend considerably below the general surrounding level. To suppose therefore that the dark patches represent oceans would be to assume that lunar water has laws of its own, and is completely released from the obligations which gravity universally imposes. Clearly, then, the moon is no place for British tars, nor indeed for Britons of any description, for by this time we have become so accustomed to rule the waves (in song at least) that we should probably feel miserable in a

world where there were no waves at all to rule.

Nor is it probable that the dark spaces are the beds of departed oceans. Could we but assume that they had once been employed in that capacity, we might feel consoled for the sacrifice of all maritime rights, present or prospective, in the moon. But there is little we fear to authenticate the supposition. It would be too much to say that any positive indications of aqueous action in the orb have been discovered. Neptune may have been there, but, if so, he appears to have left no definite mementoes of his visit. Again, if these are the beds of obsolete oceans, what has become of the fluid? It must be somewhere in the orb, for it is not the habit of planets to shake off their seas into space, as if they were superfluous 'drops from the lion's mane.'

In short there is nothing for it but to treat these expanses as plains; and 'grey plains' they are accordingly called, though the dear old nomenclature is lovingly retained, for there are points on which people rather like to be deceived as long as possible. Even in this humble capacity, however, they are still objects of intense curiosity, for when we contrast their tranquil levels with the troubled and fractured regions by which they are surrounded, and when we observe how the moon's surface in other quarters has been convulsed and upheaved by giant forces, we see that there is a mystery hanging over them which science may never enable us to solve.

Approaching still nearer, our traveller's attention is next attracted by the peculiarities of the land.

If the telescope has dissipated all the lunar seas, it has certainly not had the same effect upon the lunar mountains. Instead of crumbling away under its scrutiny, as many nebulae have done, the instrument has brought out such an army of hills, that our planet appears to be a mere bowling-green in comparison.

Nobody complains that on our globe the mountains monopolize too large a portion of the superficies. Our Welsh peaks are quite welcome to their share of the island, nor would any true Scot wish to plane down his Ben Lomonds and Ben Nevises in order to sow the sites with oats. But in the moon the hills are crowded and clustered in bewildering confusion. Over the surface of the orb, look where you will, the rocks may be seen rising in endless succession, alp after alp, unless the eye takes refuge in some of the grey plains to which we have just referred.

Very peculiar formations these protube-

rances are. Some, but not many, answer to the typical mountain of earth. That is to say, we have a conical mass shooting up from the ground like some colossal sugar-loaf, and standing apart as if it disdained all fellowship with its kind. A splendid specimen is to be found in the hill of Pico, which towers up from the dead level of the Mare Imbrium to a height of 7,000 feet according to Beer and Mädler, and of 9,600 feet according to Schröter. Resting upon a comparatively narrow foundation, and springing almost unbuttressed from the soil, this rocky pyramid must prove a striking object to the tourist as he traverses league after league of the flat expanse on his way to the north, bound in all probability for the still more celebrated object known under the title of Plato.

But the moon has its mountain-ranges as well as the earth. These have been affectionately christened after our own home productions. The most popular of them—that is the one to which the lunar traveller would naturally bend his steps for a vacation tour—is the chain known as the Apennines. It coasts the Sea of Showers in part, and sweeps along in a magnificent curve for some 450 miles. Some of the finest rock-scenery in the orb may be found in this range. Sloping gradually as it does on the outer side, it exhibits on the inner, a series of fearful precipices and profound abysses which might well confuse the spectator's brain, even though loaded with lunar gravity alone. Cliffs far more jagged and unworn than can be seen on our globe project from the surface like the bristling vertebrae of some petrified monster. The shadows of these awful crags may be seen stretched along the ground for a prodigious distance. One mountain, called Hadley, is about equal to Mont Blanc in height, but another, named Huygens, was estimated by Schröter at not less than 21,000 feet.

From the Apennines the tourist may pass at once to the Carpathians, the lunar geography being far from correspondent with our own. The learned men of that world have not thought it necessary to observe the relative distances which prevail on earth any more than the Americans did when locating the towns they honoured with British or classical names. This range may be said to be a prolongation of the Apennines. The Altai mountains in the neighbourhood of the Sea of Nectar, constitute another very marked chain of nearly 300 miles in length, running in a curved form from one conspicuous object called Tacitus, to another known as Piccolomini, which throws up a tower equal in height to the monarch of

Europe. The Alps of our satellite are also very picturesque objects on account of their cleft peaks and formidable precipices. On the north they border that interesting Sea of Showers in one of its most level portions, the Palus Nebularum. So, too, the explorer might find his Pyrenees, his Cordilleras, and even his Riphæan mounts, if disposed to extend his researches in other directions; but let us suppose him now to turn his attention to those strange structures which are at once the pride and the puzzle of the moon.

The first great feature which strikes the eye as the visitor gets within easy telescope distance of our satellite, is the prodigious number of cavities, or craters, which stud its surface. Homely as the illustration may be, the moon's face looks as if it had been pitted all over by the small-pox. Strange to say, considering their dimensions, they are mostly circular or oval, and, where otherwise, they appear to have been thrown out of form by the violent action of the neighbouring craters. On minute inspection the observer will discover a still more surprising circumstance, namely, that these peculiar structures are a combination of hill and of cavern, of mountain and of pit. They look as if the upper part of an alp had been pared away, and the interior then scooped out, not only to the level of the general surface, but sometimes far beneath. That these cavities are encompassed by elevated ground, broken into peaks and towering projections, may be confidently inferred from the play of the sun's light, and the study of the shadows produced. As the great luminary slowly plods his way across the heavens, the shortening or lengthening shadows traced on the floor of the excavation will map out the form and disclose the height of the crags by which it is bordered.

Using an imaginary traveller's privilege, however, let us pay a visit to one of these wonderful objects. We climb a steep of perhaps 10,000 feet in height, and then find ourselves on the summit of a ridge which sweeps round in a huge circle of forty or fifty miles in circumference. It may be much more. The eye may be unable to follow the line of circumvallation with certainty. But, far as it can see, this rocky ring is probably continuous, though, perhaps, constituted of cliffs of very varying altitudes. A savage scene it presents, with these sharp peaks cutting the sky; but looking downward the plunging vision leaps from crag to crag, or terrace to terrace, until it rests upon the silent, mysterious plain, which sinks far below the general level of the moon's surface. For a considerable part this plain lies

drenched in darkness, and if we descend into it, we must do so with feelings of nameless awe, for it is a scene which can find no exact parallel on earth. Right in the centre, or not far from the centre, there shoots up a vast cone or pyramid of rock which rises as if in rivalry of the encompassing cliffs, and sometimes perhaps overtops the very tallest. There may be others of a similar kind, though of smaller stature, springing from various parts of the floor, but the central figure is evidently the chief, and sometimes the only occupant of the arena. Shall we climb that as well? It is a trip which would well reward the toil, for as we mount again into sunshine, and, standing on its summit, look round at the solemn rampart of rocks, and then down into the depths of darkness below, we cannot but ask with eagerness for what buried race, or for what unborn people, these marvellous scenes were prepared?

The mountains in the moon assume much bolder and more independent forms than they do amongst us. Here, gravity drags down impending masses, and the sharpest peaks and angles crumble away under the influence of moisture and air; but there, the hard texture of the rocks, and the absence of certain corroding forces, enable them to take up startling attitudes, and to shape themselves into beetling crags and awful precipices which would take the breath out of a terrestrial mountaineer. Giant masses may be seen overhanging dark gulfs or dreary plains after a fashion which would suggest annihilation to us who know how slight a divergence from the perpendicular is permitted at home.

The cavities in question range from a few hundred feet to upwards of a hundred miles in diameter. There are some into which you could put the whole of Lincolnshire, or even of Yorkshire. Newton, for instance, is a circus measuring 142 miles in length, by half as much in breadth, whilst Clavius is a magnificent crater estimated at more than 140 miles in all directions. To make the tour of a very ordinary lunar cavern, at the rate of twenty miles a day, would be the work of a week. They differ also in depth. So profound are some of them that the sun's rays never reach the bottom directly, and they therefore remain dark and immovable specks upon her brightness. The larger cavities frequently exhibit a flat, or even a convex floor, but this may be pitted by lesser cavities, and pimpled with hillocks or decorated with a grand central cone as already described. 'Theophilus,' says Mr. Webb, in his admirable work on celestial objects for common telescopes, 'is the deep-

east of all visible craters, if we regard the general line of the ring which ranges from 14,000 to 18,000 feet above the chasm, no scene in the least approaching to it existing on the earth; but in Clavius there is a cavity the bottom of which lies 23,000 feet below the summit of one of its western peaks, and in Newton the tallest of the rocky turrets which guard the enclosure, is probably about 23,900 feet above the bed of the interior. In other words Chimborazo might be let down into this tremendous excavation, and its very apex would disappear from view.

In speaking of the larger hollows it will of course be understood that they are not formed like our volcanic vents out of a single mountain mass, but are cavities girdled round with rocks of varying height, which unite to compose the vast magic circles of the moon. The simpler and smaller are known as craters, the larger and more complex as annular, or ring-mountains. But there is a modification which deserves special mention.

These are the walled plains. Entering through a gap or pass in the rocks, the explorer finds himself in an enclosure of enormous dimensions. It looks as if a whole desert had been walled in by a set of Cyclops, in order to constitute a gigantic pinfold. It is not, like the craters proper, a hollow scooped out of the body of the orb, but a portion of the surface taken in, as it were, under some Inclosure Act, or, if it happens to be sunk below the general level, the depression is comparatively small, and the floor exhibits a more decided resemblance to the grey plains which have so often passed for seas. The point which strikes the traveller on finding himself within one of these huge compounds is the regularity and, for the most part, the continuity of the surrounding barrier. He will find it difficult to imagine that a rampart could be built of such colossal blocks, and ranged in such regular order as to constitute a circle, or an oval, or any other tolerably symmetrical figure, without questioning himself whether intelligent artisans may not have been there. He will feel as much puzzled as if told that Stonehenge had been produced by chance, or might be the result of some natural convulsion. A similar structure met with on earth in one of our steppes would afford material for as much speculation as the round towers of Ireland. Archimedes is about sixty miles across, with a wall of some 4,200 feet in height on the average, and with a plain depressed only about 650 feet below the surrounding soil. Shickard is a still more stupendous circus, the interior being

almost level, and the exterior formed by a rampart 460 miles in circuit. So vast is its extent that, as Chacornac says, a spectator in the midst would fancy himself in a boundless waste; and yet, in some parts, this barrier is more than 10,000 feet in height. In these gigantic enclosures, however, we must not expect to find the grand central cone for which in other cases the whole circumvallation seems to have been expressly reared.

But the explorer cannot fail to note another feature in connection with this strange landscape. Many of the mountains, when pictured on paper, appear like stars, that is to say, they throw out rays which extend to a considerable distance, and hence they are termed radiating craters. The most conspicuous illustration is to be found in that grand old mound called Tycho, which reigns supreme in the southern regions of the moon. Down its sides there run some scores of glistening streaks or bands, which pursue their way across hill and vale for varying distances, one of them actually attaining a length of 1,700 miles.

What these bright bands may be constitutes another lunar puzzle. Naturally the first supposition is that they are consolidated streams of lava. From a crater what can be expected but showers of stones and streams of molten matter? There are peculiarities about them, however, which appear to be totally inconsistent with this hypothesis. The straightness of their course is quite at variance with the meandering propensities which liquids generally display, for some run as if their path on the map had been described by a ruler. Their comparative narrowness also makes their rectilinear character more striking, for a fluid would certainly spread out whenever it debouched into open spaces. Further, these bands pursue their route in utter indifference to the configuration of the ground. They run up hills as well as down into valleys. They cut through the deep craters as easily as they traverse the level plains. They charge a mountain ridge, and break through it as if it were a mere barrier of sand. In fact, nothing seems to turn them aside from their course, or to intercept their resolute march.

Two other circumstances are specially noticeable in connection with these radiant streaks. First, they cast no shadows in general, and, therefore, they cannot be ridges or protruding masses. It is only at the full moon, when viewed directly, that they can be observed in their greatest splendour; but if they were elevated causeways the sun's rays would disclose the fact by fringing their brightness with gloom, as the light fell

upon them with greater obliquity. Secondly, the brilliancy of these bands indicates that they are composed of a material differing in some respects from that of the general surface. Even when traceable by indirect illumination they maintain their individuality, and exhibit superior reflecting powers. The radiating craters which issue these bright bands are much more numerous in the northern regions of the moon than in the southern. Tycho is the great gun in this quarter; but in the upper half, Copernicus, Aristarchus, Kepler, Eratosthenes, and others, though they send out rays of lesser length and more limited range, afford striking studies of this peculiar phenomenon. Since, then, they neither project above nor fall below the surface, we must conclude that they are let into the body of the orb; and from their superior brightness we might further infer that they are composed of some metallic substance, or, as Professor Phillips says, this substance may be covered with a translucent crust, which may transmit light of high incidence (that is, when the sun is nearly vertical), and cause it to be reflected from the underlying matter so as to reach our terrestrial eyes. But that molten matter, if it were originally such, could have followed the configuration of the ground as these radiating streaks have done is another of the many posers which Luna delights to propound.

Occasionally, as may be expected, two of these streams come into collision, and then we are curious to learn the result. Will the one or the other be diverted from its path, or are both so affected by the encounter that they can only continue their course wounded and enfeebled by the shock? Whenever this occurs, it is generally observed that one of them cuts right through the other without the slightest appearance of a struggle at the point of intersection. There is one famous instance in particular. Professor Nichol found that rays from Aristarchus broke through rays from Copernicus, whilst Kepler sent out streams which swept proudly through both.

There is history, therefore, in these shining streaks. If the moon's surface wears a tumultuous aspect, rock elbowing rock, crater crushing crater, and fissure cleaving fissure, there is chronology in all this confusion, and we infer from it that our satellite has run through many stages of physical convulsion, and that there may be many chapters yet to add to the tale of its doings.

Distinct from these rays are the *Rillen*, as they are termed by the Germans, or the *ravinures* by the French.

Our traveller (in imagination) is suddenly

arrested by a great furrow in the ground, running along in a tolerably straight line as far as the eye can follow it. Its depth may be from 100 to 400 or 500 yards (according to Schmidt); and its breadth from 600 yards to two or two and a half miles. The sides are rugged, but the width is so uniform as to suggest that it is a huge rent in the soil. But what a rent! For twenty thirty, forty, fifty, or even more than ninety miles, the explorer may follow it without observing any great change in its character or its dimensions. The Rill of Hyginus is supposed to be nearly 100 miles in length. The number of these crevasses is considerable, Schmidt having catalogued not less than 425 in 1866. They are to be found in the mountain regions as well as the plains. That they are deep fissures is obvious, from the dark and enlightened side they present when favourably viewed.

It is needless to say that those singular formations have been the subject of much speculation. Schröter (who may be called their discoverer), looking at them from afar, and having regard to their generally rectilinear course and to their extreme narrowness as compared with their extent, pronounced the long ones to be canals and the short ones roads. But seeing that there is no proof of the present existence of water on the moon, others have declared them to be the beds of dried up rivers. This theory, however, fits them as imperfectly as the former. Canals, indeed, pursue as straight a course as the humours of the soil will permit, but rivers are proverbial for their meandering tendencies, and the lunar streams must have differed considerably from our own if they could run for leagues together without a single bend. Besides some of them cross each other, and continue their course as calmly as if nothing had happened. Rivers may of course meet, but when they do so in this planet they unite their waters, and roll on in partnership to the sea. In the region of Triesnecker we may observe two rills which appear to flow into each other when they approach that beautifully formed crater, but the main arm proceeds on its way without any increase of volume until it charges another rill almost at right angles, and then dashes through it without suffering or occasioning any deviation whatever. Further, it is the imperative duty of a terrestrial stream to find its way to the ocean, or at least to some inland lake. Nothing will excuse this obligation unless it happens to be some fitful tropical torrent which may be allowed to expire in the desert, drunk up by sun and sand. Least of all can it be supposed that clefts which run up hills, break

through mountains, cut into craters, commencing and terminating with equal abruptness, can have ever served the same purpose as our Rhines or Mississippi. The most natural supposition therefore appears to be that they are fissures or faults which have been produced by the contraction of the moon's surface, but which, unlike our own great dykes, have not been filled up by deposits from above or injections from below.

But how have all these strange caverns and peaks been produced? There is no question of more pregnant interest in connection with the moon, for the reply must involve a clue to the history of the orb. The first solution which presents itself is inevitably the volcanic. Those cavities are craters; those cones are chimneys of eruption, those girdling rocks are masses which have been heaved up, or even ejected, by the fiery forces imprisoned below? We have no doubt as to our own burning mountains. We see them casting up stones and ashes, we hear of them pouring out lava in torrents, and we know that they have formed enormous mounds with vents on the summit where the subterranean powers beneath relieve themselves by discharging their wrath into the void above. In fact this theory is eminently seductive. Professor Piazzi Smyth, indeed, asserts that if people could only look into the lunar craters as he did from the top of Tenerife and compare them with the terrestrial vents which lay immediately at his feet all doubts would vanish.

But no sooner do we import the volcanic force into the moon than we become sensible of certain differences in its known proceedings here and in its presumed results there. The number of craters alone is absolutely startling. We ought to say shocking, for to suppose that all the lunar mountains had been formed on this principle would be to conclude that the poor orb had been afflicted with fiery eruptions over the larger part of her surface. We should think that England must have once had an uneasy time of it, if it exhibited an extinct crater in every county, with a Vesuvius in Yorkshire; worse still, if Europe were pimpled all over with torpid Etnas and Heclas, we should consider that the continent had been severely handled in its day, and congratulate ourselves that their fires had been extinguished long before we were born.

Very true that the claims of gravity in the moon are only one-sixth of our own, and that therefore the subterranean giants would be enabled to accomplish feats of elevation which similar forces acting under the pressure of our own dense atmosphere could never attempt to rival.

But volcanoes in action imply two things: water as a cause, gas and vapour as a consequence. At least so our own terrestrial chemistry teaches. Now in the moon the absence of water may be said to face us at every turn. That an element of such universality in our own planet should have no existence in our neighbour where it appears to be still more needed seems to be eminently incredible. Is it any wonder therefore if in a spirit of desperation, inquirers have returned time after time to the subject, and suggested that water may have formerly been 'laid on,' but that the lunar oceans, after rolling for ages in their beds have been somehow or other dispersed? The idea of stripping our globe of the Mediterranean would be startling; but what should we think of any theory which involved the dissipation of its Atlantics and Pacifics? Nevertheless there have not been wanting hardy speculators who held that the seas of our satellite have probably been whisked off, or possibly sucked up, by some officious comet. Still more recently, and much more plausibly, Professor Frankland found a home for these lost oceans in the interior of the orb. That huge caverns exist in its substance may be fairly inferred, for in cooling down from its original condition, which it would do with greater rapidity than the earth owing to its smaller mass, the moon must have undergone contraction, and this would entail the production of considerable hollows. Thither the fluid might retire when the lessened temperature permitted the vapour to condense into a liquid form, or when the wearied oceans found receptacles sufficiently spacious for their accommodation. A very ingenious explanation truly, and if it could be corroborated it would be useless for us to complain that the treasures of fertility—for drops of water are infinitely more valuable than grains of gold—were idly hoarded in the interior when wanted everywhere on the surface; but of course the solution of the question must be adjourned to some future era, seeing that it is a mere hypothesis, though superior in merit to the old fancy that we had similar repositories within our globe, constituting 'the waters under the earth,' where dragons and other extinct and even impossible monsters abounded.

In the somewhat fantastic language of Humboldt the volcanic theory implies the action of the earth's interior against its exterior. Eruptions are the angry complaints made by the internal parts against the oppressing surface. Mr. Robert Mallet, the first of seismologists, who has made the earth's convulsive fits his especial study, has thrown out a suggestion which reverses this

view. According to him it is the pressure from without and the want of resistance from within which produces earthquakes and volcanic phenomena. When a planet is contracting in consequence of the waste of its original, or capitalized caloric, the crust will keep tumbling in, or crushing down, upon the internal parts, and wherever this happen there will, in accordance with the great doctrine of conversion of force, be a development of heat sufficient in all probability to melt the rock at the points where the disturbance takes place. Let water then find its way to the scene, and a breach of nature's peace, in the shape of a formidable eruption, will occur.

This, of course, is pure speculation, and we can only note it as such, though if applicable to the earth it would be equally available for the moon, where indeed the shrinkage of the surface should, in the absence of vast sedimentary beds, exhibit its results in a still more emphatic form. But then the theory demands water, and water is just the element which we are not at liberty to provide; besides what could we say by way of apology to Captain Drayson, who discovered, some years ago, that planets grew, and that our earth was undergoing gradual expansion?

Another curious suggestion has been made. It has the merit of being still more piquant than the volcanic hypothesis. Instead of looking for the force required within the moon, ought we not to seek it without; nay, more, may we not trace it to our own earth? Have not those pits and cup-shaped cavities been produced by matter hurled against the orb, whilst in a 'plastic' condition? Marbles or bullets of various sizes, driven with a certain amount of energy into a huge pasty globe (shall we say a gigantic plum-pudding for example) would produce a number of hollows, fringed more or less with elevated parts. In other words, may not the moon have been battered by meteoric stones when in a less solid condition than it is at present, and may not its honeycombed aspect be the result of this tremendous meteoric hail?

Now it might not be difficult to find shot and shell for this purpose in creation. The prodigious meteoric streams which are ascertained to exist in space, show that the munitions of war are still plentiful. But the theory in question provides a grand piece of ordnance as well, and assigns to our own planet the task of having launched the missiles required. Laplace supposed that the aerolites which fell upon our globe might possibly be propelled from lunar volcanoes, but if the present view be correct, it appears

that years ago our earth was busily employed in firing at the moon, and has covered its surface with traces of the terrible bombardment.

To understand this we must go back to the period when both orbs were cooling down from their originally vaporous, or at least, intensely heated condition. Our attendant was probably once a part of ourselves, but having become detached by a centrifugal force, or by the contraction and separation of the internal portion, the smaller portion would set up as a satellite, and begin to sober down in temperature much more quickly than her primary. Now one characteristic of an orb which is passing through this fiery process, as the earth is thus assumed to have done, is that it has the power (call it the knack) of throwing off matter in all directions. Under the rule of repulsion which must, of course, exist to a large extent at such an early stage, the body will be in a state of constant eruption. 'There is a great mass of evidence,' says Mr. Proctor, 'tending to show that our sun expels matter from his interior with a velocity sufficient to carry such matter entirely from him.' And as with the sun so with the earth, when the latter was in a similar condition. Its projectiles, hurled in the direction of the moon, would doubtless make their mark upon her surface, which would naturally attain the semi-plastic state much earlier than the earth, owing to the smaller bulk and more rapid refrigeration of the former. For some time, indeed, the ejected material would continue to accumulate on the side of the orb which is ever turned toward us, and thus the protuberant mass—the prodigious hill, to which reference will shortly be made—would admit of easy explanation. But as the terrestrial cannonade grew fainter, and the lunar crust became compacter, the impressions made by our missiles would grow feebler. Finally, these would be left stereotyped on the surface, where they may now be seen as distinctly as the innumerable bullet-holes *said* to have been produced by Cromwell's artillery in almost every part of England.

Now, charming as this supposition may be, and there really is something exciting (we had almost said exhilarating) in the idea of a couple of stars fighting in their courses, when they had nothing better to do, the size and structure of the lunar cavities appear to be utterly fatal to the theory. If we can imagine that a small projectile might be launched across the void, and produce one of the least of all the observable pits on the moon, we must certainly pause before we admit that a crater or a circus, 50 or 100

miles in diameter, could have been so created, or that the same shock which originated the hollow could have nicely walled it round with a rampart of rocks, and fitted it up with one or more central peaks.

Worse still, however, than the want of water in the moon is the presumed want of air. That there is no atmosphere of any consequence is obvious from the fact that the line which separates the bright from the dark portion of the orb exhibits no transition stage, no melting of the one into the other, as would be the case if twilight intervened; and also from the fact, that when the moon passes over a star the latter suffers occultation at once, without undergoing any of those little juggleries of position which would be occasioned by the passage of its rays through a refracting medium. Certain it is that if there be any atmosphere attached to the moon it must be one of a painfully attenuated character. Were it a thousandth part as dense as our own, the test in question would disclose its presence beyond dispute. On the earth we plume ourselves on supporting a column of quicksilver thirty inches, and a column of water thirty-two feet in height, in any exhausted tube; we profess, in the name of Nature, to regard a vacuum with peculiar abhorrence, and declare that she always takes prompt measures to cancel it. But if the envelope of our satellite were of no greater density than the one just mentioned, the lunar pumps could only draw water from the depth of a pin's head. Lunar barometers would of course be totally valueless unless their readings were microscopically construed; water would boil, that is vaporize, before you could approach the fire, and a foreigner who should hope to work his lungs there, would find that he might as well take refuge in the exhausted receiver of an earthly air-pump.

Then, it is clear there are no clouds, or visible vapours. The moon's light never varies, nor are its landscapes ever darkened by mists, or deluged by nimbores as big as a county. The lunar Galileos, when pointing their telescopes to the earth, can always count upon a clear sky of their own; but the turbid condition of our atmosphere must often provoke their wrath, though possibly the march of a huge thunder-cloud over a kingdom, dropping its lightnings at every step (if they could see them) would gratify their curiosity, and at the same time excite their compassion. Even the showman at the corner of the street, who exhibits the earth to the little lunarians at the low charge of one penny a peep (we feel assured this will be the established fee there as well as here), will frequently be tried by our

meteorological tricks, and will have to console his young customers by telling them (we have a strong conviction these will be his very words) that 'them there terrestrials are shockingly troubled with the vapours.'

But, although neither atmosphere nor ocean can be detected, there is a curious theory which accounts for the absence of both. As we ascend a mountain, verdure decays, sterility increases, and ultimately desolation, complete and unbroken, prevails. Even beneath our vapour-laden atmosphere, which serves as a storehouse of heat, a climb of 15,000 feet above the sea, under the equator itself, would carry us beyond the line of perpetual congelation, and land us in a region of everlasting silence and death. Now, in studying the moon's motions, Hansen observed some irregularities of conduct which he could only explain on the supposition that its centre of form was not coincident with its centre of gravity. There was a difference of about thirty-four miles between those two centres. In the one hemisphere the surface would therefore be raised above the fair partnership level, in the other proportionately depressed. The protuberant portion would of course labour under all the disadvantages of a mountain district, and even project above any atmosphere which our satellite might be supposed to possess. Ought it, therefore, to surprise us if this painfully elevated region—the side perpetually turned towards our earth—should grow no corn on its plains, rear no cattle on its hills, keep no water in its water-tanks, and never nurse a solitary cloud in its skies? Might we not as well expect to find sunny fountains in the frosty Caucasus, or grassy glades on the highest Himalayas? But, as if to compensate for this unfortunate condition, ought not the hidden hemisphere to enjoy the privileges which are denied to the mountainous moiety? Such was Hansen's opinion, and to some extent this view was endorsed by Sir John Herschel. Fluids naturally seek the lowest point. They go where gravity calls them, and make for its head-quarters without troubling themselves for a moment about the centre of figure. The other side of the moon being so far below the mean level—being so many miles nearer the focus of attraction—thither the waters should run, and there, too, the lighter liquid, the air, should follow. 'In that quarter,' says Sir John, 'will be found an ocean of more or less extent, according to the quantity of fluid directly over the heavier nucleus, while the lighter portion of the solid material will stand out as a continent on the opposite side.' The temperature of the favoured hemisphere being thus

modulated by the possession of air and moisture, from these two great factors of fertility would spring vegetation, after which, animal life might find fitting pasturage in this happy valley, and ultimately intelligent beings might settle down in something like an Arcadian home. Rather provoking, it is, to think that this blessed region is the one which our telescopes can never explore, and equally so to remember that its inhabitants can never behold us! We might picture a lunarian a member of their earliest Alpine club, setting out with his alpenstock to risk his neck amongst the mountains, but finding, alas, before he had ascended a few hundred feet, that the air became too thin to feed his lungs, and that, gasp as he might, he could never hope to set foot amongst those wonderful peaks and craters which tradition reported to exist in the other hemisphere, or to catch a glimpse of that magnificent moon which was supposed to shine upon their awful solitudes.

Not that it is exactly correct to say we see nothing more than the same surface at all periods. There is such a thing as libration. If the moon's orbit were perfectly circular, and her axle perfectly upright, that statement would be strictly true. But, travelling as she does in a somewhat elliptical track, her pace varies, whilst her axial motion (that is, her self-rotation) remains uniform throughout. The consequence is, that when she slackens speed, which she does in the remoter part of her rounds (for the heavenly bodies have a very human habit of taking it easy the further they get from their primaries) the rotary movement will have gained upon the orbital movement, and consequently a little more of her sphere will swing into view on one side, and a corresponding portion will disappear on the other. Precisely the opposite effect will be produced when the moon, being in perigee, feels it her duty to make up for lost time, and to put on an appearance of respectful diligence in the performance of her duties. This process is known as a libration in longitude. Her libration in latitude arises from the inclination of her axis to the plane of her orbit, which induces her to show a little more of her upper pole at one period, and a little more of her lower pole at another. Thus, without alluding to a third form of libration (the diurnal), and without wishing to convey any disparaging suggestion, we may say that she lurches to the right and to the left, lurches to the north and to the south, and in so doing brings into view portions of her surface which would otherwise remain totally unknown. Dividing the entire superficies of the orb into 1,000 counties

or departments, we should thus have 500 under regular vision, whilst about 69 more would lay themselves open from time to time to our terrestrial inspection.

Unfortunately for Hansen's speculation, the curious fact upon which it is founded has been confirmed in a manner which dispels the romantic inferences in question. Another astronomer, Gussew of Wilna, has made careful inquiry into the moon's shape—taken her measurement, we may say, by new methods—and ascertained that the side presented to the earth really constitutes a prodigious elevation, rising in its more central parts to a height of not less than seventy miles above the natural level. The orb has been compared in fact to an egg, with the elongated extremity pointed towards its primary. Now the difference (says Mr. Proctor) will be that the waters, instead of running to the opposite hemisphere, as previously supposed, should be attracted to the protuberant part because the greatest quantity of matter will be there; and though unable to climb the enormous hill, would gather in a great ring round its base, as far as the configuration of the ground permitted. The atmosphere would of course be spirited away upon the same principle, and thus the invisible half would be stripped of the two great vital agents with which it had been so handsomely but so hastily endowed. So long, in fact, as our satellite could be looked upon as a globe, loaded like a false die internally—that is, heavier on the averted than on the presented side, her seas and atmosphere would feel it their duty to gravity to collect in that quarter. But the conversion of our half of the orb (if we may take this affectionate liberty with the body) into an immense protuberance, such as Gussew has described it, carries with it consequences which are fatal to the pleasant theory that there are towns and people stowed away in the great hidden valley of the moon. We fear, too, that her oceans are not to be disposed of in this easy fashion. The withdrawal of the lunar seas involves the withdrawal of the lunar atmosphere. For if the former existed it is impossible to deny that vapours and gases must have existed as well; and when the sun turned the watery expanses into seething cauldrons, as it could not fail to do during its fortnight's uninterrupted play, the results would surely become visible in the veiling of the moon's face, and in the sheeting of her scenery with fog or mist. Without doubt we may dig holes in our satellite to bury her seas, but, where shall we hide her atmosphere?

Spite of all difficulties, however, let us land our traveller on the moon itself. He

has resolved to give a whole day to the star. That is the least space he can devote to the orb in order to view its phenomena effectually. Back then to his own planet to-morrow! But what is to-morrow in the moon? Proverbially there is no more slippery delusive thing than this same 'to-morrow' at home. Always coming, it never arrives; always arriving, it never tarries for a second. Four and twenty hours, however, he thinks, will wear away the longest day. Four-and-twenty hours indeed! Why the solar day on the moon consists of 708 hours!

He has only to watch the sun for awhile to discover the cause of this dreamlike expansion of time. Had he made his descent at dawn, he would have seen that luminary rise with such extreme tardiness that not less than ten hours would be consumed in simply lifting the whole of its disc above the horizon. He would have seen it shine out with insufferable splendour, without any preparatory twilight, for there is no atmosphere to refract the rays, there are no morning mists to mitigate the fierceness of the solar beams. As Phœbus slowly stalks along his path, for certainly to the lunarians he does not appear to go forth from his chamber like a strong man rejoicing to run a race, it is only in the shadows of the rocks and hills, or in the depths of the craters that shelter can be found from his shafts. Falling without the slightest arrest of force, and falling without interruption for a whole fortnight together, the rays of the sun must produce a temperature which cannot, according to Sir John Herschel, be less than that of boiling water. We delicate terrestrials consider ourselves aggrieved if our thermometers register much more than 100 degrees; and if they continue to rise much beyond, the whole human race would hold itself entitled to faint—the ladies somewhere about 130 degrees, and the masculines about 150 degrees, though the latter extraordinary heat has occasionally been observed in countries like Nubia and Arabia. It is needless to say that if those 'grey plains' to which we have referred were reservoirs of water, they would speedily become huge boilers, and the fluid they held would soon be resolved into vapour under an almost pressureless atmosphere. To make matters worse there are no perceptible seasons in the moon. The axis of the orb being nearly perpendicular to its path, its ecliptic and equator almost coincide. Those subtle, genial transitions which render our year one of ever-welcome change, are unknown in our satellite. There the monarch of day makes no triumphant march into a chilled hemisphere, carrying summer in his

train, and leaving the regions which are all aglow with his beams to cool down under the equally grateful influences of autumn. The lunarians have, of course, no poet like James Thomson. He who sang of our seasons would have been useless and unintelligible there, except when he described the sun as darting its 'forceful rays,' and pouring out a 'dazzling deluge,' under which 'distressful nature panted;' or when, personifying caloric, he apostrophized it in these agonised terms:—

'All conquering heat, O intermit thy wrath!
And on my throbbing temples thus
Beat not so fierce! Incessant still you flow,
And still another fervent flood succeeds,
Poured on the head profuse. In vain I sigh,
And restless turn and look around for night;
Night is far off, and hotter hours approach.'

Clearly our easy self-indulgent bard, if transferred to the moon would have found that one and a half degrees of inclination in the axis of a planet, instead of twenty-three, like the earth's, were sufficient to deprive him in a great measure of his fame, or compel him to take refuge in his Castle of Indolence, and rely upon his minor resources.

Another consequence of this erectness of axle in the moon is that the days, except as we advance from the sixtieth degree to the poles, are not variable in length, like ours. The long evenings of winter have their special charms for us as well as the long evenings of summer. We could ill afford to give up the pleasant vicissitudes which this unequal distribution of sunshine involves, and should grow weary if we watched the dazzling hours whirl round in one monotonous dance. To see darkness fleching away minute after minute from the day, and then refunding its booty with unfaltering equity, is a sight the lunarians can scarcely be said to behold.

Still, however, the sun creeps on, but his pace is tedious and death-like. His terrible march over those verdureless plains, and across those haggard rocks, cannot be paralleled by anything we experience on earth. Here, in the sandiest Sahara, in the barrenest of wildernesses, he soon withdraws his glittering face, and leaves the fevered earth to fan itself under the wings of night. But in the moon there are no clouds to break the force of his beams, no moisture to quench the solar fires, no winds to cool the wanderer's heated frame. A storm would be a right welcome event in such an orb, and an approaching thunder shower would gladden his heart as much as the sound of coming rain delighted the ears of Ahab and Elijah, after many years of burning drought. Truly, to us, the moon would be a land of

sunstrokes. It would be very much worse indeed than some parts of Africa, where, as Mr. Winwood Reade states, he felt the luminary give him blows on the head, in consequence of which he believes he would soon have been felled to the ground had he been in an enfeebled condition.

Fortunately there is one mitigating circumstance. In our satellite shadows are shadows—that is, deep, intense, and almost undiluted. It is just the orb to which a man should repair in order to appreciate the full force of the Scriptural reference to the ‘shadow of a rock in a weary land.’ If the lunarians are like ourselves, it would not be too much to say that these patches of darkness will be the only inhabitable spots, and there the natives should be found, crouching under the cliffs for protection, and shifting their position as the luminary lessened the range of their shelter, until compelled to face it in all its zenithal splendour. These shadows are conspicuous features in the lunar landscapes. To terrestrials, as observers, they are of immense importance, as they enable us to measure the height of the hills, and this with such minuteness that, as Mädler shows, an elevation of only 128 feet has been distinctly indicated.

At last, however, night sets in. Gratefully it comes after the sun has gathered up his smiting beams, and gone down to his rest. All at once we are plunged into comparative obscurity, for again there is no twilight to stay the steps of departing day. At one stride comes the dark. But, looking up into the sky, we behold a vast orb, which pours down a milder and more beneficent splendour than the great Lord of the System. It is such a moon as we terrestrials cannot boast; for it is not less than thirteen times as large and luminous as our own. There it hangs in the firmament, without apparent change of place, as if ‘fixed in its everlasting seat.’ But not without change of surface. For this great globe is a painted panorama, and, turning round majestically on its axis, presents its oceans and continents in grand succession. As Europe and Africa, locking the Mediterranean in their embrace, roll away to the right, the stormy Atlantic offers its waters to view, and then the two Americas, with their huge forests and vast prairies pass under inspection. Then the grand basin of the Pacific, lit up with island fires, meets the gazer’s eye, and as this glides over the scene the eastern rim of Asia and the upper portion of Australia sail into sight. The Indian Ocean, and afterwards the Arabian Sea, spread themselves out in their subdued splendour, and thus, in four-and-twenty hours, ‘the great

rotundity we tread’ turns its pictured countenance to the moon, and grandly repays the listening lunarians by repeating, to the best of its ability, the story of its birth. Nor is the sky less marvellous in another respect. For the absence of any atmospheric diffusion of light permits the constellations to shine out with a distinctness which is never paralleled on earth. They glitter like diamond points set in a firmament of ebony. Stars and clusters which we never see by the naked eye flock into view, and crowd the lunar heavens. ‘*Quel est l’astronome,*’ asks M. Guillemin (in French raptures), ‘*qui ne se sentirait transporté de joie à la pensée qu’il lui serait possible d’installer son observatoire sur le sol de la lune, et d’y observer à son aise, ne fût-ce que pendant dix ou douze nuits lunaires!*’

But the night in the moon wears away as drearily as the day. It is impossible for the inhabitants, if constituted like ourselves, to pass the whole 354 hours in slumber. A fortnight’s sleep, right ‘on end’ must be utterly beyond their powers, as much as it would be beyond our own. Were it otherwise, what scope it would offer for gigantic dreams! The withdrawal of the sun’s heat will also reduce the temperature to such an extent that the poor creatures must inevitably be frozen to death, unless they can procure their fuel at a much more moderate price than we unhappy Britons are now compelled to pay. The prodigious descent from feverish heat to crushing cold would tell upon the hardiest human constitutions, unless specially prepared to meet this terrific play of the thermometer. If a marvel how beings like ourselves could live through the fires of a lunar day, it would be a problem of equal difficulty to decide how we could survive the frosts of a lunar night. It must be sad shivering work for the poor souls, unless their ingenuity has enabled them to set this pitiless foe at defiance; and we may well imagine, that before darkness has half run its course they will begin to long for the return of the sun, though it may be to torture them anew with his beams. What clocks or watches they possess we have no chance of ascertaining, but they ought to be well supplied in this particular, for their means of noting the progress of time must be somewhat limited, seeing that their moon knows no going down, and that the apparent motion of the stars is too deliberate to enable them to use the firmament as a delicate chronometer.

At last, however, the dreary night comes to an end. It dies without warning. There is no heralding of dawn. There are no courier-clouds, clad in crimson and gold, to

run before the sun's chariot, and announce the coming of the Ruler of Day. But as soon as he lifts his flaming forehead above the ground he takes possession of the orb, and every mountain and hill straightway conjures up its solemn shadow to do homage to the Lord of Light.

But where, asks our traveller, are the inhabitants? That is the most interesting of all questions for him. Some of our readers may possibly be elderly enough (without feeling themselves inconveniently old) to remember the sensation which was produced by Sir John Herschel's assumed discovery of living creatures in the moon. They will recollect, and their juniors will probably have read, how that illustrious astronomer, whilst pursuing his observations at the Cape with a telescope possessing a lens of seven tons in weight (!), and an oxyhydrogen microscope to illuminate and magnify the figures, was said to have detected not only the crested billows of a lunar ocean, but even the shells on its beach; flowers like poppies were seen growing amidst the rocks; herds of brown quadrupeds like bison came into view; a curious animal shaped like a goat, but horned like a unicorn, performed various antics on the green turf; and finally a number of winged creatures, walking erect like human beings, but with countenances of a decidedly simious cast, made their appearance on the scene and proved by their gestures and movements that they were the rational occupants of the orb. The perpetrator of this hoax was a Mr. Locke, whose object was to bring a New York newspaper into notice; but hundreds of people who would have doubted the power of a telescope to detect a sixpence at the distance of a mile, were led to believe that an instrument had been invented which could discover a pebble on the surface of the moon.

One great argument against the extension of the franchise of life to the moon is that no changes of a definite character have been satisfactorily proved to transpire. Possessed of glasses like our own the Selenites would be able to trace a considerable number of modifications on the earth. The battle of the seasons, the annual fight between summer and winter, would of course be discernible in the regular advance and retreat of verdure. So when forests disappear under the axe, or when great towns spring up with magical rapidity, astronomers might easily note the fact, and report thereon to their Royal Society or British Association. A prodigious prairie fire such as happens every autumn would be telescopically visible, and a tremendous conflagration like that of Mos-

cow or Chicago might be announced contemporaneously in the Lunar and the London *Times*. Certain changes of hue have indeed been noticed, and these may possibly be due to natural vegetation, and not to mere juggleries of light and shade.

But is there anything to indicate the presence of animated beings? Professor Gruithuisen had no doubt about it. He had peered into, and pondered over, our satellite until he felt assured of the fact. He was not only satisfied that the more central points were clothed with herbage, without which there can be no ordinary life, but he fixed the limits of visible verdure, holding that it extended in the north to the 55th degree of latitude, and in the south to the 65th. Over a large space, ranging from 50° N. to 47° S., he thought he could detect actual tokens of the existence of reasoning beings; nay, further, he not only discovered great roads running in various directions, but under the equator he descried an edifice of gigantic dimensions, or it might be a city of very fair proportions, protected by what appeared to be a colossal redoubt!

Great was the amusement excited by these speculations—we wish we could call them discoveries—particularly on the part of that withering wit, Ludwig Börne; but the Munich professor stood valiantly to his revelations and fought for his lunarians with indomitable resolve. Schröter too had been equally confident that the moon was in the hands of an intelligent tenantry. Indeed, he knew of a town there. It was situate a little to the north of the crater Marius. Nothing could be more convincing to him than the long rills which he was the first to bring into special notice. What could these be but canals? And if canals, what volumes did that fact alone speak! The construction of such enormous works would require thousands of labourers and an infinite expenditure of skill and cash. It implied that Brindleys had been born there as well as here; that the moon had its Bridgewater Dukes not less than Lancashire, and that it numbered amongst its engineers men quite as enterprising as the brave Pierre-Paul Riquet, who cut a liquid highway right across the province of Languedoc to tie the Atlantic to the Mediterranean. But above all what a commerce those Selenites must possess! Canals of such length and breadth, formed with so much toil and persistency, suggested that the lunar traffic must be great, and that barges must be plying incessantly to transport their merchandize from one spot to another. That again involved a rich and fertile soil—producing grain, perhaps sugar, coffee, tobacco, indigo, to say

nothing of its mineral stores; and not less did it imply a host of artificial productions which might possibly equal or even transcend our own in variety and in worth. Clearly if we admit the canals, it is impossible to say where we ought to stop. The moment we turn the first sod of such a work in imagination everything else becomes credible, just as the instant that Romulus laid the foundation-stone of Rome, a Coliseum and a St. Peter's grew feasible, as well as a military power which overran the world, and an ecclesiastical system which aspired to universal dominion. So if straight lines, or orderly curves stretching for scores of miles, imply roads or walls, canals or dykes, barriers or other artificial constructions on earth, why should not the same inference be applicable to the moon? To the east of Thebit, for example, in the Sea of Clouds, there is a striking formation called the Straight Wall, which runs in a direct line for upwards of sixty miles, and is tolerably continuous in height throughout. At one end, says Mr. Webb, there is a small crater, at the other a branching mountain, giving it the appearance on the map 'of a staff tipped with a stag's horn.' Certainly the regularity of this embankment, and the uniformity of its elevation, might be triumphantly adduced as a proof that it was a great work of art; and there are many others of surprising length, extending across level surfaces, and forming lines of communication between more important objects. But truth must prevail. Our inquiry resolves itself into a kind of inquest upon the moon, and after listening to a number of witnesses we are compelled to admit that the theory of intelligent occupation dies a violent death. Fire, air, earth, and water, have all declared against it. The tyrannous heat which burns by day, and the curdling cold which desolates by night, are alike hostile to vitality. The meagre, or utterly missing atmosphere forbids the supposition that life exists unless we can believe that flesh and blood are able to flourish *in vacuo*. The rocky surface of the orb, which is clothed by no ascertained deposits of soil, appears as unfavourable to fertility as a macadamized road; and the want of water—the very life's blood of our own globe—seems to exhaust all hope that rational creatures, bearing any marked resemblance to ourselves, can possibly tenant so unfinished a world.

We are sorry—bitterly sorry—to give up the theory of habitation. To treat the moon as a vacant globe appears to be little less than profanity. When we are told that this orb could accommodate a population of at least five thousand millions, if it were peopled in anything like the same ratio as

Great Britain, we feel as if that population had already acquired a right to live, and as if an adverse conclusion amounted to something very like scientific homicide. That a beautiful orb, fair and gentle and beaming, as it seems, to the popular eye, should resolve itself into a mere wilderness of craters, when telescopically explored, is one of those terrible facts which few lovers of the romantic will accept without an indignant groan. Like the Brahmin who dashed the microscope to the ground when it showed him there was life in almost everything he ate, we should not be surprised if some of these disappointed ones attempted to fracture the instrument which proved that there could not well be any life at all in the moon. Although not Malthusians, we could certainly have wished to keep our satellite open as a receptacle for the superabundant population of the earth. It would have been pleasant to dream that in future days when the world was as crowded as an anthill, and when science had devised some means of conveying people across the great gulf, millions could 'swarm' thither as bees do from their parent hive. At any rate, if we must give up this star as a 'desirable residence, admirably adapted to the requirements of a genteel family,' and regard it as a world to which no one would voluntarily emigrate, we should have liked to retain it as a kind of convict settlement. There ought to be a penal planet somewhere in the solar system. We stand very much in need of a floating Botany Bay. We have produced rascals enough in our globe to fill a moderate-sized orb like the moon, and if the other planets are equally prolific, it is clear that we could not only cover all those 'grey plains' with miscreants, but even crowd the craters with villains of an aggravated type. Could our satellite be provided with an atmosphere, and a regular service of transportation established, there is one person at least in England who would be immensely gratified. This is the Sage of Chelsea. His righteous wrath has often been expressed against the 'scoundrel-species.' No man has exhibited more scorn for the 'devil's declared elect.' More than once he has reminded the 'diabolic canaille' that this world is not their inheritance, that we honest people are by no means glad to see them in it, and that it might be best for us to bundle them out of it in the briefest manner possible. Indeed he has plainly intimated to them (if they would only listen) that in case he had a 'commonwealth to govern,' he would speedily apply the besom of destruction, and sweep them all into the 'dustbin' of creation. 'I am sick of rascaldom,' cries he, in tones of irrepressible dis-

gust. Is it not a pity, therefore, that the moon cannot be employed as a kind of planetary hulks? It would be a glorious day for mankind when the first convict balloon or flying chariot put off from the earth with a cargo of picked criminals, carrying with it the 'supreme scoundrel' (whoever that may be), as well as any special culprit who ought to be particularly 'hanged next Wednesday.' Without doubt the author of 'Sartor' would attend and assist in launching this ship of knaves, sternly exhorting the 'Gehenna bailiffs,' who had them in charge, to shoot the felon rubbish into the deepest and dimalest crater they could find.

Still we have no right to conclude harshly and dogmatically that this brilliant orb is a meaningless waste. It would surely be intolerable presumption to declare that every planet has been created for the same purposes as our own, and that life and intelligence could only subsist under precisely the same conditions as prevail upon this 'terrestrial ball.' We might as well suppose that every island in the ocean should be a facsimile of Great Britain, or that every creature in the universe should be a repetition of the first batch of animals ever produced. It must not be forgotten that each world has its history. Ours has run through a number of stages, commencing probably as a vast formless fire-mist, and gradually cooling and consolidating until it became fit for the reception of life. The earliest leaves of this grand chronicle have been lost, but later on, chapter after chapter may be read in geological succession, each page being pictorially illustrated by the fossil relics graven on the everlasting rock. Any one who had chanced to open this magnificent book before the sedimentary era commenced, would have probably expressed the greatest surprise that such a planetary wilderness could exist. But the chronologies of creation baffle all our arithmetic. The Almighty has an eternity to work in, as Arnauld said of himself. The moon may be in a particular state of transition: it may be undergoing one of those grand pauses which we find exemplified in the physical annals of our own earth, when fire and frost, sea and land, the forces of elevation and depression rested awhile from their labours, or slowly gathered up their strength for a new strife. Whatever may be the agencies which produced those deep caverns and huge ramparts of rock, they are not in perceptible operation, for, though the existence of active volcanoes has been suspected, the fact has never been proved, and though sundry physical changes have been observed, as in the twin craters Messier, these are too slow,

and even questionable, to justify any positive conclusion. Our companion may never yet have reached the stage which would admit of the importation of the mysterious principle of life. The sun we know has not yet attained the habitable condition. It may be myriads of years before that splendid orb is in a condition to entertain a single living monad. On the other hand it may happen that the moon has already passed through one stage of inhabitability. If she has really been detached from the earth's primordial mass, she would of course cool down much more rapidly than the parent globe, and therefore would much sooner reach the temperature best adapted to organized existence. Consequently we might be disposed to assume that her day was past, particularly if it is open to us to suppose that our tyrannous attraction has brought her period of rotation into fatal unison with her monthly march, and so turned the sun into a seeming foe instead of a fostering friend. But the unweathered appearance of the orb, the uncertainty as to any sedimentary deposits, the convulsed and desolated features she displays, and, above all, the fatal deficiency of air and water, seem to preclude the idea that she has yet been opened and inaugurated as a theatre of animal life. Still, who knows the times or purposes of the Almighty? The Maker of the sun and Sirius, together with the myriads of stars which float in immensity, was the Maker of the moon as well. Our satellite has been shaped and sculptured by the same Hand, and hangs by the same golden chains from the same fretted firmament. It is not for us to think that ours is the only peopled planet, the only true *κοσμος* in creation, and that all other orbs are nothing more than heaps of rounded rubbish.

NOTE.—It is of course scarcely necessary to add that in a paper like the present many inviting subjects have been totally omitted from consideration. A word or two as to the works we have adopted as our text. The public owes much to Mr. Proctor. His articles and treatises have for years kept up a stream of astronomical information popularly expressed, which does him immense credit. But we must frankly state that his book on the moon has proved somewhat of a disappointment. Anyone who takes it up under the supposition that it constitutes a complete and exhaustive treatise on that orb will find himself mistaken. The volume appears to be composed of separate papers, which have been thrown together without due digestion, the bulk of the work consisting of an account of the moon's motions,

which nine readers out of ten will turn over with respect for the writer, but with comparative indifference to his theme. In fact, we cannot but think that Mr. Proctor has missed a splendid opportunity for producing a *magnum opus*. With such a fascinating object to describe, with such a popular pen in his hand, and, still more, with such a quantity of information in his head, he might have taken his place (if we may use the expression) as secretary to the moon. But we fear that writing so much, and writing so fast, he has been tempted to reproduce a number of articles which, excellent in themselves, are too straggling and disconnected to constitute a complete and harmonious whole. We regret this for another reason. The superior brilliancy of style and lucidity of treatment which French authors display when handling scientific topics has often been vaunted. M. Guillemin's work on the same subject, though smaller and more sketchy, is so vivid and picturesque, so consecutive and comprehensive, that we fear there are few readers who, if the two books were placed in their hands, would not be apt to slip away from Mr. Proctor, and follow the Frenchman to the 'lunary world.' Respecting Mr. Webb's little treatise, all we need say is, that it is one of those practical books which a working student of astronomy will regard as invaluable, and that its minute description of the leading objects in our satellite entitle it to take rank (in the best sense) as a Murray's Guide to the Moon. [Messrs. Nasmyth and Carpenter's splendid and highly pictured volume came to hand after this article was completed.]

ART. III.—Our Naval Requirements.

- (1.) *La Marine d'Aujourd'hui*. Par le Vice-Amiral JURIEN DE LA GRAVIÈRE, Membre de l'Institut. Paris. 1872. 8vo.
- (2.) *Our Reserves of Seamen*. By THOMAS BRASSEY, M.P. London. 1872.
- (3.) *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*. Vol. xvii. Nos. 72 and 73.
- (4.) *The Organization of the Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers Explained*. By THOMAS BRASSEY, M.P. London. 1864.

'THE Roman people,' says Vegetius,* 'for the adornment and the service of its greatness, not because of the requirements of any sudden outbreak of war, was used from time

to time to equip a fleet; but lest at any time it might feel the want of one, it always kept one prepared for use. For no one dares to attack or injure that realm or nation which he knows to be in a state of preparation, and ready to resist or avenge; since, in war, celerity is apt to be of more advantage than mere valour.'

The truth and value of these ancient maxims have undergone no diminution since the remote time at which they were first written: indeed, the history of recent wars tends rather to confirm the justice of the admonition which they are intended to convey. We may lament that, even in this age, warlike preparations or defensive arrangements are still, if not the uppermost, at least amongst the most prominent of the thoughts which cross the minds of those who govern nations; but the events of the last few years must convince us that national security has still to be provided for, and that peace is most likely to be enjoyed by those who are prepared for war. It will probably not be difficult to persuade a people which, like ourselves, pays ten millions a year to maintain a fleet, that naval forces on a large scale are an essential possession for a great maritime country. At the same time it may be worth the trouble to point out what the true object of spending so vast a sum should be, and what the possession of a powerful fleet should properly secure to us.

In the first place it would seem to be self-evident, and not requiring proof, that some definite line of naval policy should be followed. It is not at all necessary that this should mean, that opportunities for the aggressive employment of the ships of the fleet should be continuously watched for. On the contrary, the adoption of a definite and consistent policy would almost to a certainty result in a reduced liability to awkward entanglements of our relations with the many remote countries whose shores, as protectors of our extensive ocean commerce, our ships of war must long continue to visit. The delicacy of these relations becomes intensified as the area of trade and intercourse is extended; and the commanders of Her Majesty's ships are for ever finding themselves called upon to confront difficult questions, the solution of which is often rendered next to impracticable by doubt as to the real intentions of the home authorities. An over-zealous, or an incapable officer, not only may, but, as a matter of fact, often has involved the country in unpleasant, or even dangerous disputes; whilst even the ablest and best-intentioned often errs from a belief, whilst doing wrong, that he is doing exactly that which his superiors would wish him to

* 'De Re Militari,' Lib. v. cap. 1.

do. The external history of the British squadrons serving in distant waters would, if it were written, be found to be chiefly made up of ignorant mistakes, blundering apologies, and rankling ill feeling upon one side or the other. So changed of late are the relative positions of our own country and those with which our naval officers are principally brought into contact, that the good old way of dealing with these matters has quite ceased to be possible. In the first place, the mail-steamer and the electric telegraph have penetrated to almost every place at which trade is worthy of protection or supervision; and the time-honoured plan of 'hushing up' an ugly quarrel is in general effectually disconcerted by Baron Reuter's agents and the newspapers. Moreover semi-civilized, or newly independent States have lately contracted an evil habit of insisting upon arguing questions which concern them from their own point of view; and as they have generally contrived to provide themselves with a more or less respectable naval force, their arguments, if not convincing, are, as a rule, allowed to be weighty. Brazil, Chili, Japan, and Peru, for instance, are all in possession of a certain number of iron-clad ships, which in any single instance would probably be found to be collectively more powerful than any British force employed in their own or neighbouring waters. How different an aspect this gives to affairs will be readily appreciated by those, still young, who remember our old, our not yet discarded mode of dealing with 'bumptious' mandarins or stiff-necked governors. Our various wars with China, and especially our second Peiho campaign, ought to show us how disastrous such a mode is likely to prove.

There was a pleasant excitement about this old plan which recommended it strongly to those who favour a 'vigorous policy;' a class sure to be pretty numerous amongst naval officers. There was a dash of swagger about it, that smacked strongly of the sea. The historical tastes of those who had any were tickled by reminders of Cromwell's foreign policy, and of the great principle embodied in '*Civis Romanus sum*.' How recent some awkward results of the plan are seems almost startling, when we calculate the short period that has elapsed since they occurred. It is not a dozen years since the present Secretary of State for India won his parliamentary spurs in the debates concerning the conduct of our admiral in Brazil. That country did not then possess a single iron-clad. She has now twenty; a fact which will probably for ever prevent the recurrence of any necessity for

holding such debates in future. We might draw from a stock of personal reminiscences—which do not go back to a very remote period—some less known instances of vigorous negotiations with the local authorities of independent States. Not many years since a store-ship, with an imposing armament of two brass howitzers, was despatched in hot haste to a Peruvian seaport, to assert the majesty of the British name. The possession of two iron-clad frigates and four 'monitors,' by Peru, at the present time, renders her naval force immeasurably superior to the whole British squadron on the South American coast. The long and monotonous cruises in the Pacific will not probably be often solaced, as they used to be, by accounts of adventurous and high-handed diplomacy* in Mexican harbours: how a peremptory captain sailed quietly in to espouse the cause of some 'distressed British subject,' which he did by desiring the governor to choose between the immediate payment of so many thousand dollars and the bombardment of his town; how the governor was firm, and prepared for the worst, but eventually had to succumb, being ill-supported by a characteristic Hispano-American garrison of 97 officers and 150 men, who ran off *en masse* during the brief interval allowed after the delivery of the British *ultimatum*. The younger officers will hereafter be seldom exhilarated by the excitement attendant upon a prospective battering of the crumbling walls of transatlantic towns rich in memories of Cortez and Pizarro.

Emancipated colonies and newly-opened countries are unanimously anxious to exhibit their patents of independence or civilization, in the shape of organized naval and military power; and the practice of maintaining in their neighbourhood a tiny flotilla of war-vessels, clustering around some central iron-clad of obsolete type bearing the admiral's flag, has no longer the advantage which, when first instituted, it unquestionably possessed. Fortunately the policy embalmed in this antique custom has no connection with the views of any political party in this country; and the question of its modification or retention can be discussed upon its merits, and altogether apart from any political object. The process of consolidation and of establishing stable government has happily—in spite of a long interval of anarchy—so far advanced in most new countries, that it is now almost as useless to maintain a remote naval garrison upon their shores as it would be upon those of France

* Mr. Kinglake's 'animating diplomacy of the Levant,' was nothing to it.

or the United States. The maintenance of those distant squadrons has in most cases no possible connection with the strategic policy which, in time of war, we should find ourselves compelled to adopt; and the only result of this strewing them about the world is to expose our navy—in an age in which the art of war consists in the rapid dealing of sudden blows—to the certainty of being outnumbered, and the probability of being beaten in detail.

The practice has lost the recommendation, which, undoubtedly, once did attach to it, and with which it is often credited now, viz., that of imparting seaman-like knowledge and experience to the officers and men. The necessity of relying to a very great extent upon the use of steam in ships of modern construction, and the enormous cost of the great expenditure of fuel requisite for long cruises tend to group our ships on foreign stations about the coal depôts, and to reduce the time spent actually at sea. Long periods passed at anchor are unquestionably bad for both officers and men, and their ill-effect is aggravated by protracted sojournings in the remote harbours of Vancouver's Island, or the pestilential rivers of China. 'Naval stations,' says Admiral Jurien de la Gravière, 'are not only useless, they are positively cruel. Three or four of the best years in a young man's life are devoted to an enforced absence in an unhealthy climate. A remedy for this has been proposed, in constant circulation: it is the general wish of the navy, to which I give my unqualified adherence.' The recent system of sending abroad 'flying squadrons' of ships, to make voyages, instead of, as the old naval phrase goes, 'grounding on their beef-bones,' has proved of admirable effect in the instruction of the crews; and we can hardly doubt that the dispatch of several such, to visit in succession the various parts of the world, would do infinitely more to instruct our seamen, and uphold our naval *prestige* than a continuance of the old practice, in apparent forgetfulness of the changed condition of things abroad, and of the strategic requirements of our vast empire.

The long period which has elapsed since we were engaged in anything like a naval war has both permitted a change of immense importance in our circumstances to take place, and prevented us from realizing what our naval requirements really are. Down to the close of the Trafalgar campaign we had an intelligible, even simple naval policy. That policy was to tolerate no rival upon the sea. Either single or combined we attacked them, and swept them away. But before the fall of Napoleon a

small cloud had already risen above the western horizon; and a new navy, destined to give us some trouble, had appeared upon the scene. It was the first of the many that have since appeared, if not to disturb our pre-eminence, at least to reduce the certainty of our being without rivals upon the ocean. In the meantime our commerce has increased enormously. Vast interests have been developed in every navigable sea. Increase of population and freedom of trade have converted the food-producing countries of the world into our granaries and store-houses, upon which we are to a great extent dependent for the necessary food of the millions that inhabit these islands. It would be idle to quote statistics to prove, what every one knows, that between 1815 and 1874 trade and commerce have 'advanced with bounding steps;' but it may be of use to remind a people which prides itself on the security of its insular position, that the greater part of its food has to be brought from beyond the sea.

'These facts,' says McCulloch,* speaking of the imports of breadstuffs, 'are of the highest significance, showing, as they do, the increasing dependence of this country on foreign supplies of wheat and flour, and indicating what, on an average estimate, is the general demand of this country on the breadstuffs of foreign regions—a demand which has more than doubled during the space of fourteen years only.' In a paper read last February by the eminent experimental agriculturist, Mr. J. J. Mechi, he is reported to have said: 'Their' (the British people's) 'position in regard to food was becoming, and might become more critical, as it depended upon foreign nations. Although their acres did not increase, their children were steadily increasing. A war with the foreign nations that now supplied them might lead to most disastrous consequences.' Unhappily, in the present condition of naval affairs, it is not only a war with the great nations that supply us that would have disastrous consequences for our people. The use of steam propulsion, the ease with which a few swift vessels can be acquired, and the impunity with which they can be used, place in the hands of a comparatively weak nation an enormous power of inflicting evil upon a strong one. The ruin wrought upon American commerce—indeed the total disappearance of the American flag from the ocean—which resulted from the cruises of but the *Alabama* and one or two other vessels is striking evidence of the pre-

* Dict. of Commerce. New edit. 1869. Art. Corn Trade.

carious nature of the wide-spread maritime interests of the present day. It is true, that in time we might sweep these cruisers from the sea, and that we might eventually seal up the depôts at which they had been able to supply themselves with coal. But how terrible would be the damage done before we could effect this! Had this country, in consequence of the late '*Virginus* affair,' been obliged to resort to active measures against Spain, no sensible person can doubt that they would have ended favourably for us; but what would have been the result had the *Tornado*, the vessel which was able to overhaul and capture the swift blockade-runner, *Virginus*, which had so long eluded the fastest cruisers, been let slip against the thousands of vessels bearing food to these shores? Less than two months ago the quantity of wheat (to take the case of bread-stuffs alone) actually on passage to the United Kingdom amounted to about 1,600,000 quarters.

In some of those ingenious maps which 'graphically' exhibit the numerous paths which our multitudes of steam-vessels usually follow, there will be seen radiating from the British shores to all parts of the world many thin lines, indicating the course on which these vessels run. These lines are, to not only our prosperity, but to our very existence, what the fabled thread, spun by the Fates, was believed to be to human life. Such, with regard to them, is the strategic position of some of the newly-arisen naval powers, that the latter seem to hold open, and are ever ready to close upon one slender line or another the shears of the relentless Atropos.

It would be difficult to find more cogent arguments than these in favour of the adoption of a real and definite naval policy. This is hardly the place to enunciate what the principles of that policy should be; but it may not be amiss to enumerate some of the true requirements of our position. To keep open our communications, and guard our great 'ocean highways,' are absolutely necessary to us. 'What is the use of a navy?' asks Admiral Jurien; and he replies, 'My answer is given unhesitatingly—To occupy and keep open the great ocean highways. The occupation of the seas, though it were only temporary, ought to have consequences of the very highest import, even in a purely continental war.' A considerable force and heavy navy estimates will be required to effect these objects. A cruising fleet, that is, both a fleet of which the ships are in a state to cruise, and officers and men with much experience of the sea, must long continue to form a very large part of our

naval force. But there are other duties which the British navy may be called upon to discharge. We have to protect our own shores from insult and attack, to prevent the possibility of 'requisitions' being made in our great seaports. Home defence, by means of 'coast-defence vessels,' will be an important item in the naval strategy of future wars. We must possess, in considerable numbers, a class of powerful ships capable of contending in regular combats with the heavily armed and heavily armoured vessels, of which so many have been quite lately constructed for hitherto unknown naval powers. Thus we require, in somewhat large numbers, at least three class of vessels: the swift cruiser, the powerful iron-clad, and the 'coast-defence' turret-ship, or gun-boat. Many, if not enough, of each one of these classes we do possess; and many readers are probably familiar with the published descriptions of the *Devastation*, the *Thunderer*, or the *Shah*.

It is part of our good fortune that no very great difficulty is likely to be experienced in constructing any number of vessels of either class which we may ever happen to require. Given the money necessary, and, thanks to the immense development of ship-building in this country, the ships themselves will be soon forthcoming. Great care on the part of the authorities, and reiterated calling of the attention of the public to the most pressing of our naval wants have, at length, happily resulted in removing one of the great difficulties under which the sea-service so long laboured—the deficiency of men. Early obstacles to the raising a proper number of sailors to effectively man the navy have disappeared altogether since the adoption of the present admirable, though somewhat costly, system of training from early boyhood a force of seamen sufficient for at least all the necessities of peace time. It is not exaggerating at all to say, that since the earliest epoch of the history of armed forces, there has never existed such a splendid body of fighting men as is made up of the twenty and odd thousand trained seamen now serving in the British navy. Foreign officers are always ready to do ample justice to their great merits; and the accomplished flag-officer, Admiral Jurien de la Gravière, in the work, of which we have placed the title at the head of this article, alludes to them in terms of generous compliment,* and in the elegant and graceful language of which, amongst his fellow-countrymen, he is known to be a master. These men, entering the navy at an early age, un-

* He calls them (p. 290) '*cette précieuse élite*.'

dergo a regular and comprehensive course of instruction, are trained from the very first in habits of discipline, and are tended, throughout their career, with a jealous care of their sanitary requirements. The result has amply justified even the highest expectations of the original advocates of the adoption of the system; and the late Royal entry into the Capital—at which a body of them was on duty—and the operations on the Gold Coast, have given to the seamen of the navy, (carefully selected from numerous applicants for their physical qualifications for the service afloat, and very highly trained) opportunities of showing the public what they are like and what they really are.

Though the question of 'manning the navy' is thus, as far as the requirements of a time of peace are concerned, definitely solved, that of providing reserves for the force on this peace-footing is by no means so. This is one of the questions to which all who desire to perfect our defensive organization must, sooner or later, address themselves. The pressing nature of the problem, how to find an adequate supply of seamen for present wants, though it did not remove from consideration, still threw greatly into the back-ground, the almost equally important inquiry, how to provide a proper reserve. Relieved from the anxieties consequent upon the perpetual recurrence of the former question by its solution, we are now enabled to give fuller consideration to the condition of the country as far as regards a reserve of seamen. Several names have already become identified with the earnest discussion of this very interesting subject. Among them that of Mr. Thomas Brassey will be favourably known from his patriotic and consistent endeavour to place the forces of the nation, in this respect, on a proper footing. In his place in Parliament, with his pen, at the Royal United Service Institution, he has been distinguished by an anxious desire to arouse public feeling to a proper appreciation of the great importance of this question; and so thoroughly has he identified himself with the movement, which he may be almost said to have set going, that he has raised and now commands, that novel organization, a *corps* of Naval Artillery Volunteers.

The Royal Commission of 1859 reported, that, in their opinion, the reserve should consist of 12,000 men in the Coast Guard, and 20,000 in the Naval Reserve proper.

'The actual numbers,' says Mr. Brassey,* 'are—Coast Guard, 4,300; Royal Naval Reserve, 15,000 men. The present reserves of

the navy are, therefore, much below the standard proposed by the Royal Commission; and, notwithstanding the changes which have taken place in the political condition and naval policy of other nations, it is to be regretted that our naval reserves are so considerably reduced.'

In addition to the immense strategic advantages which ability to call upon a strong reserve would unquestionably give us, Mr. Brassey believes, that a systematic attempt to develop our enormous resources in this particular would render it possible to diminish our large naval expenditure considerably. The ample field, from which to draw men to form this force, offered by the mercantile marine, will be readily appreciated from the statement that in 1870 the number of seamen of British nationality in the registered sailing and steam-vessels of the United Kingdom, amounted to 178,000. The men required to carry out a very important duty contemplated in any perfect scheme of naval policy, viz., that of coast-defence, would find an adequate recruiting ground for their reserve in the great body of 153,000 men and 14,000 boys employed in the fishing vessels of Great Britain and Ireland. People of this latter class Mr. Brassey is very anxious to get into the Naval Reserve, and an attempt, by the institution of the so-called 'Second Class Naval Reserve,' has apparently been officially made to induce them to join.

In a discussion following a very striking lecture by Mr. Brassey at the Royal United Service Institution in April, 1873, some very important statistics of the practicable reserves of European countries were given by Captain (now Commodore) Goodenough. The high professional character of the Commodore, and the fact of his having recently held the appointment of Naval Attaché to our embassies to foreign courts, give to the statements made by him all the authority of official documents. We do not intend to tire out our readers with a long array of figures, but will content ourselves with remarking that the enormous numbers of men, all more or less organized, placed at the disposal of foreign ministries of marine, are almost startling. Mr. Brassey, speaking of the imperfect condition of the fleets of our enemies in the days of Nelson, was amply justified in saying that, 'In the present day we should no longer find our rivals on the sea equally unprepared for naval war.' The vast increase in the number of our merchant ships has not, unfortunately, been accompanied by a concurrent increase in the number of seamen who man them. The gradual supersession of sailing-vessels by steamers, and the

* 'Our Reserves of Seamen,' p. 9.

extended use of improved mechanical appliances on board the latter have been the cause of this state of things. In 1854 the proportion of men to every 100 tons in steam-ships was 7·47; in 1871, it had sunk to 4·55.

It has been pointed out by officers who have had experience of the management of men both of the 'regular,' and 'irregular' services, and who have watched the conduct of 'reserves' in action that mere training, however efficient, can never supply the place of habits of discipline. Anyone conversant with the history of the many wars in which undisciplined valour, even when aided by superiority in numbers, has wrecked itself in vain against disciplined bodies of men will, without much hesitation, accept this view of what should be an essential characteristic of reserve organization. The present condition of the merchant service, of its *personnel* that is, is not such as to encourage much hope that habits of discipline are anything like universal in it. A large number of men, it is to be feared, enter it comparatively late in life, and succeed in picking up a knowledge of seamanship just sufficient for the ordinary requirements of the many 'jury-rigged' steamers employed in our carrying-trade. Commodore Goodenough says—

'In former years, when each ship had a large complement compared to what she has now, and when there was a large proportion of boys entered, the training of boys for their profession as seamen went on insensibly. Shippers got men as they wanted them, and therefore people did not care to inquire how they got them. But at the present day nobody wants boys; they cannot be economically employed as hands, and therefore it is absolutely necessary that we should have a system of technical training which will prepare lads for their work as men afloat.' 'Journal of Royal United Service Institution,' vol. xvii. p. 522.

This, though said chiefly with a view to exhibit the extremely imperfect 'technical' training of the merchant seamen of the present day, shows very distinctly in how few cases we are able to look for that almost instinctive discipline which is born of early habits of obedience and order.

No system of reserve organization can approach perfection which does not provide for a sufficient supply of officers for the force. The old question of Sir Charles Napier, 'Suppose you had obtained your naval reserve men, where would you get officers to command them?' is one which cannot be left unanswered. Mr. Brassey and others have intimated that these gentlemen may be

found also in the ranks of the mercantile marine. But it is no slight to the many able men who occupy the leading positions in that body, to assert, that 'at a time,' to use Mr. Brassey's own words, 'when such marvellous transformation is taking place, both in naval architecture and naval armaments,' their training, if their services are to be relied upon in war, must be very different from what, under present conditions, it seems likely to become. The tendency of our age is to render a special and scientific education more and more essential to the proper conduct of naval war. 'The naval officer,' says Admiral Jurien de la Gravière, 'should become a rifleman at L'Orient, a gunner at Toulon, an engineer at Brest and Indret.' We may add, that it is fast becoming indispensable that he should have a profound acquaintance with all the mysteries of the latest development of naval science—torpedo warfare. It is not so much that he would have to resort to the practical application of the doctrines inculcated in the only professional training which would be worthy of the name, as that he would have to guard against the attacks of those who would be able to do so. The establishment, therefore, of a system which would give to the country a trained body of men equal to filling the position of officers in our naval reserves, is one entirely worthy of serious consideration. The reduced number of ships of war kept in commission during time of peace has led to the opinion that it is judicious to diminish considerably the lists of officers of the navy. This opinion has been acted upon more than once; and successive 'retirement schemes' have caused the number of trained officers to dwindle to a figure which would probably be inadequate to meet the expansion of our squadrons necessary in a by no means great naval contest. No one need be told how strongly this fact indicates the paramount necessity of carefully providing for the officering of our reserves.

It is a distressing circumstance that the condition of our dockyards will very soon be, perhaps already has been elevated, or degraded, to the rank of a political question. It is difficult for any one who desires to steer clear of all allusion to party politics to touch upon this subject without running athwart the prejudices of some section of politicians. In the present state of quietude to which most prominent questions have been reduced, by the events of the early spring, there are still indications that some of the hottest political battles will be fought over this subject, which cannot be other than highly interesting to a great maritime nation. The note of war has already sound-

ed, and the hostile forces are busy dressing their ranks, and have even had their first 'affair of outposts.' Energetic assaults upon the naval policy of opponents are always prefaced by decent disclaimers of party motives. Sadly enough, these disavowals are often found to mean only just as much as the formal salutes which used to be exchanged by duellists, and which we find described with so much minuteness, and illustrated with such elaboration of wood-engraving in the older treatises on the art of fencing; or as the hand-shaking of prize-fighters who, as we are told in the *Newcastle Apothecary*—

'First shake hands before they box,
Then give each other plaguy knocks
With all the love and kindness of a brother.'

It will be well if we can manage to keep always in sight the principle, that the great end of having dockyards is to keep our ships efficient; that, in fact, they are only means to an end. Simple and elementary as this principle may appear when stated plainly, it is by no means certain that it is universally accepted. 'The dockyard,' says our French admiral, 'must banish the opinion of its own greatness, and be content to become the very humble slave of the ship.' Those who, 'far from the madd'ning crowd' of party disputants, are able to take a calm view of the naval requirements of the country, will generally be ready to admit that the dockyards should be maintained on a scale which would enable them to do rather more than just meet the demands of the fleet during peace, and have such a faculty of expansion that they might easily be put in a position to comply with the urgencies of a sudden outbreak of war. Like all other matters relating to the British navy, this is one which is richly deserving of careful thought; and there is no one, who has the interests of his country really at heart, who will not be pained if such an important question be mixed up with the angry politics of party.

One thing at least is very certain, and that is, that some systematic plan of arranging our dockyard establishments must be adopted. These great nurseries of our *matériel* must not be exposed by turns to the withering effects of cold blasts of ill-considered parsimony, and the fiery breezes of hasty extravagance. If the ships which they have to equip must not be 'spoiled for a ha'porth o' tar,' neither must vast quantities of stores, collected on a scale of unchecked profusion, be allowed to lie and deteriorate in useless heaps till the very moment when they are

wanted for use. Reserves of stores—and in a great service like the British navy, very large reserves—will always have to be accumulated against the occasion of their being required; and the rapid progress of the art of war in our time will frequently render a large proportion of such obsolete before they can ever have been tested by use. But forethought, careful consideration, and the habit of looking at the great object for which we maintain a navy at all as a whole, will generally teach us how to estimate what should be provided in ample quantities against contingencies, and what the general resources of the country will allow us to acquire in sufficient amount at the moment when it may be needed. With this view we ought perhaps to lose no time in compiling, with as much completeness as possible, a set of statistics which should enable us to judge accurately of the capabilities of the country—outside the royal dockyards—for the supply of the very many articles which, in these days, are indispensably necessary to the equipment of a fleet in time of war. Some department of the administration of the navy should be charged with the collection and periodical revision of these statistics; and a registration of the objects likely to be wanted, corrected from time to time, so as to show the fluctuations in the quantities of each, should certainly be established. This is one of those important, though apparently small matters which true statesmanship will never disdain to regard; and attention to it, justified as it is by common sense and by the experience in warlike organization of the great Napoleon and the Prussian Government, should be no longer delayed.

Still more important, and much more urgently required is the establishment of an organized method of noting the progress in naval affairs of the various maritime nations of the world. The startling events in the recent military history of the great Continental powers have led us very lately to add to the head quarter staff of our army a department for collecting intelligence and for procuring trustworthy information concerning the developments of their military institutions. The adoption of a similar plan with respect to the advance of their naval power would be almost certain to amply repay the cost and trouble to which we should be put in instituting it. An accurate knowledge of the real strength of the countries whose maritime rivalry—either alone or in combination with others—we might have reason to expect, would be pretty sure to save us from being seized by those unseemly panics, so unworthy of a great people,

which occur when we wake up to the fact that some other nation has been silently increasing its naval power till it is on a dangerous equality with our own. The conviction that the Government was really in possession of exact information concerning the movements in the Russian navy would have prevented the fidgety condition of the public mind, when, last year, the reports of the construction of the powerful iron-clad, *Peter the Great*, were first promulgated in England. There appears to be an idea that the vast power of our sea defences renders it unnecessary or even improper for us to pay attention to what is taking place in the navies of other countries. The stupendous military power of Germany has not prevented the astute statesmen who guide her counsels from forming and keeping up an elaborate intelligence department, which is the type and pattern of those which have of late been added to the war ministries of so many countries. We ought to rid ourselves of the belief that the initiative in all matters relating to the sea belongs to us. Not to go further back than a few years, it may be recalled that the revolution in naval construction and naval tactics, caused by the introduction of iron-clad ships was begun by France; the first *bond fide* sea-going iron-clad, the *Gloire*, having belonged to that country. Nor is this by any means an isolated instance of important innovations in the art of war by sea, which have first been made abroad, and have been taken over by ourselves. The present evolutionary basis of the tactical system for our fleets of heavy ships was suggested by and copied from those which had been already adopted by Russia and by France. The heavy guns which arm our ships are rifled on a plan which we call the 'Woolwich,' but which high authorities do not hesitate to declare would be more correctly designated the French system.

The attempts which we have made from time to time to procure more or less permanent service on the part of the crews of our ships, and to provide them with suitable reserves, have been almost invariably adopted, in consequence of our study of the organization of foreign navies. So too it has been with the education and training of both our officers and men. There was scarcely a navy in Europe which did not provide some regular course of instruction for the officers who were to be trusted with the duty of commanding it long before we had taken any steps in the same direction; and when we did determine to educate our young naval officers, we prefaced our attempt by a regular inquiry, made after our usual fitful

fashion, into systems in vogue in other navies. One of the strongest arguments adduced in favour of educating a *corps* of men with the special object of enabling them to manipulate that most powerful of all modern weapons of war, the torpedo, was the assertion that such a body already existed in the navy of Germany. Most of these improvements, for such unquestionably they are, have been made after reiterated and often informal representations by individual officers, who had been prompted solely by their own zeal to inquire into the condition of foreign naval establishments. It is true that we have established, in two instances, the post of naval *attaché* to our legations abroad, and that the distinguished officers who have filled them have done excellent service; but their duty lies chiefly, if not solely, in collecting information on the spot; and there is still wanting a recognised department to which all their reports might be transmitted for arrangement, and for use if required.

It is not surprising that this department should not exist, when we reflect that there is absolutely no body of officers charged with those indispensable functions, known as the duties of a staff, in the British navy. The duties themselves exist, and indeed are not ignored. They have to be done somehow, and are generally 'supposed' to be performed by certain sets of officers. Unfortunately things that are 'supposed' to be done are, if done at all, too often done only imperfectly; and the experience of this imperfection during the smooth progress of affairs in time of peace, makes those who take a thoughtful view of such matters somewhat apprehensive of a break-down, should it be the misfortune of the country to be plunged into a war. Arguments against providing a regular staff for the navy, based on the history of our former wars, are fallacious in the extreme, and only deserve refutation in consequence of the frequency with which they are reiterated. In the first place, it is not absolutely correct to say that no such body of officers existed; for in a certain rudimentary way it did. In the second place, naval warfare, like all other warfare between civilized nations, has now become a science. Its developments are numerous and varied, to a degree beyond the wildest dream of those who fought under Nelson and Collingwood. The comparatively simple method of our older wars, in these days of highly trained and highly organized forces, is altogether out of the question now; and whether we furnish our squadrons with a staff now or not, we may rest assured that we shall have to do so

whenever there may be a war. How much better it would be to furnish it now than amidst the turmoil of actual conflict need hardly be expatiated upon. As Mr. Brassey says,* 'the hasty measures adopted in an emergency will be at once more costly and less complete than the deliberate and fully-considered preparations made in quieter times.' Greatly as the existence of such a body of officers would add to the efficiency of those squadrons or fleets to which they might be attached, the assumption by it of some of the duties performed at head-quarters would probably be even still more advantageous to the service at large. The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty are a body of consultative and high administrative officers, and not, in strictness, executive officials. Details which are supposed to be attended to by them in person now had far better be left to less important personages. A lord of the Admiralty has to deal with great questions of administration and of policy; and it is neither advantageous nor becoming that such a dignitary should be bothered by petty details concerning the proper twirl to be given to the worsted on a bandsman's jacket, or other things of equal insignificance.

The organization of the British navy has long been distinguished by a peculiarity which is usually assumed to be the greatest blot upon the whole system. Its lists of officers are—or perhaps it would now be more correct to say—have been arranged on a scale which should allow for a great and sudden expansion of our force in troublous times. The necessary result is, that in periods of quiet there are considerable numbers of officers upon half-pay, or, as the phrase runs, 'unemployed.' Latterly it has been the persistent endeavour of those who are pleased to entitle themselves 'naval reformers' to remedy this—as they contend—highly undesirable state of things. There has been a continuous cry, both from within and without the service, that the number of officers not actually serving afloat should be very much reduced; and it has been loudly asserted that the ideal state of perfection will be approached only when every officer on the Navy List shall be actually appointed to the performance of some duty. Considerable success has attended the efforts of the gentlemen who have so pertinaciously striven to contract the expansive capabilities of our lists of officers; and—perhaps for the first time in its history—the number of officers of the British navy has been, or, at all events, is in process of being brought down

to a figure which will barely do more than suffice for the necessary 'reliefs' in a time of the most assured and profoundest peace.

Already, in consequence of reductions of the number of officers in the higher ranks, the shoe has begun to pinch. Selection of men, on account of special qualifications, for particular posts has been rendered almost impossible. It is not surprising, therefore, that an attempt to retrace our steps in the path of reduction is already openly talked of, and will, probably, be soon made. The fallacy which underlies the arguments of those who urge the necessity of limiting the numerical strength of our *corps* of officers to the demands of the fleet in peace, is attributable to the unfortunate habit, which is, alas! so common, of neglecting to take a broad and comprehensive view of our naval requirements. Our way of looking at them seems to establish the fact, that it is our custom to hold converse with ourselves after this fashion:—'We are now at peace; let us arrange our naval forces solely with a view to the necessities of peace;' and that, when war is present or imminent we tell ourselves, *mutato nomine*, the same story. Did we never cease to remember that the real object of maintaining a navy, or any warlike establishment, is to be prepared for, and thus try to prevent the occurrence of war, we should not be likely to find ourselves so often taking these steps forward and backward on the high road of naval improvement.

A little reflection would have shown us that that which has been assumed to be a defect in our organization is, in reality, one of its chief merits. The more the profession of arms becomes a really scientific pursuit, the more essential are a special training and special habits of thought to those who are to occupy in it prominent positions. The alternation of occupations—peaceful commerce, maritime discovery, warlike expeditions—in which the lives of the naval worthies of the Elizabethan age were passed, fitted them admirably for the parts which they were called upon to play in the then condition of the art of war. Even in the navy of the period of the Restoration, to have passed in turn from the land-service to the sea-service of the country, did not by any means incapacitate a man from achieving considerable distinction as a leader of seamen. It is otherwise now. That which is done in the forces of other nations compels us to provide ourselves with a body of men, whose sole profession shall be that of the naval officer. The purely scientific side of the art of war by sea is perpetually presenting itself to us under new aspects. The

* Our 'Reserves of Seamen,' p. 3.

life of our officers in the present day must be devoted to mastering those subjects, without a knowledge of which we should soon sink below the level of efficiency which it is absolutely necessary we should maintain.

We have already pointed out how urgently needed is a proper supply of persons to officer the reserves of seamen which we have either already enrolled, or which it is desirable should be enrolled. The deficiency of suitable people available for the performance of these extremely important functions would be intensely aggravated by any considerable reduction of the number of officers of the regular service. These gentlemen must be the central personages about whom our reserve forces, when required for service, would be collected. If, therefore, the expansion, which no one can doubt our regular navy during a war would have to undergo, be seriously checked by the paucity of professional officers, it is impossible to deny that the officering of our reserves would be in a less satisfactory state than ever. Did we, as has been above suggested that we ought, regularly watch the progress of events in foreign countries, we might perhaps profit by the experience which has there been gained. Two great nations are at this moment occupied in introducing important reforms into the organization of their vast military power. These nations are Germany and Russia; two peoples so widely distinguished from each other by natural characteristics, and by the stage of civilization respectively attained by each, that the space between them may be not unjustly taken to include the place of all the other civilized nations of Europe. Yet both have found their efforts to improve their vast military organization greatly impeded by the difficulty—in the case of Russia, perhaps, the impossibility—of finding officers sufficient for the requirements of their enormous reserves. Prussia had already experienced the inconvenience of being without a sufficiently educated (in the technicalities of the military profession, that is) body of officers for her reserve armies. Anyone who, during the late contest with France, saw anything of the German forces, must have been struck by the marked difference between the officers of the *Landwehr* and those of the regular army. So considerable is the deficiency in the number of officers which the Russian Government will be in a position to attach to its reserves, that, in estimating the latter at their true amount, we are quite justified in deducting a large fraction from their imposing total. Lest it may be said that these arguments apply only to the case

of land forces, and that the question assumes a different aspect when a navy is concerned, we are ready with a case in point. During the great American civil war the small navy of the Union was increased, numerically, to about six times its original strength. The result was an extreme difficulty in properly officering it. The United States' Government had recourse to the only expedient of which it could avail itself—it brought in as 'volunteer officers' a large number of persons who had belonged to the mercantile marine. With some brilliant exceptions, certainly, these officers did not on the whole contribute to either the efficiency or the credit of the service; and a system of weeding them out, till eventually few were left, began almost contemporaneously with their first appointment.

These considerations seem to amply justify the conclusion that, if the British Navy be intended to ever adequately support the strain of war, the number of its officers must exceed largely that which is found sufficient for the discharge of its duties during peace. This conclusion does not necessarily import that the position of the officers upon the half-pay list should remain what it is. On the contrary, in the interests of the service and the country, as well as of the officers themselves, it is of prime necessity that their condition should be greatly ameliorated. 'The miserable scale of their remuneration,' as Mr. Brassey* calls it, should be speedily revised. Fixed long ago at a figure, which in view of the great relative depreciation of money in the interval, is now a painfully low one, it is simply insufficient to maintain those, who are dependent upon the service, not so much in comfort as in decency. The conditions of his profession render it essential that a naval officer should begin to serve at an almost tender age, (on an average that of thirteen years), and that, till he has passed the first period of actual manhood, he should be continuously employed in duties which, in their arduous nature and unremitting continuance, are not even approached by those of any other branch of the public service. From his early 'teens' up to five or six-and-twenty, the naval officer is on duty literally both night and day. To cast him adrift for, perhaps, years at that period on a pittance, which, all things included, is less than his servant whilst he is afloat receives, is not only cruel, it is impolitic. Of course it is very desirable that, in these days of change and rapid movement in all that relates to the art of war, no officers should be kept away from the active discharge of

* 'Our Reserves of Seamen,' p. 29.

their professional duties for any long period. There should, therefore, be a somewhat frequent interchange between the sets of officers afloat and those not actually serving. With this object the duration of 'periods of service' should undergo modifications dictated by the necessities of the time. At present, this duration remains on the scale on which it was fixed many years ago in days when it was difficult to find officers enough. The principle of modification has been, to a certain extent, sanctioned; but its extension to all but exceptional positions, should no longer be delayed.

The increased attention paid of late to systematic organization and training of the *personnel* has led to some very remarkable changes in the condition of the service. A considerable body of officers and men is constantly employed in instructing other officers and men and preparing them for the efficient discharge of their duties at sea. The result is that larger numbers are engaged in work which necessitates a fixed residence at the naval ports, on board vessels described in professional phraseology as 'harbour ships.' Lengthened service in harbour it has been ever a meritorious principle of the British navy to regard with an almost jealous suspicion. It has never been forgotten that long periods passed in stationary vessels in smooth tidal waters—periods during which the advantages of active service are experienced without any of its hardships, have an almost irresistible tendency to unfit people for the sterner realities of service at sea. Few persons will be disposed to liken Portsmouth or Sheerness to that Campanian Capua, the luxury of which was more inimical to Hannibal's army than the warriors of Rome; but compared with the West Coast of Africa, the Mozambique, or the China Seas, either of the two places is a very Sybaris. Those who retain the conventional idea of the British tar as a free-handed, jovial fellow of intemperate habits, expressing his opinions in a dialect peculiar to his class, would be somewhat astonished were they to study the species in its usual resorts. The first and most striking thing, probably, on a visit to a naval port would be the apparent absence of sailors from the place. Did the visitor happen to be acquainted with any naval officers he would hardly help remarking the frequency with which his friends received and replied to the salutes of numerous respectable-looking men of particularly fine *physique*, clad in the 'tweeds' and broad-cloth of ordinary civilian costume. If his interest were sufficiently excited to inquire, it is likely that he would learn with surprise that these demure-looking citizens belonged

to the crews of the ships in port, enjoying the freedom of their frequent leave of absence on shore. Further inquiries might elicit the information that a large proportion of these men are husbands and fathers of families, and not a few of them entitled to the exercise of the electoral privilege under the 'Lodger Franchise' provisions of the latest 'Representation of the People Act.' He would naturally rejoice at the vast improvement that must have taken place in the *morale* of British seamen; though he might be forgiven for doubting the advantageous nature of the fact that, in most instances, not more than two-thirds of the service of the men is passed on board vessels, also remaining a considerable time in harbour, which are entitled to the technical appellation of 'sea-going.' This state of things is the natural out-growth of recent developments of naval affairs, and is, to a great extent, a necessary concomitant of improved organization and more elaborate training; but few will doubt that the tendency of service in the navy to assume these conditions should be carefully checked and kept in hand. The pages of this *Review* are not likely to become a vehicle for depreciating the moral elevation of seamen, or of any other class of men; but we may be permitted to contend that the naval requirements of the country demand a supply of enterprising and active seamen, trained in long periods passed actually at sea, rather than crews largely composed of ratepayers and electors of indubitable respectability. The naval officer and the seaman, to adopt the phrase approved by Admiral Jurien de la Gravière, 'are not formed in harbour, but at sea.'

The recent changes or improvements in modern naval construction and modern naval armaments have completely revolutionized the art of naval tactics. So essentially different are all the conditions of modern naval warfare from those in existence at previous periods of our history, that we are quite unable to draw from former experience any beyond the merest inferences, which might guide our conduct in future conflicts. The revolution in the art of tactics wrought by the general introduction of steam propulsion is nothing short of stupendous; whilst the protective armour of our modern ships, the enormous guns mounted on board them, and the use of torpedoes against which they would have to guard are innovations which greatly complicate the problem—how to conduct an action at sea. In addition to this, naval gunnery, which in our former wars was in a very rudimentary condition, has now been elevated to the rank of

a science; and the skill and training of our gunners have introduced into the consideration of tactical methods a new element, the importance of which has to be carefully estimated: with what great care will be apparent when we reflect that a single, well-directed shell from one of our heavy guns is able to send a powerful ship to the bottom in a few minutes. The whole aspect of a naval battle is completely changed since the days when Rodney, Howe, St. Vincent, or Nelson, led our fleets to victory.

Those who have any acquaintance with the history of our great naval actions will very likely have been struck by the fact that the whole end of tactics was to get fleets or ships into action. Once properly placed for fighting it was a recognised principle of the art that all manœuvring should come to an end. Hours, sometimes even days, were spent in the endeavour of one side or the other to close with the foe. This preliminary period was usually one of pure manœuvring, and little firing took place till it was brought to an end. In the British navy indeed, before the close of its heroic epoch when victory and action had become almost synonymous terms, it began to be looked upon as opposed to the laws of maritime chivalry to fire upon opponents before getting 'into station.' The great tactical laws which had been first acted upon by the Englishman, Rodney, and the Frenchman, De Suffren, and so gloriously obeyed by our leaders in the French revolutionary war, were rather developments of, than innovations on the old system of tactics, dating from the seventeenth century. The main point was to bring the enemy to close action. 'Engage the enemy as closely as possible,' is a signal which till very recently held a prominent place in our signal-book. Nelson, after exhausting his power of explaining what each ship of his fleet would be expected to do, summed up the whole *corpus* of tactical law in the maxim that, 'no captain could do very wrong who placed his ship alongside an enemy.'

Such being the case, the duty of the tactician ended as soon as the battle had fairly begun. All that those chiefs who aspired to be masters of tactics felt called upon to do was to place their squadrons in such positions as would render the valour of their crews of more avail. The historian of the battle tells us how, on 'the glorious 1st of June,' when the ships were well placed for beginning the combat, Lord Howe 'emphatically' closed his signal-book. Our illustrious chiefs were right; they exactly appreciated the requirements of the time. In fleets of sailing vessels, to which the wind

alone served as a propelling power, a warm action meant, as a rule, the destruction of all faculty of movement, and consequently of manœuvring. The ancient instincts of our race were allowed to have free play. An admiral was not to be debarred from sharing in the 'fierce joy and rapture of the fight,' simply because he exercised a wide command. Having done all that could be done as a tactician, he claimed his right to become a combatant. What the historian Tacitus has told us was a characteristic of our German forefathers, before they quitted their ancient seats, was strikingly exemplified in the conduct of our great naval chiefs:—'Et duces exemplo potius quam imperio, si prompti, si conspicui, si ante aciem agunt, admiratione præsent.*' At Trafalgar, Nelson had been urged by those who dreaded the consequences of his fearless exposure of himself, to allow some other vessel to precede his own in the action. He gave permission for the *Temeraire* to go ahead of him; but, resolving to defeat his own order, 'he crowded more sail on the *Victory*, and maintained his place.' Seeing Collingwood in the *Royal Sovereign*, pressing to the front, he said to Blackwood, 'See how that noble fellow, Collingwood, takes his ship into action. How I envy him!' Whilst on his part Collingwood exclaimed, 'What would Nelson give to be here!' Mr. Freeman might recognise a survival of the customs, or the spirit of our more remote Aryan kinsmen, who so long did battle in the Troad, in the remark of Rodney, as he pushed on to De Grasse's ship, 'Now comes the fight for the body of Patroclus.'

A very short reflection on these specimens of the old mode of conducting sea-fights should convince us how completely things are changed now. With steam as the propelling agent, when once a ship has lost her power of motion she is lost herself. The 'ram,' or the 'sea-torpedo,' would soon give a very complete account of her; whilst to lie alongside an enemy would be to court certain destruction. If ever battles are to be again fought at sea, real manœuvring will begin and end contemporaneously with the fighting. An admiral who desires to contribute to the victory will have to look after his fleet, and keep it in hand till the end. Actions will consist of a series of rapid manœuvres, and the combat will be dominated throughout by the tactician. Everybody who thinks on the matter at all admits that such must be the case. Yet, strange, sadly strange to say, scarcely an attempt has

* Tacitus, *German*. cap. 7.

been made to develop, or provide for a system of tactics suitable to the present condition of affairs. The great practice in evolutionary movements, which alone can ensure a proper development of tactical skill, is a thing almost unknown; though, entering as we are on a new domain of tactics, it is difficult to imagine anything more indispensable to efficiency. Whilst public interest is lavished on all that concerns our gallant, but comparatively diminutive army, scarcely a thought is bestowed on this essential requirement of the greatest navy in the world. Not a week passes without the attention of the public being called by some influential print to the advantages, or disadvantages of the 'half-battalion system,' or the new 'skirmishing formation for infantry;' whilst readers and journalists are content to leave the tactical system of the British navy where it was left by Rodney, or by Nelson.

Practice in tactical movements is one of the most important of our naval requirements, and sad indeed may be the fate of that great fleet which we have constructed at so much cost and with such great pains, if we are not soon infinitely more advanced in the knowledge of them than we are now. As our French admiral says:—

'The fleet which has the greatest acquaintance with tactical manœuvres will possess a great element of success in the day of battle.

'When two fleets meet at sea, when the two lines hurling one against the other have been mutually penetrated, the action can only be continued by reversing the course previously taken. This manœuvre, which will be almost inevitable, is of such a nature as to cause more than one involuntary collision between ships of the same fleet; the homogeneous composition of the fleet and similarity in the circles of turning will diminish these risks; skill in combined movements will make them disappear altogether. It is not in the practice of regular evolutions and in the execution of geometric figures that proof is given of a trained and skilful eye. The practice which can alone develop the nerve required for most of the manœuvres which will be carried out on the day of actual combat is very different. Neither isolated cruises, nor the endeavouring to represent squadrons by a collection of despatch vessels and gunboats provide a sufficient school for this most difficult art. An officer must learn how to handle in a very small space masses of 6,000 or 7,000 tons, which cannot come into collision without mutual destruction; he must nerve himself to behold unmoved the imminence of the most terrible catastrophes; he must be accustomed to preserve a close order both day and night; to know how to group, how to extend, sometimes presenting a compact mass, at others successive echelons.'—*La Marine d'Aujourd'hui*, chap. xv.

It would be difficult to paint a picture that would present a more striking contrast to the method of former sea-fights than this.

We have now completed our enumeration of the more pressing of the naval requirements of the country. Others indeed, there are, of perhaps equal importance, to which we have thought it not becoming to allude. The greatest of all, which we have hinted at rather than specified above, is the distressing apathy, on all naval matters, of the public mind. If we pride ourselves on our insular position, and congratulate ourselves on the security it provides, we should do well, for the sake of our very existence, to remember its drawbacks and its dangers. Our gallant little army may be called upon to fight in maintenance of our national honour, or our national prestige; but the conditions of our national existence are bound up in the necessity of keeping in the proper state of efficiency the greatest navy in the world. For centuries our military force has never been sufficient to make *la grande guerre* alone. It is the honour, and the pride of the British army that it has often had to infuse its spirit into backward or half-hearted allies. Still much of the credit of its deeds will continue to be attributed, by the world in general, to the auxiliaries who have strengthened, or sometimes, perhaps, even weakened its line. But the triumphs of the navy, for generations, have been almost exclusively national; and Great Britain has achieved and maintained the empire of the sea against the maritime world in arms. It is a title too glorious to neglect; it is an appanage far too valuable to despise. For years past those who direct its counsels, and those who discharge its internal duties have striven earnestly to make the navy worthy of the high place it is called upon to fill; but none the less do they feel, and feel acutely, the chill indifference of their countrymen to the concerns of that service 'upon which,'—to quote the preamble of an old Act of Parliament passed for its governance,—'the wealth, honour, and prosperity of these kingdoms do chiefly depend.'

ART. IV.—*Mr. Motley's New Historical Work.*

The Life and Death of John of Barneveld, Advocate of Holland. By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY, D.C.L., LL.D. John Murray.

THESE volumes connect two great periods, one of which has been described by the au-

thor with no ordinary brilliancy and research, and the other of which, we sincerely hope, will be illustrated by his masterly pen. In his history of the 'Rise of the Dutch Republic,' and of the fortunes of the 'United Netherlands,' Mr. Motley has traced the stirring scenes of that fiercest struggle of the Reformation, in which Protestantism, behind the dykes of Holland, defied the power of despotism and Rome; and he has promised to give us in a future work an account of that still more terrible contest which terminated only in the Peace of Westphalia, having desolated Germany for a whole generation. The volumes before us, which embrace the time between the Truce of 1609 and the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, thus carry on Mr. Motley's narrative from the point where he last parted from us to that from which he will start again; and though they are a biography in name, they may not unfitly be called a history of the important era which forms their subject.

We must candidly own that though this book is in many respects of great merit, and has been read with no little avidity, it is less fascinating than its predecessors, and has not so completely won our sympathy. In the first place, Mr. Motley, we think, has made a mistake in giving it its present title; and by designating it as a 'Life of John of Barneveld,' and making that personage, eminent as he was, the leading actor on the stage of events, he has rather exaggerated his real part, and not been wholly in accord with history. In the second place, Mr. Motley's theme is less suited to his descriptive genius than many episodes of his former works; there was no place on the artist's canvas for such grand and pathetic pictures as the siege of Antwerp, the fate of the Armada, the battle of Nieuport, and the death of Philip II.; and Mr. Motley's powers are not at their best when engaged in the task of laying bare the game of diplomacy and intrigue, which necessarily fills a large part of his narrative. Besides, Mr. Motley, in our judgment, has not a thorough and keen perception of the forces which ruled the world at this epoch; he is too prone to estimate the religious passions and movements of the seventeenth century by the liberal standard of the nineteenth; and this tendency has more than once made him see facts in an incorrect way, and has led him to some unsound conclusions. The general result is that in these pages, he has made the Netherlands and their illustrious citizen rather more prominent than they ought to have been; that he seems to display less graphic skill than was evident in his first histories; that some of his opinions must be received

with caution; and that on the whole, this biography will hardly hold as high a rank as his earlier writings. Notwithstanding drawbacks like these, however, we give a hearty welcome to these volumes, and gladly acknowledge their many excellences. As usual, Mr. Motley's industry is praiseworthy in the highest degree; and if his point of view is not always accurate, it may be truly said that he has thrown a flood of light on the politics and affairs of Europe during the first part of the seventeenth century, which gives his book an enduring value. Here and there, too, when an occasion offers, we find in these volumes fine specimens of his remarkable powers of description; and his picture of Barneveld's life and character, if in some particulars perhaps too flattering, is, upon the whole, a masterly portrait. He has also, we think, finally set at rest some disputed passages of this period, of importance to the historical student; and he has brought out fully some curious points in the contemporary annals of courts and cabinets, which hitherto had been hardly perceived. On the whole, although we should not wish to measure his great reputation by this book, it is not the less one of conspicuous merit.

Mr. Motley's volumes begin with a sketch of the state of Europe in 1609—the period when a short-lived peace between Spain and the Dutch Commonwealth put an end for the moment to the open war between Catholicism and the Reformation, which had ravaged the Continent for half a century. This account is able, and often striking; but, in his estimate of the relative strength and importance of the powers on the stage, we are disposed to think that Mr. Motley gives rather too high a place to the seven small provinces which, at last emancipated from the yoke of Philip, had just acquired the rank of a nation. Undoubtedly, however, the United Netherlands held at this juncture a great position; and probably in none of the States of Europe had the forces which, in the course of time were to assure liberty and to baffle Rome, a more active and steady vitality. Neither the fell tyranny of many years, nor the genius of Parma and his conquering sword, nor treachery at home and contempt abroad, had quelled the spirit of the dauntless race which, almost unaided, had confronted the might of Spain, during more than a generation of man, in a crusade for freedom and the Reformed faith; and, at last, contrary to all ordinary beliefs, the young Republic had emerged triumphant from the long, murderous, and world-renowned struggle. Strange to say too, such had been the magic of compara-

tive liberty in the nascent state, and such the influence of its freed commerce, that the Commonwealth had not suffered from the havoc of war so much as might have been supposed; and, contrasted with its late huge antagonist, it formed a flourishing and strong society, full of the promise of expanding greatness. The army of the United Provinces was one of the best appointed in Europe; their fleets were supreme in many seas, the sceptre of the ocean having passed from Spain, and having not yet fallen into the hand of England; and their wealth, fed by a world-wide trade, and a skill in husbandry elsewhere unknown, made them great in peace and powerful in war. In considering, too, the position in the European family held by the Republic, we must recollect that the great empires of the present day had then no existence; and though Mr. Motley has, perhaps, overrated the importance of that league of petty States, seated among the swamps of the Rhine and the Meuse, the following remark is perfectly true :—

‘To feel how a little confederacy of seven provinces, loosely tied together by an ill-defined treaty, could hold so prominent and often so controlling a place in the European system of the seventeenth century, we must remember that there was then no Germany, no Russia, no Italy, no United States of America, scarcely even a Great Britain in the sense which belongs to that mighty empire now. . . . Both Spain and France could dispose of somewhat larger resources absolutely, although not relatively, than the Seven Provinces, while at least trebling them in population. The yearly revenue of Spain, after deduction of its pledged resources, was perhaps equal to a million sterling; and that of France, with the same reservation, was about as much. England had hardly been able to levy and make up a yearly income of more than £600,000 or £700,000 at the end of Elizabeth’s reign or in the first years of James, while the Netherlands had often proved themselves capable of furnishing annually ten or twelve millions of florins, which would be the equivalent of nearly a million sterling. The yearly revenues of the whole monarchy of the imperial house of Hapsburg can scarcely be stated at a higher figure than £350,000. Thus the political game—for it was a game—was by no means a desperate one for the Netherlands, nor the resources of the various players so unequally distributed as at first sight it might appear.’

At this juncture the leading spirits of the Commonwealth were two eminent men, whose future dissensions were at no distant date to prove a misfortune to their country, but who, at present, were apparently friends, and had heartily co-operated during many years in the noble task of national libera-

tion. John of Barneveld, the hero of Mr. Motley’s book, had been one of the master workers who had built up the fabric of the Republic’s greatness; having served the States in the field in youth, he had been in manhood and age their trustiest counsellor, and had directed the arduous negotiations by which, churlishly aided by England and France, they had at last defeated the policy of Spain, and extorted peace from her humbled ruler; and he now stood conspicuous on the stage, one of the ablest and oldest statesmen of the time, with a reputation that spread through Europe. This great citizen, though in rank only a chief magistrate of the province of Holland, was really the foreign and home minister of the Commonwealth of the Seven States; and, having just completed the peace of 1609, he had attained the highest pinnacle of fame. Profound, sagacious, moderate, wise, and a lover of his country in the truest sense, he was in many respects an illustrious statesman; but, bred a lawyer, he had a lawyer’s reverence for precedent and existing rights; a temperate Christian, he had little sympathy with the fanaticism of a religious age; and it might thus be questioned whether, in a time of change, he might not prove too stiffly conservative and tenacious of ancient forms and ways, and whether in the mortal strife of Protestantism and Rome he might not appear lukewarm to men of stern and passionate convictions. Mr. Motley has hardly brought out enough this peculiarity of Barneveld’s character; but he thus graphically draws his portrait, and indicates his intellectual gifts :—

‘Barneveld was tall and majestic of presence, with large, quadrangular face, austere, blue eyes looking authority and command, a vast forehead, and a grizzled beard. Of fluent and convincing eloquence with tongue and pen, having the power of saying much in few words, he cared much more for the substance than the graces of composition. . .

The truth, in shortest, about matters of importance was enough for him; but the world in general, and especially the world of posterity, cares much for style. . . . Although a ripe scholar, he rarely wrote in Latin, and not often in French. His ambition was to do his work thoroughly, according to his view of duty, and to ask God’s blessing upon it without craving overmuch the applause of men.’

The second pillar of the rising Commonwealth was Maurice, son of William the Silent, the ‘sapling which had become a tree,’ the warrior to whom had fallen the heritage of the ability and the fortune of Parma, and whose good sword had gone far to decide the contest with Spain on the field of Nieu-

port. The prince, conscious of great powers, but not even in name sovereign, was the idol of the lower orders in the States; and it might even now be feared whether he might not make use of popular passion to break down the framework of class and patrician privilege which formed the liberties of the Republic, and in which the multitude had no part. Mr. Motley has thus brilliantly retraced the lineaments of this great, but not scrupulous soldier:—

‘He was now in the full flower of his strength and his fame, in his forty-second year, and of a noble and martial presence. The face, although unquestionably handsome, offered a sharp contrast within itself; the upper half all intellect, the lower quite sensual. Fair hair growing thin, but hardly tinged with grey, a bright, cheerful, and thoughtful forehead, large hazel eyes within a singularly large orbit of brow; a straight, thin, slightly aquiline, well-cut nose;—such features were at open variance with the broad, thick-lipped, sensual mouth, the heavy pendant jowl, the sparse beard on the glistening cheek, and the moleskin like moustachio and chin tuft. Still, upon the whole, it was a face and figure which gave the world assurance of a man and a commander of men. Power and intelligence were stamped upon him from his birth.’

As yet, however, the seeds of disunion, which were to attain so evil a growth, were hardly apparent in the Commonwealth, and the United Netherlands stood before the world bright with the glory of their recent triumph. The very existence of the Republic made it a deadly enemy of Rome and Spain; and if it hardly ranked as one of the greatest powers, it certainly was the most earnest champion of Protestantism in its strife with the ancient faith, and all that was implied in Catholic domination. We certainly agree with what Mr. Motley has eloquently said in a former work:—

‘The mass, slow-moving but apparently irresistible, of Spanish and Papistical absolutism was gradually closing over Christendom. The Netherlands were the wedge by which alone the solid bulk could be riven asunder. It was the cause of German, of French, of English liberty, for which the Provinces were contending. . . . It was inevitable that a race thus invigorated by the ocean, cradled to freedom by their conflicts with its power, and hardened almost to invincibility by their struggle against human despotism, should be foremost among the nations in the development of political, religious, and commercial freedom.’

The natural allies of the United Provinces were France, England, and the collection of princes who formed the Protestant League of Germany. France which, as so often has

been the case with that gifted and energetic people, had risen suddenly, as it were, from her ashes under the rule of Henry IV. and Sully, had now more than gained her old place in Europe; England, with Scotland already annexed, and Ireland subjugated by Carew and Mountjoy, seemed more powerful than she had ever been; and even the Protestant States of Germany had decidedly advanced in resources and wealth since their long contest with Charles V. In our judgment the essential force of France, and, in a lesser degree, of England, was, at this period, very much greater than that of the new-formed Republic; and had these monarchies really united with the Netherlands and the German Protestants in steadily opposing Romish aggression, the despotism of the house of Austria would not have achieved its subsequent triumphs, and Catholicism would never have again been ascendant beyond the Alps and the Pyrenees. It must be remembered that, at this time, Bohemia was for the most part Protestant, and that the Reformation had deeply leavened Hungary and all Germany south of the Maine, Northern Germany being almost wholly Protestant; and it is difficult to doubt that a sincere league of the Powers that favoured the Protestant cause would have prevented the Thirty Years’ War, put an end to the boasted Catholic revival, and made three-fourths of the Continent Protestant. But though Henry IV., like a true French statesman, was opposed to Rome and the house of Austria, he ruled a country Catholic in the main, and deeply penetrated by Spanish influences; he was thwarted by his queen and his ministers, and suspected by the German princes on the Rhine of harbouring ambitious designs against them; and thus his policy, though really Protestant, was less decided than it might have been, and was not unreservedly on the Protestant side. The difficult position of Henry IV. is thus faithfully described by Mr. Motley:—

‘There is something pathetic, in spite of the censure which much of his private life at this period provokes, in the isolation which now seemed his lot. Deceived and hated by his wife and his mistresses, who were conspiring with each other and with his ministers, not only against his policy, but against his life; with a vile Italian adventurer dishonouring his household, entirely dominating the Queen, counteracting the royal measures, secretly corresponding, by assumed authority, with Spain, in direct violation of the king’s instructions to his ambassadors, and gorging himself with wealth and offices at the expense of everything respectable in France; surrounded by a pack of malignant and greedy nobles, who begrudged him his

fame, his authority, his independence; without a home, and almost without a friend.'

Still, as long as Henry sate on his throne, France naturally inclined towards the Reformed side, and was the firmest ally of the United Netherlands.

'The alliance between the Netherlands and France, notwithstanding occasional traces of caprice and flaws of personal jealousy, was on the whole sincere, for it was founded on the surest foundation of international friendship, the self-interest of each. Henry, although boasting of having bought Paris with a mass, knew as well as his worst enemy that in that bargain he had never purchased the confidence of the ancient church, on whose bosom he had flung himself with so much dramatic pomp. . . . After all, he was still the chief-tain of the Protestant Union, and, although Eldest Son of the Church, was the bitter antagonist of the League, and the worst foe to the House of Austria.'

England, at this juncture, was almost in eclipse; and the Island Power which, under Elizabeth, had, notwithstanding occasional backslidings, been the bulwark of the Reformed cause, was, in the hands of an incapable ruler, abandoning her true and lofty position. Though the glory of 1588, and of the ruin of the boasted Armada, was still fresh in the minds of men, and though James I. possessed more power than any prince of the house of Tudor, England had ceased to be what she had been; and the king, inclining towards Spain and Rome disliked the Netherlands, distrusted France, and had no sympathy with Protestant Europe. Mr. Motley thus justly describes the character and attitude of the royal pedant, who, like all the kings of the Stuart line, had an essentially despotic and anti-Protestant nature:—

'Though placed by circumstances in the position of ally to the Netherlands and enemy to Spain, James hated the Netherlands and adored Spain. His first thought on escaping the general destruction in which the Gunpowder Plot was to have involved himself and family, and all the principal personages of the realm, seems to have been to exculpate Spain from participation in the crime. . . . James loathed nothing so much as a Puritan. A Catholic at heart, he would have been the warmest ally of the League had he only been permitted to be Pope of Great Britain. . . . As a king he spent his reign—so much of it as could be spared from gourmandizing, drunkenness, dalliance with handsome minions of his own sex, and theological pursuits—in rescuing the crown from dependence on Parliament; in straining to the utmost the royal prerogative; in substituting proclamations for statutes; in doing everything in his power, in short, to smooth the path for his successor to the scaffold. As fa-

ther of a family he consecrated many years of his life to the wondrous delusion of the Spanish marriages. . . . With such a man, frivolous, pedantic, conceited, and licentious, the earnest statesmen of Holland were forced into close alliance.'

As for the German princes on the Protestant side, their States were separated from each other, and, individually, were too small to assume to any substantial power. Nothing in fact was more unfortunate than the impotence of disunited Germany, in the main attached to the Reformation, but weak, divided, and overshadowed by the sovereignty of the house of Austria, which, though less formidable than it seemed to be, had the majesty and renown of ancient empire. We quote Mr. Motley's description of Germany at this time:—

'Perhaps the very worst polity ever devised by human perverseness was the system under which the great German race was then writhing and groaning. A mad world with a lunatic to govern it; a democracy of many princes, little and big, fighting amongst each other, and falling into daily changing combinations as some masterly or mischievous hand whirled the kaleidoscope; drinking Rhenish wine by hogsheads and beer by the tun; robbing churches, dictating creeds to their subjects, and breaking all the commandments themselves; a people at the bottom dimly striving towards religious freedom and political life out of abject social, ecclesiastical, and political serfdom, and perhaps even then dumbly feeling within its veins, with that prophetic instinct which never abandons great races, a far distant and magnificent future of national unity and imperial splendour, the very reverse of the confusion which was then the hideous present.'

The forces of Protestantism at this moment were thus ill-united or crossed each other there was nothing like a cordial confederacy against Rome and her secular allies; and Europe was long to rue the consequences. Opposed to France and the nominal Protestant League were Spain and Austria, under the same dynasty, backed by the still formidable power of Rome; but though the two great Catholic monarchies appeared to possess immense strength, this was, in a great degree, illusory. Spain was rapidly falling into the decay from which she has never since emerged:—

'Nothing could be more deplorable than the internal condition of the country which claimed to be mistress of the world, and still aspired to universal monarchy. It had made peace because it could no longer furnish funds for war. The French ambassador, Barante, returning from Madrid, informed his sovereign that he had often seen officers in the army prostrating themselves on their knees in

the streets before their sovereign as he went to mass, and imploring him for payment of their salaries, or at least an alms to save them from starving, and always imploring in vain.'

As head of the Empire, the Austrian monarchy was soon to exhibit imposing power; but just now it was in the nerveless hands of the indolent, dull, and careless Rudolph, and its influence was not really great. This is Mr. Motley's sketch of the empire:—

'It would be difficult to depict anything more precisely what an emperor in these portentous times should not be. He collected works of art of many kinds—pictures, statues, gems. He passed his days in his galleries, contemplating in solitary grandeur these treasures, or in his stables, admiring a numerous stud of horses which he never drove or rode. Ambassadors and ministers of State disguised themselves as grooms and stable-boys to obtain accidental glimpses of a sovereign who rarely granted audiences. . . . A red-faced, heavy-jowled, bald-headed, somewhat goggle-eyed old gentleman, Rudolph did his best to lead the life of a hermit, and escape the cares of royalty.'

The forces of the antagonist powers were thus more nearly equal than they would seem to be, on a superficial glance at the map of Europe; and, indeed, in our judgment, those of the Protestant faith decidedly preponderated, though this is hardly the common opinion. Catholicism, however, in one respect had a marked advantage over its adversary; it opposed the unity of an ancient religion to the divisions of many new beliefs, and the Catholic powers were on the whole combined, while the Protestant were in a state of disunion. This is well put by Mr. Motley:—

'It has often been considered amazing that Protestantism having accomplished so much should have fallen backwards so soon, and yielded almost undisputed sway in vast regions to the long dominant Church. But in truth there is nothing surprising in it. Catholicism was, and remained, a unit while its opponents were eventually broken up into hundreds of warring and politically impotent organizations.'

Such was the menacing state of Europe—a general religious strife continuing through a momentary pause of open war, and dividing Christendom into opposite camps—when, as often happens at such conjunctures, an incident, not in itself important, accelerated the approach of the impending conflict. The truce between Spain and the United Provinces was hardly more than a few weeks old, when the death of John William Duke of Cleves caused claims to arise to his succession, which quickened the elements of wide-spread discord. How the

not very large and wealthy possessions of this obscure potentate were, at this crisis, an object of no ordinary moment to the opposing powers which divided Europe, is thus well described by Mr. Motley:—

'The inheritance was of vital importance to the world. It was an apple of discord thrown directly between the two rival camps into which Christendom was divided. The duchies of Cleve, Berg, and Jülich, and the Counties and Lordships of Mark, Ravensberg, and Ravenstein, formed a triangle, political and geographical, closely wedged between Catholicism and Protestantism, and between France, the United Provinces, Belgium, and Germany. Should it fall into Catholic hands, the Netherlands were lost, trampled upon in every corner, hedged in on all sides, with the House of Austria governing the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt. It was vital to them to exclude the Empire from the great historic river which seemed destined to form the perpetual frontier of jealous powers and rival creeds. Should it fall into heretic hands, the States were vastly strengthened, the Archduke Albert isolated and cut off from the protection of Spain and of the empire.'

The rival pretenders to this debateable land were the house of Austria, which, as head of the empire, claimed the Duchies as an escheated fief, and the Count Palatine, of Neuburg, and Frederic of Brandenburg, the representative of the Dukes of Prussia. The success, therefore, of the imperial claimant would have made Catholicism dominant on the Rhine, while that of Brandenburg would have equally been a decided gain to the Protestant cause, and even that of Neuburg, though a Catholic prince, would have been less distasteful to the Protestant powers than that of a successor of Charles V. The first step was taken by the house of Austria, and Leopold, brother of Ferdinand of Gratz,—a name of fearful import in after years—having taken possession of the city of Jülich, in the name of his imperial kinsman, the rulers of the United Netherlands, and the Protestant princes of Northern Germany, turned to Henry IV. to oppose this aggression. This conduct proves to us clearly enough who, in the opinion of Protestant Europe, was the real leader of the Protestant cause; but it should be added that, if the King of France possessed the influence of superior power, the most earnest advocate of a decided policy was Barneveld, who, at this moment, acted with his wonted ability and vigour. This great statesman, in truth, was the sagacious brain of the Protestant powers; and though Henry IV. was equally resolved to curb the ambition of the house of Austria,

and to keep Catholicism within due bounds, his conduct was less simple-minded and plain, and he was beset by influences which did not molest the calm and energetic Dutch politician. Still, notwithstanding the opposition he met from the Romanist junta at his council, the maledictions of the Vatican curia, and the conspiracy against him in his own palace, there can be no doubt that Henry IV. fell in cordially with Barneveld's views, and he had decided by the end of 1609 to give active support to the Protestant side, and to make the affair of the Cleves succession an occasion for carrying out the design of aggrandising France and putting an end to the domination of Austria and Spain, which had been the object of his life for years. That great project, due perhaps chiefly to the genius and religious zeal of Sully, is thus fairly set forth by Mr. Motley, divested of the imaginary colours which have thrown a fictitious halo around it:—

‘Scarcely an afternoon passed that the king did not make his appearance at the Arsenal, Sully’s residence, and walk up and down the garden with him for hours, discussing the great project of which his brain was full. This great project was to crush forever the power of the Austrian house; to drive Spain back into her own limits, putting an end to her projects for universal monarchy, and taking the Imperial crown from the House of Hapsburg. By thus breaking up the mighty cousinship which, with the aid of Rome, overshadowed Germany and the two peninsulas, besides governing the greater part of both the Indies, he meant to bring France into the preponderant position over Christendom which he believed to be her due.’

After negotiations, in which Barneveld was the master-spirit of the Protestant States, the preparations of Henry were complete; and we entirely agree with Mr. Motley, that it is absurd to ascribe them to anything but a settled resolve on the part of the king, though, as we shall see, his far-sighted policy was mixed up with a curious romance. By the spring of 1610 Henry was ready to take the field, in alliance with the Netherlands and the German Protestants, in a general attack on Austria and Spain; and France, with her strength restored by Sully, was about to display the military power which, in after years, was to become so formidable:—

‘The plan of assault upon Spanish power was to be threefold. The king himself, at the head of 35,000 men, supported by Prince Maurice, and the States’ force, amounting to at least 14,000, would move to the Rhine and seize the Duchies. The Duke de la Force would command the army of the Pyrenees, and act in concert with the Moors of Spain,

who, roused to frenzy by their expulsion from the kingdom, could be relied on for a revolt, or at least a more vigorous diversion. Thirdly, a treaty with the Duke of Savoy, by which Henry accorded his daughter to the Duke’s eldest son, the Prince of Piedmont, a gift of 100,000 crowns, and a monthly pension during the war of 50,000 crowns, was secretly concluded. Early in the spring, the duke was to take the field with at least 10,000 foot and 1,200 horse, supported by a French army of 12,000 to 15,000 men, under the experienced Marshal De Leadiguieres. These forces were to operate against the duchy of Milan, with the intention of driving the Spaniards out of that rich possession, which the Duke of Savoy claimed for himself, and of assuring to Henry the dictatorship of Italy.’

This is Mr. Motley’s picture of Sully, the chief director of Henry’s policy, and, though not generally so esteemed in France, not inferior to Richelieu as a statesman:—

‘There was one man who was truer to Henry than Henry had been to himself. The haughty, defiant, austere grandee, brave soldier, sagacious statesman, thrifty financier, against whom the poisoned arrows of religious hatred, envious ambition, and petty court intrigue were daily directed, who watched grimly over the exchequer confided to him, which was daily growing fuller, in spite of the cormorants who trembled at his frown; hard worker, good hater, conscientious politician, who filled his own coffers without dishonesty, and those of the State without tyranny; unsociable, arrogant, pious, very avaricious, and inordinately vain, Maximilian de Béthune, Duke of Sully, loved and respected Henry as no man or woman loved and respected him. In truth, there was but one living being for whom the duke had greater reverence and affection than for the King, and that was the Duke of Sully himself.’

As is well known, a characteristic love passage associated itself with Henry’s policy; and, in the eyes of more than one court chronicler, the great design which was to make France supreme, to identify her with the Protestant cause, and to weaken and humble the Catholic powers, was due to a wild passion of the king for a youthful damsel of exalted rank, while his preparations to involve Europe in war were really only a demonstration to recover the object of his love by force. It is unnecessary to show how absurd is this view; but Mr. Motley correctly observes that the personal feelings of Henry IV. unquestionably influenced his political acts, and that the vision of the Princess of Condé, beckoning him on, so to speak, from across the frontier, had no little effect on his purpose. This singular episode forms a comic scene in the tragedy which was about to open, and Mr. Motley has reproduced it with his wonted clearness and

fresh colouring. This is his portrait of the fair Helen, whose charms enthralled the captive monarch, and who, according to some, was the real cause of his setting out to invade Belgium, and to assail the power of Austria and Spain :—

‘The nymph was Marguerite de Montmorency, daughter of the Constable of France, and destined to be one day the mother of the great Condé, hero of Rocroy. There can be no doubt that she was exquisitely beautiful. Fair-haired, with a complexion of dazzling purity, large expressive eyes, delicate but commanding features, she had a singular fascination of look and gesture, and a winning, almost child-like simplicity of manner. Without feminine artifice or commonplace coquetry, she seemed to bewitch and subdue at a glance men of all ranks, ages, and pursuits; kings and cardinals, great generals, ambassadors and statesmen, as well as humbler mortals, whether Spanish, Italian, French, or Flemish.’

The following shows how the devoted monarch stooped to folly in his amorous moments :—

‘In the autumn Condé entertained a hunting party at a seat of his, the Abbey of Verneuil, on the borders of Picardy. De Traigny, governor of Amiens, invited the Prince, Princess, and the Dowager Princess, to a banquet at his château, not far from the Abbey. On their road thither they passed a group of huntsmen and grooms in the royal livery. Among them was an aged lackey, with a plaster over one eye, holding a couple of hounds in leash. ‘The princess recognised at a glance, under that ridiculous disguise, the King. “What a madman!” she murmured as she passed him, “I will never forgive you;” but as she confessed, many years afterwards, this act of gallantry did not displease her.’

In strange contrast to the brilliant Henry, a true statesman, yet a knight-errant, not without the craft of Machiavelli, but a Don Quixote as regards women, every inch a king, yet in love a madcap, we see the figure of the calm-minded Barneveld, the sedate, earnest, and bold contriver of the confederacy of the Protestant powers :—

‘It was obvious to Barneveld that the issue of the Cleve-Jülich affair, and of the tremendous religious fermentation in Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria, must, sooner or later, lead to an immense war. . . . It was his brain that worked, his tongue that spoke, his restless pen that never paused. His was not one of those easy posts, not unknown in the modern administration of great affairs, where the subordinate furnishes the intellect, the industry, the experience, while the bland superior, gratifying the world with his sign-manual, appropriates the applause. So long as he lived and worked, the States-General and the

States of Holland were like a cunningly-contrived machine, which seemed to be alive because one invisible, but weighty mind, vitalized the whole.’

The love of Henry, however, for the Princess of Condé, did not delay his preparations for war; and her flight to Brussels, which threw the prince into the hands of a flattering Spanish court, which treated him as a rival of the king, and a genuine pretender to the throne of France, only confirmed the fixed resolve of that monarch. A few words from an address he made to an embassy from the United Provinces, just as he was about to take the command of the army he had advanced to the frontier, and to begin hostilities upon the Rhine, show how settled his projects were, and finally dispose of the idle notion that his only object was to compel the return of a lovely fugitive to his dominions :—

‘The king then frankly observed that the affair of Cleve had a much wider outlook than people thought. Therefore the States must consider well what was to be done to secure the whole work, as soon as the Cleve business had been successfully accomplished. . . . “For how much good will it do,” said the king, “if we drive off Archduke Leopold, without establishing the princes in security for the future? Nothing is easier than to put the princes in possession. Everyone will yield or run away before our forces; but two months after we have withdrawn, the enemy will return, and drive out the princes again.” . . . “The States must seize the occasion,” he repeated. “It was bald behind, and must be grasped by the forelock. It was not enough to have begun well. One must end well. *Finis coronat opus*. It was very easy to speak of a league, but a league was not to be made in order to sit with arms tied, but to do good work.”’

All was ready by the first week of May, and Sully and Barneveld confidently hoped that in a few weeks the coveted duchies would be occupied by a Franco-Dutch army, that the Protestant League would be firmly cemented, and that France, the Commonwealth, and Northern Germany would dictate terms to the proud house of Austria. But the shadow of fate was on the heroic king, who seemed entering on a path of glory; and crime was to cut short that noble life on which the destiny of Christendom hung. Whoever planned the murder of Henry, it is certain that his intended enterprise was regarded as an act of impiety by the Papal and Spanish party at the Louvre, by Marie de Medici and her false paramour; and it has been supposed that the Spanish cabinet, with her assent, made the death of the king a condition of the marriage of the

Dauphin with the Infanta, afterwards Anne of Austria. However this may have been, Henry instinctively felt that, in spite of smooth words of applause and flattery, his policy had foes in his own household, and that he was surrounded by mysterious danger. Mr. Motley thus vividly describes his position:—

‘Henry had an invincible repugnance to that coronation on which the queen had set her heart. Nothing could be more pathetic than the isolated position in which he found himself standing thus as he did on the threshold of a mighty undertaking, in which he was the central figure—an object for the world to gaze upon with palpitating interest. At his hearth in the Louvre were no household gods. Danger lurked behind every tapestry in that magnificent old palace. A nameless dread dogged his footsteps through those resounding corridors. . . . Driven from house and home, Henry almost lived at the Arsenal. There he would walk for hours in the long alleys of the garden, discussing with the great financier and soldier his vast, dreamy, impracticable plans. Strange combination of the hero, the warrior, the voluptuary, the sage, and the schoolboy—it would be difficult to find in the whole range of history a more human, a more attractive, a more provoking, a less venerable character.’

Nor were signs of the coming doom wanting, in mysterious hints and assumed predictions, guesses drawn from surrounding facts and fears, though treated afterwards as magical forecasts:—

‘A certain astrologer, Thomassin by name, was said to have bidden the king to beware of the middle of the next month of May. Henry had tweaked the soothsayer by the beard, and made him dance twice or thrice about the room. . . . A certain prophetess, called Pasithea, had informed the Queen that the King could not survive his fifty-seventh year. She was much in the confidence of Marie de Medici, who had insisted this year on her returning to Paris. . . . Meantime there had been mysterious warnings, darker and more distinct than the babble of the soothsayer Thomassin, or the ravings of the lunatic Pasithea. Count Schoneberg, dining at the Arsenal with Sully, had been called out to converse with Mademoiselle de Gournay, who implored that a certain Madame d’Escomans might be admitted to audience of the King. That person, once in direct relations with the Marchioness of Verneuil, the one of Henry’s mistresses who most hated him, affirmed that a man from the Duke d’Epernon’s country was in Paris, agent of a conspiracy seeking the king’s life.’

Mr. Motley thus describes the assassination of the king:—

‘The fatal Friday came. Henry drove out in his carriage to see the preparations mak-

ing for the triumphal entrance of the Queen into Paris on the following Sunday. What need to repeat the tragic, familiar tale? The coach was stopped, by apparent accident, in the narrow street de la Féronnière, and Francis Ravallac, standing on the wheel, drove his knife through the monarch’s heart. The Duke of Epernon, sitting at his side, threw his cloak over the body, and ordered the carriage back to the Louvre.’

History has not yet conclusively ascertained the instigators of this terrible crime. All the probabilities, however, point to the Jesuit and Spanish faction at the court; and there is much evidence that the queen and Epernon, and perhaps Concini, were in league with Ravallac. Mr. Motley says:—

‘This history has no immediate concern with solving the mysteries of that stupendous crime. The woman who had sought to save the king’s life now denounced Epernon as the chief murderer, and was arrested, examined, accused of lunacy, proved to be perfectly sane, and, persisting in her statements with perfect coherency, was imprisoned for life for her pains; the Duke furiously demanding her instant execution. The documents connected with the process were carefully suppressed. The assassin, tortured and torn by four horses, was supposed to have revealed nothing, and to have denied the existence of accomplices. The great accused was too omnipotent to be dealt with by humble accusers, or by convinced but powerless tribunals. The trial was all mystery, hugger-nugger, and horror. Yet the murderer is known to have dictated to the Greffier Voisin, just before expiring on the Grève, a declaration, which that functionary took down in a handwriting perhaps purposely illegible. Two centuries and a half have passed away, but the illegible original record is said to exist, to have been plainly read, and to contain the names of the Queen and the Duke of Epernon.’

The consequences of the death of Henry at this crisis are thus fairly set forth:—

‘On the 14th May, France, while in spiritual matters obedient to the Pope, stood at the head of the forces of Protestantism throughout Europe, banded together to effect the downfall of the proud house of Austria, whose fortunes and fate were synonymous with Catholicism. The Baltic powers, the majority of the Teutonic races, the Kingdom of Britain, the great Republic of the Netherlands, the northernmost and most warlike governments of Italy, all stood at the disposition of the warrior king. . . . The great enterprise first unfolding itself with the episode of Cleve and Berg, and whimsically surrounding itself with the fantastic idyl of the Princess of Condé had attained vast proportions in the brain of its originator. . . . And all this gigantic fabric had passed away in an instant, at one stroke of a broken table knife sharpened on a carriage wheel.’

It is useless, perhaps, to speculate now on what might have been the results to Europe had the life of Henry of Navarre been prolonged, and had he been permitted to carry out his design. But, humanly speaking, his premature fate formed a turning point in the affairs of the Continent, and it is all but certain that the last two centuries would have run a very different course had the knife of Ravallac spared its victim. The Protestant League, supported by France, would, we may assume, have defeated its foes, and curbed the power of the house of Austria; and had Henry attained the full age of man, he would have seen Catholicism decisively restrained, and France, at the head of the Protestant States, the undisputed leader of Europe. In this state of things, the Thirty Years' War, with all its horrors, could not have occurred; and though France would have remained Catholic, she would have been the ally of the Reformation, and not its foe, as she afterwards became, while Northern Germany and the Dutch Commonwealth would, with England, have formed a great Protestant union, which would probably have extended the bonds of its faith beyond any limits they have since attained. If so, how changed from what they had been might have been the events of the long period from 1610 to the present time! France would probably have kept in the van of progress, would have secured freedom and good government, and would have escaped the tyranny of Louis XIV. and the Revolution, with its frightful consequences. Germany would almost certainly have become united before the close of the eighteenth century; the terrible calamities which befell her would, it may be asserted, have not taken place; and the disastrous rule of the house of Hapsburg would long ago have been a thing of the past, with beneficial results to religion and mankind. England, too, could hardly have been made by the Stuarts the submissive ally of Louis XIV. and an accomplice in his rapacious projects; nor would she have had occasion to regard France for many years as her natural enemy; she might also have been spared civil war; and her advance to greatness, if not more rapid, would have been more equable and less hazardous. In short, the world, in our judgment, would have been a happier and better world, had not at this crisis a murderer's hand removed Henry IV. from the scene; nor does it confute this view that, afterwards, the policy of the great King of France was imitated by his successor, Richelieu. For by Richelieu's day the times had changed; the League of Protestantism, which, twenty years before, might

without difficulty have been triumphant, was hardly able to hold its own against the dominant house of Austria; and Europe accordingly became involved in the wars, the alliances, and the relations which have continued almost to the present age. Besides, the policy of Richelieu was essentially despotic and anti-Protestant, though it borrowed from that of Henry IV.; and hence it ultimately led up to the absolute monarchy of Louis XIV., and the conversion of France to the side of Rome, with all the consequences which ensued.

The death of Henry IV., we have seen, dissolved the league against the house of Austria. France, in the hands of Marié de Medici, of Concini, of Epernon, and the old Guise party, was by degrees to gravitate towards Spain; and in a short time the marriage of the dauphin was to associate her with a Spanish policy. Meanwhile, as so often has been the case with that great but unsettled nation, the absence of the master hand which had ruled it caused it to fall into complete anarchy; and, preyed on by a rapacious court, and torn by factious nobles and religious discords, it soon ceased to hold its high place in Europe. Mr. Motley thus describes the internal state of France between the death of Henry and the rise of Richelieu:—

'Most pitiful was the condition of France on the day after, and for years after, the murder of the King. Not only was the kingdom for the time being effaced from the roll of nations, so far as external relations were concerned, but it almost ceased to be a kingdom. The ancient monarchy of Hugh Capet, of Saint Louis, of Henry of France and of Navarre, was transformed into a turbulent, self-seeking, quarrelsome, pillaging, pilfering democracy of grandees. The Queen-Regent was tossed hither and thither at the sport of the wind and waves, which shifted every hour in that tempestuous court. No man pretended to think of the State. Every man thought only of himself. The royal exchequer was plundered with a celerity and cynical recklessness such as have been rarely seen in any age or country. The millions so carefully hoarded by Sully, and exhibited so dramatically by the great minister to the enraptured eyes of his sovereign; that treasure in the Bastille on which Henry relied for payment of the armies with which he was to transform the world, all disappeared in a few weeks, to feed the voracious maw of courtiers, paramours, and partisans.'

England, too, never sincerely loyal since the accession of James I. to the throne, seceded from the Protestant cause. James I. had consented to act with Henry, though he hated the King of France at heart: but as soon as that great ruler had passed away, he

entrenched himself in a policy of inaction, entirely in favour of Catholicism and Spain. Besides, with his theories of Divine right, he disliked the Dutch as revolted subjects; he cherished a peculiar grudge against Barneveld, and, as we shall see, was angrily hostile to the religious party in the United Provinces, of which the advocate was the foremost chief; and the hope of a Spanish marriage for his son induced him to court the monstrous alliance of the power which, in the last generation, had equipped the Armada to invade England, and was the deadly enemy of our country and faith. As Mr. Motley correctly points out, the highest and dearest interests of the State were sacrificed by this false-hearted ruler to the dream of an advantageous dynastic match, which was never anything but a delusion.

'Few things' in history are more pitiable than the position of James in regard to Spain. For seven long years he was as one entranced, the slave to one idea—a Spanish marriage for his son. It was in vain that his counselors argued, Parliament protested, allies implored. Parliament was told that a royal family matter regarded himself alone, and that interference on their part was an impertinence. . . . Upon that one point his policy was made to turn—Spain held him in the hollow of her hand. The infanta, with two million crowns in dowry, was promised, withheld, brought forward again, like a puppet to please or irritate a froward child. Gondomar the Spanish ambassador, held him spell-bound.'

The falling away of France and England left the Dutch Republic almost isolated, but at the head of the few Protestant States which held together in nominal alliance. Now, too, that Sully and Henry IV. had disappeared from the stage of events, Barneveld was the hope of the Protestant cause; and he addressed himself with characteristic energy to prepare an army to protect the duchies and to reconstitute the Protestant League. Mr. Motley, perhaps with some exaggeration, describes his attitude at this juncture:—

'No man can thoroughly understand the complication and procession of phenomena attending the disastrous dawn of the renewed war on an even more awful scale than the original conflict in the Netherlands, without studying the correspondence of Barneveld. The history of Europe is there. The fate of Christendom is there. The conflict of elements, the crash of contending forms of religion and of nationalities is pictured there in vivid and homely colours. The advocate, while acting only in the name of a slender confederacy, was, in truth, so long as he held his place, the prime minister of European Protestantism. There was none other to rival

him, few to comprehend him, fewer still to sustain him. As Prince Maurice was at this moment the great soldier of Protestantism without clearly scanning the field in which he was a chief actor, so the advocate was its statesman and its prophet.'

The Commonwealth, true to its high mission, resolved for the moment to oppose the Catholic powers, although unaided, and set on foot an army under Maurice of Nassau to expel Leopold from the duchies. Seldom has a State braved seemingly greater odds; though it must be remarked that the theatre of operations was singularly favourable to the Netherlands' forces. Mr. Motley enthusiastically observes:—

'The States General were equal to the immense responsibility. Steadily, promptly, and sagaciously they confronted the wrath of the policy, and the power of the Empire, of Spain, and of the Pope. Had the Republic not existed nothing could have prevented that debateable and most important territory from becoming provinces of Spain, whose power thus dilated to gigantic proportions in the very face of England would have been more menacing than in the days of the Armada. Had the Republic faltered she would have soon ceased to exist. But the republic did not falter.'

Maurice entered the duchies with a powerful force, completely surprised his Catholic foes, and, in a short time, had taken possession of Jülich, expelled the intrusive Leopold from Cleves, and placed Brandenburg and Neuburg in his stead, under the protection of the sovereign Commonwealth. A small French detachment, sent by the queen at the last moment, to save appearances, had co-operated with the brilliant Stadtholder; but it did not really contribute to the result. Mr. Motley thus describes the attitude of the Netherlands after this important success:—

'The Republic had placed itself in as proud a position as it was possible for commonwealth and kingdom to occupy. It had dictated the policy and directed the combined military movements of Protestantism. It had gathered into a solid mass the various elements out of which the great Germanic mutiny against Rome, Spain, and Austria, had been compounded. A breathing space of uncertain duration had come to interrupt and postpone the general and inevitable conflict. Meantime the Republic was encamped upon the enemy's soil. France, which hitherto had commanded, now obeyed. England, vacillating and discontented, now threatening and now cajoling, saw, for the time at least, its influence over the councils of the Netherlands neutralized by the great statesman who still governed the Provinces in all but name.'

Things remained in this state for some time, the feeble Rudolph not caring to uphold his claim to the occupied duchies in force, and Brandenburg and Neuburg keeping what was called the condominium of the coveted territory. Ere long, however, Rudolph resigned the crown of Bohemia to his brother Matthias, who soon afterwards became emperor; the house of Austria asserted again its title to the provinces in dispute; and the King of Spain, through the Archduke in Belgium, made preparations to invade Cleves. War, however, was not formally declared against the Dutch Commonwealth, the guardian of the duchies; and though Spinola took the field in force, and reduced Wesel and other towns, he avoided an encounter with Maurice of Nassau. So indecisively began a conflict which was to lead to the Thirty Years' War, with its tragedies of religious and international hatred:—

'There was not only no declaration of war, but strict orders had been given by each of the apparent belligerents to their military commanders to abstain from all offensive movements against the adversary. And now began one of the strangest series of warlike evolutions that were ever recorded. Maurice, at the head of an army of 14,000 foot and 3,000 horse manœuvred in the neighbourhood of his great antagonist and professional rival without exchanging a blow. It was a phantom campaign, the prophetic rehearsal of dreadful marches and tragic histories yet to be, and which were to be enacted on that very stage and on wider ones during a whole generation of mankind.'

The traffic, however, in mercenary soldiers, which characterized the Thirty Years' War, was already one of the signs of the times; and the reckless military adventurers who played so important a part in the coming age, were beginning to make their presence felt. This is Mr. Motley's portrait of Ernest Mansfield, one of the most terrible of these bravos, the descendants of the Boar of Ardennes and schwartz-ritters of the fifteenth century:—

'He was destined to reappear in the Netherlands, in France, in Bohemia, in many places where there were villages to be burned, churches to be plundered, cities to be sacked, nuns and other women to be outraged, dangerous political intrigues to be managed. A man in the prime of his age, fair-haired, prematurely wrinkled, battered, and hideous of visage, with a hare-lip and a humpback; slovenly of dress, and always wearing an old grey hat without a band to it; audacious, daring, cruel, crafty, and licentious—such was Ernest Mansfield, whom some of his contemporaries spoke of as Ulysses Germanicus, others as the new Attila, all as a scourge to the human race.'

The demonstration made by Spinola led to negotiations which, at one time, seemed likely to settle the question of Cleves, and to close the quarrel which menaced Europe. It was proposed to divide the duchies between Brandenburg and Neuburg, and to place the territory under what really was the guarantee of the great powers. At the last moment, however, the court of Spain broke off the treaty, and refused its assent:—

'The whole great negotiation began to dissolve into a shadowy unsatisfactory pageant. The solid barriers which were to imprison the vast threatening elements of religious animosity and dynastic hatreds, and to secure a peaceful future for Christendom, melted into films of gossamer, and the great war of demons, no longer to be quelled by the commonplaces of diplomatic exorcism, revealed its close approach. The prospect of Europe were blacker than ever.'

This conduct of Spain was immediately followed by a revival of energy on the part of Austria. While France, in the hands of the queen and Concini, was becoming a satrapy of the Spanish court, and James I. was madly abandoning the policy of Elizabeth and Burleigh, and treating the Dutch Republic with contempt, the Catholic powers were acting in concert, and Henry IV. having been removed, were preparing to carry into effect their never ceasing designs against Protestantism. Spain once more set armies and fleets on foot; Maximilian of Bavaria stood at the head of the Catholic League of Southern Germany; and Ferdinand of Grätz, coming into the foremost rank, urged the emperor to a Catholic crusade. The object of this conspiracy against the Reformation and human liberty was to deprive the Protestants of the Austrian monarchy of the privileges which had been secured to them by the celebrated Pacification of Nassau, concluded more than sixty years before, and to crush Protestantism in Holland and Germany; and as early as 1613 three armies were prepared to effect this purpose:—

'Three armies were to take the field against Protestantism at the orders of Spain and the Pope. One, at the door of the Republic, and directed especially against the Netherlands, was to resume the campaign in the duchies, and to prevent any aid going to Protestant Germany from Great Britain or from Holland. Another in the Upper Palatinate was to make the chief movements against the Evangelical hosts; a third, in Austria, was to keep down the Protestant party in Bohemia, Hungary, Austria, Moravia, and Silesia. To sustain this movement it was understood that all the troops in Italy were to be kept all the winter on a war footing.'

The apostasy of Neuburg to the Catholic League, which made Catholicism once more dominant on the Rhine, increased also at this crisis the resources and hopes of the Catholic powers. As perils gathered more densely around, we see Barneveld again acting as the master spirit of the Protestant States, and not only indicating with rare insight the calamities that menaced Protestant Europe, but urging union and close alliance as the only means of averting ruin. How thoroughly he saw through the designs of the enemy; and as Mr. Motley correctly shows, anticipated the general plan of Catholic aggression in the strife that followed, appears in the following interesting letter, which reads like a prophecy in the light of subsequent events:—

'I ponder well at this crisis,' he said to his friend Caron, 'the intelligence I received some months back from Ratisbon, out of the cabinet of the Jesuits, that the design of the Catholic or Roman League is to bring this year a great army into the field in order to make Neuburg, who was even then said to be of the Roman profession and League, master of Jülich and the duchies; to execute the imperial decree against Aachen and Mülheim, preventing any aid from being sent into Germany by these Provinces or by Great Britain, and placing the Archduke and Marquis Spinola in command of the forces; to put another army on the frontiers of Austria, in order to prevent any succour coming from Hungary, Bohemia, Austria, Moravia, and Silesia into Germany; to keep all these disputed territories in subjection and devotion to the Emperor, and to place the general conduct of all their affairs in the hands of Archduke Leopold, and other princes of the house of Austria. A third army is to be brought into the Upper Palatinate, under command of the Duke of Bavaria, and others of the League, destined to thoroughly carry out its designs against the Elector-Palatine, and the other electors, princes, and estates belonging to the religion.'

Had the Protestant powers been really united, Mr. Motley thinks that, even at this time, the cause of the Reformation was the stronger one, for we must not forget that Southern Germany, and the countries which form the Austrian empire, were penetrated throughout by Protestant elements, which perished during the Thirty Years' War. Mr. Motley says:—

'The chances superficially considered were vastly in favour of the Protestant cause. In the chief lands, under the sceptre of the younger branch of [the house of] Austria, the Protestants outnumbered the Catholics by nearly ten to one. Bohemia, the Austrias, Moravia, Silesia, Hungary, were filled full of the spirit of Huss, of Luther, and even of Calvin. If Spain was a unit, now that the

Moors and Jews had been expelled, and the heretics of Castille and Aragon burnt into submission, she had a most lukewarm ally in Venice, whose policy was never controlled by the Church, and a dangerous neighbour in the warlike, restless, and adventurous House of Savoy, to whom geographical considerations were even more vital than religious scruples. A sincere alliance of France, the very flower of whose nobility and people inclined to the Reformed religion was impossible, even if there had been fifty infantas to espouse fifty daughters of France. Great Britain, the Netherlands, and the united princes of Germany seemed a solid and serried phalanx of Protestantism, to break through which should be hopeless.'

Unfortunately, however, the forces of Protestantism were more than ever in a state of dissension:—

'At that moment, so pregnant with a monstrous future, there was hardly a sound Protestant policy anywhere but in Holland. How long would that policy remain sound and united? How long would the Republic speak through the imperial voice of Barneveld? Time was to show and to teach many lessons. The united princes of Germany were walking, talking, quarrelling in their sleep; England and France distracted and bedrugged, while Maximilian of Bavaria, and Ferdinand of Grätz, the Cabinets of Madrid and the Vatican were moving forward to their aims slowly, steadily, relentlessly as Fate. And Spain was more powerful than she had been since the Truce began. In five years she had become much more capable of aggression.'

Europe was in this alarming state when the death of Matthias and the elevation of Ferdinand of Grätz to the Bohemian throne brought the already active conflict to a head. Ferdinand, trained for years by Jesuit priests, and the Philip II. of the seventeenth century, had long resolved to destroy the privileges of the reformed communions wherever he could, and to blot out Protestantism with fire and sword. The gloomy enthusiast soon afterwards became emperor, and wielding the power of the house of Hapsburg, thus inaugurated his calamitous reign:—

'Before the end of 1618 the Protestant churches of Brunnau were sealed up. Those at Klostergrab were demolished in three days by command of the Archbishop of Prague. These dumb walls preached in their destruction more stirring sermons than perhaps would ever have been heard within them, had they stood. This tearing in pieces of the Imperial patent granting liberty of Protestant worship, this summary execution done upon senseless bricks and mortar, was an act of defiance to the Reform religion everywhere. Protestantism was struck in the face, spat upon, and defied.'

The Bohemian Protestants rose fiercely, and the drama of the Thirty Years' War opened, its prelude having already begun for some time:—

'The fateful 28rd of May, 1618, arrived. Slawata, a Bohemian Protestant, who had converted himself to the Roman Church in order to marry a rich widow, and who converted his peasants by hunting them to mass with his hounds, and Martinitz, the two stadtholders, who at Ferdinand's coronation had endeavoured to prevent him from including the Majesty-Letter among the privileges he was swearing to support, and who were considered the real authors of the imperial letters revoking all religious rights of Protestants, were the most obnoxious of all. They were hurled from the council-chamber window of the Hradschin. The unfortunate secretary, Fabricius, was tossed out after them. Twenty-eight ells deep they fell, and all escaped unhurt by the fall, Fabricius being subsequently ennobled by a grateful emperor with the well-won title of Baron Summerset. The Thirty Years' War, which in reality had been going on for several years already, is dated from that day.'

Had the Dutch Commonwealth remained true to itself and united at this perilous time, it would have yet formed a powerful nucleus round which Protestantism would have gathered its forces. But for several years the confederacy of the States had been torn by internal discords, which just at this moment reached their height, and, rending asunder the famous Republic, caused the death of its most illustrious citizen, and, for awhile, reduced it almost to impotence. Mr. Motley's narrative has carefully set forth the vicissitudes of these unhappy dissensions; but we have purposely reserved an account of them to the close of our brief review of this work, in order to notice them more succinctly, and to lead the reader to the dark tragedy which forms the closing scene of these volumes. To comprehend accurately the numerous causes of these divisions in the Dutch Republic, it is necessary to have a clear notion of the religious condition of the new-made nation, and of its strange political system, which in the existing state of its affairs almost certainly led to civil conflicts.

The defeat of Spain had left Protestantism the dominant faith in the freed Commonwealth; but though this had put an end to the deeds of Alva, and prepared the way for religious liberty, it had not yet been followed by freedom of conscience; and as the Reformation in all Protestant States, had as yet generally asserted the principle that subjects are bound in all countries to conform exactly to the national Church, and yet

Protestantism, from the very nature of the case, divided communities into different sects, the result was that established Protestantism almost everywhere meant the ascendancy of one set of Protestants over others, and relegated into an inferior position, and not seldom exposed to intolerance, dissentients from the national form of worship. This is well explained by Mr. Motley:—

'Burning, hanging, and burying alive of culprits guilty of another creed than the dominant one had become obsolete. But there was an established creed . . . and there was one established principle then considered throughout Europe, the grand result of the Reformation—*cujus regio ejus religio*—which was in reality as impudent an invasion of human right as any heaven-born dogmas of infallibility. The sovereign of a country, having appropriated the revenues of the ancient church, prescribed his own creed to his subjects. In the royal conscience were included the million consciences of his subjects.'

The general result of this state of things was to divide Protestants into contending parties, in almost every Reformed country, and to exasperate them fiercely against each other; and unhappily, in the Dutch Commonwealth, the dissension was more than ordinarily bitter. Calvinism was the established faith of the Seven Provinces; but a large minority of the people of the States had sympathy with a less austere creed; and the disputes between the religious sects were aggravated by questions relating to the property of the old fallen Church and the relations of the ecclesiastical and civil powers. A compromise was for a time effected, mainly through the conciliatory tact of Barneveld, ever on the side of religious peace; but before long the nomination of the famous Arminius to a chair at Leyden, and the theological doctrines he preached, proved the signal for the strife to revive. Society, throughout the entire Commonwealth, was separated into two hostile camps, in a way it is difficult now to understand; and while the middle and some of the upper classes, especially the magistracy of the free towns, inclined to the Arminian tenets, the mass of the people and most of the nobles stood up resolutely to defend Calvinism, threatened as they thought, by a dreadful heresy. Mr. Motley thus vividly describes the strife between the Remonstrants and the contra-Remonstrants, as the Arminians and Calvinists called themselves—a strife which involved the whole nation:—

'In burghers' mansions, peasants' cottages, mechanics' back parlours, on board herring smacks, canal boats, and East Indiamen; in

shops, counting-rooms, farm-yards, guard-rooms, ale-houses; on the exchange, in the tennis court, on the mall; at banquets, at burials, christenings, or bridals; wherever and whenever human creatures met each other, there was ever to be found the fierce wrangle of Remonstrant, and contra-Remonstrant, the hissing of red-hot theological rhetoric, the pelting of hostile texts. The blacksmith's iron cooled on the anvil, the tinker dropped a kettle half-mended, the broker left a bargain unclinch'd, the Scheveningen fisherman, in his wooden shoes, forgot the cracks in his pinkie, while each paused to hold high converse with friend or foe on fate, free-will, or absolute fore-knowledge; losing himself in wandering mazes, whence there was no issue. Province against province, city against city, family against family; it was one vast scene of bickering, denunciation, heart-burnings, mutual excommunication and hatred. Alas! a generation of mankind before, men had stood banded together to resist, with all the might that comes from union, the fell spirit of the Holy Inquisition, which was dooming all who wandered from the ancient fold, or resisted foreign tyranny, to the axe, the fagot, the living grave.'

It may not be easy in this age—though it is one of stern religious strife—to understand how what seemed a dispute about a mere theological dogma should have excited such universal passion; and Mr. Motley has, we think, failed to appreciate or explain the problem, from a want of genuine sympathy with it. It should be recollected, in the first place, that the question whether the rival faiths of Arminianism and Calvinism, as they are still named, should become dominant in the Commonwealth, involved the question of the supremacy or subjection of the opposing parties, which almost divided the nation between them; and it caused a controversy quite as decisive, and fraught with quite as decisive issues as that which, a few years afterwards, made Puritans and Prelatists rush to arms, and deluged England and Scotland with blood. And, in the second place, the essential ideas which underlay these opposing creeds almost inevitably at this crisis, in the United Provinces led to discord, of an uncompromising and determined kind. Arminianism implied the subjection of the Church in almost all points to the State and to law; it breathed the modern spirit of toleration almost approaching religious indifference; and hence, in a country but just emerging from a tremendous and long religious conflict, it was certain to enlist against it the hearts of the most devoted and earnest Protestants, and to cause many to accuse its adherents of want of patriotism and of Romish sympathies. Calvinism, on the other hand, was the stern-

est expression of Protestantism in mortal feud with Rome, and, in the case of the Dutch Republic, of hostility to Spain and love of country; and thus its followers regarded with dislike those who condemned it as rigid and narrow, and exhibited moderation and even goodwill to Christians of less austere communions, or turned a wistful eye towards the old Church which had once commanded the national reverence. Hence the two forms of belief were the evidence of real and vital dissension; and, we must add, that, if in this century there is a tendency—and Mr. Motley shows it—to regard the Calvinists of Holland and elsewhere as fanatical and half-savage enthusiasts, and to describe their opponents as the high-souled party of humanity, liberal thought, and progress, this seems to us a grave misconception. Beyond all question, what is called Calvinism, and the heroic band of men it produced, were the hope of Protestantism in its struggle with Rome; the old faith would have regained its position but for the Calvinist opposition it met; and though it would be untrue to charge with lukewarmness in the common cause the numerous other Protestant sects, it is unjust to claim for them superior wisdom, or to ignore the services of their bolder leaders. We cannot afford to describe as frenzy, and when the peril is past, to ridicule, the energy which mounts the deadly breach, and bears down the resisting garrison, even though it breaks out in occasional excesses.

The strife, however, which divided the Netherlands into two angry religious factions, was coincident with another strife, which separated almost the same antagonists. The Commonwealth, though in external affairs presenting the image of a single power, was really a confederacy of united States, each sovereign within its own limits, and each possessing peculiar privileges of an essentially aristocratic and municipal character. Thus power centered by law in each State, in an oligarchy of distinguished citizens; and though the States General and the stadtholder connected the whole by an imperfect tie, the several States were independent by right, and ruled separately through their boards of magistrates. As Mr. Motley observes:—

'The sovereignty of the country, so far as its nature could be satisfactorily analyzed, seemed to be scattered through and inherent in each one of the multitudinous boards of magistracy, close corporations—self-elected—by which every city was governed. Practically, however, these boards were represented by deputies in each of the seven provincial assemblies, and these again sent council-

lors from among their number to the general assembly, which was that of their High Mightiness the Lords States General The internal policy in all the provinces, and in all the towns was republican. Local self-government existed everywhere. Each city magistracy was a little republic in itself. . . . Great lawyers of highest intellect and learning believed the sovereign power to reside in the separate States.'

The oligarchies which ruled the separate States were, for the most part, composed of lawyers, and their ill-defined position towards the States General and the stadtholder who, in a vague way, claimed supremacy over the whole Commonwealth, raised the question of State and Federal rights which in our day has convulsed the New World. The political quarrel, as we have said, was also identified with a religious quarrel, and placed in antagonism the same parties. The majority of the nation who, we have seen, were Calvinists, viewed with jealousy and dislike the privileges of the separate State-magistracies which were of an anti-popular type; they longed for a more powerful and general government which would alike prove more efficient for defence, and be more liberal to the body of the people; and their sympathies were in favour of the States General, and of the daring and brilliant Maurice of Nassau. On the other hand, the chiefs of the State governments, and most of the classes dependent on them, incined to the Arminian doctrines with the characteristic lawyer instinct; and they were very tenacious of what they thought the constitutional rights of the Commonwealth, especially as these were associated with their own. Grounds of fierce dissension were thus laid; and the Netherlands were split into angry factions exasperated against each other by the strongest motives:—

'A bitter conflict was rapidly developing itself in the heart of the Commonwealth. There was the civil element struggling with the military for predominance; sword against gown; States-rights against central authority. . . . And now another element of discord had come, more potent than all the rest, the terrible, never-ending struggle of Church against State. Theological hatred, which for forty years long had found vent in the exchange of acrimony between the ancient and the Reformed Churches, was now assuming other shapes.'

It is useless to inquire on which side right generally lay in this unhappy conflict, but we cannot agree with Mr. Motley that the Calvinists and States General party were, as he evidently thinks, wholly in the wrong. There was much earnestness in their fanaticism, and much real patriotism in

their wish to secure a stronger and more popular government; and if probably the letter of the law was with the Arminian and States-right party, we are by no means confident that their attitude was in the interests of the Republic, and their conservatism was somewhat narrow and selfish. As the strife raged and increased in fury, Barneveld, with the greatness of a superior mind, endeavoured to moderate the contending factions; but by nature and training he was an Arminian, and he gradually became the States-right leader. A statesman in the truest sense of the word, as William of Orange was afterwards, the object of his life was to combine Protestantism against the danger impending from Rome and its allies; and hence he disliked the exclusive Calvinist dogmas, deplored the quarrels which divided Protestants, and was really in favour of toleration to a degree hardly understood in that age. We may justly admire this characteristic of him without condemning the Calvinists wholesale.

'He regarded the whole matter as a struggle between the clergy and the civil power for mastery in the State, as an attempt to subject provincial autonomy to the central government purely in the interest of the priesthood of a particular sect. The remedy he fondly hoped for was moderation and union within the Church itself. He could never imagine the necessity for this ferocious animosity, not only between Christians, but between two branches of the Reformed Church. He could never be made to believe that the Ten Points of the Remonstrance had dug an abyss too deep and wide ever to be bridged over between brethren lately of one faith or of one fatherland. He was unceasing in his prayers and appeals for "mutual toleration on the subject of predestination."'

On the other hand, Barneveld firmly believed in the independence of the separate States, clung with a lawyer's stubbornness to the doctrine of State-rights, and regarded as treason attempts to make the government of the States General supreme, and to give the stadtholder sovereign power:—

'Was the supreme power of the union created at Utrecht in 1579, vested in the States General? They were beginning theoretically to claim it, but Barneveld denied the existence of any such power either in a law or fact. It was a league of sovereignties, he maintained; a confederacy of some independent States, united for certain purposes by a treaty made some thirty years before. Nothing could be more imbecile, judging by the light of subsequent events and the experience of centuries, than such an organization. . . . Yet it was difficult to show any charter, precedent, or prescription, for the

sovereignty of the States General. Necessary as such an incorporation was for the very existence of the union, no constitutional union had ever been enacted.'

As Barneveld naturally became the leader of the Arminian and States right cause in the Republic, so Maurice of Nassau almost inevitably grew into the champion of the opposite side. Though not at heart a religious man, he entertained a dread of Arminian tenets, and had a personal grudge against the most distinguished of the Arminian preachers. He was the idol of the lower orders of the people, who were jealous of the close State magistracies; and, sprung from a line of imperial ancestors, he resented the pretensions of these lawyer oligarchies, and aspired to change the staff of a stadtholder into the sceptre of an absolute king. He had also special reasons to dislike Barneveld, who had always feared and condemned his ambition, and whose genius was an obstacle in his way; and he chafed angrily against what he thought the presumptuous arrogance of the powerful statesman. He thus became the upholder of the States General and their claims, and a kind of democratic popular chief; and stood forward as the declared opponent of Barneveld and the State magistracies. Mr. Motley thus describes the position of the rivals:—

'The great captain of the country and of his time, the son of William the Silent, the martial stadtholder, in the fulness of his fame, and the vigour of his years, had now openly taken his place as the chieftain of the contra-Remonstrants. The conflict between the civil and the military element for supremacy in a free commonwealth has never been more vividly typified than in this death-grapple between Maurice and Barneveld. The aged but still vigorous statesman, ripe with half a century of political lore, and the high-born, brilliant, and scientific soldier, with the laurels of Turnhout and Nieuport, and of a hundred famous sieges upon his helmet, reformer of military science, and no mean proficient in the art of politics and government, were the representatives and leaders of the two great factions into which the Commonwealth had now unhappily divided itself.'

He thus sets forth the motives and principles which finally entered into the conflict:—

'The religious element, which seems at first view to be the all-pervading and controlling one, is in reality rather the atmosphere which surrounds and colours than the essence which constitutes the tragedy to be delineated. Personal, sometimes even paltry, jealousy; love of power, of money, and of place; rivalry between civil and military ambition for predominance in a free State; struggles be-

tween Church and State to control and oppress each other; conflict between the cautious and healthy, but provincial and centrifugal spirit on the one side, and the ardent, centralizing, imperial, but dangerous instinct on the other, for ascendancy in a federation; mortal combat between aristocracy disguised in the plebeian form of trading and political corporations, and democracy sheltering itself under a famous sword and an ancient and illustrious name—all these principles and passions will be found hotly at work.'

It is not our purpose to dwell at length on the struggle between the adverse parties, or to set forth its incidents in detail. Maurice and the Calvinists insisted upon the assembling of a national synod in order to proscribe the Arminian heresy, and the States General seconded their purpose. Barneveld steadily deprecated this extreme course, and openly charged the imperious stadtholder with a design to destroy the rights of the States and to subject the Commonwealth to the rule of the sword. All the vials of popular and factious wrath were now poured out upon the head of the advocate; and the great statesman, who had been the soul of Protestantism since the death of Henry IV., was reviled as a traitor to the true faith, a tool of Spain, and a disguised Papist. James I. joined in the ignoble clamour, one reason being that Barneveld had made a good bargain with the wasteful monarch, with respect to the pledged cautionary towns, which had been rescued for the Republic; another, not noticed by Mr. Motley, being that James sympathized with Maurice of Nassau as the embodiment of the monarchical principle, and cordially hated anything like a commonwealth. At length a proposition made by Barneveld that each State should look to its own defence, and that the free cities should arm themselves, gave his rival the opportunity he sought; and Maurice, throwing his sword into the scale, quietly seized most of the chief towns of the Provinces, expelled from their seats the lawyer magistrates, and proclaimed the sovereignty of the States General. The revolution, however, was a bloodless one; the march of Maurice at the head of his troops through the Provinces was a triumphal progress, and it is idle to deny that his cause was popular, as we see from the following sketch of his entry into Amsterdam:—

'On his approach to the stately northern Venice, standing full of life and commercial bustle upon the vast submerged forest of Norwegian pines, he was met by a fleet of yachts, and escorted through the water-gates of the Y into the city. Here an immense assemblage of vessels of every class, from the

humble gondola to the bulky East Indian and the first-rate ship of war, gaily bannered with the Orange colours, and thronged from deck to topmast by enthusiastic multitudes, was waiting to receive their beloved stadtholder. A deafening cannonade saluted him on his approach. The prince was escorted to the Square or Dam, where, on a high scaffolding, covered with blue velvet in front of the stately mediæval town-hall, the burgomasters and board of magistrates in their robes of office were waiting to receive him.

This is Mr. Motley's account of the manner in which the revolution was effected at Utrecht, and the 'Waart-gelders,' or city militia, disappeared at a nod from the popular chief:—

'For days there had been vague but fearful expectations of a "blood-bath," of street battles, rioting, and plunder. Yet the stadtholder, with the consummate art which characterized all his military manœuvres, had so ably carried out his measures that not a shot was fired, not a blow given, not a single burgher disturbed in his peaceful slumbers. When the population had taken off their night-caps, they woke to find the awful bugbear removed which so long had been appalling them. The Waart-gelders were numbered with the terrors of the past, and not a cat had mewed at their disappearance. Charter-books, parchments, 18th articles, Barneveld's teeth, flowery orations of Grotius, tavern-talk of Van Ostrum, city immunities, States-rights, provincial laws, Waart-gelders and all—the martial stadtholder, with the orange plume in his hat, and the sword of Nieuport on his side, strode through them as easily as through the whirligigs and mountebanks, the waffles and fritters encumbering the streets of Utrecht on the night of his arrival.'

The arrest of Barneveld and his chief associates was the natural consequence of this violent change. Mr. Motley describes at great length the proceedings against the great advocate, but we shall not dwell on this part of his narrative. We agree with him that the trial of Barneveld was a frightful mockery of right and justice, and it is melancholy to reflect that popular frenzy should have made a victim of the illustrious statesman and venerable father of the Dutch Commonwealth. Yet, scandalous as it was, the trial resembled the State prosecutions of the seventeenth century, and had things taken an opposite course, and Maurice of Nassau been the accused, history probably would have had to condemn a judicial murder with equal sternness. We quote from Mr. Motley's description of the closing scene of this drama of blood, the execution of the renowned advocate:—

'In an instant the Binnenhof was filled with more than three thousand spectators.

'The old statesman, leaning on his staff, walked out upon the scaffold and calmly surveyed the scene. Lifting up his eyes to heaven, he was heard to murmur, "O God, what does man come to?" Then he said bitterly once more, "This, then, is the reward of forty years' service to the State!"

'La Motte, who attended him, said fervently, "It is no longer time to think of this. Let us prepare your coming before God."

"Is there no cushion or stool to kneel upon?" said Barneveld, looking around him.

'The provost said he would send for one, but the old man knelt at once on the bare planks. His servant, who waited upon him as calmly and composedly as if he had been serving him at dinner, held up his arm. It was remarked that neither master nor man, true stoics and Hollanders both, shed a single tear upon the scaffold.

'La Motte prayed for a quarter of an hour, the advocate remaining on his knees.

'He then rose, and said to John Franken, "See that he does not come near me," pointing to the executioner who stood in the background grasping his long double-handed sword. Barneveld then rapidly unbuttoned his doublet with his own hands and the valet helped him off with it. "Make haste, make haste," said his master.

'The statesman then came forward, and said in a loud firm voice to the people:—"Men, do not believe that I am a traitor to the country. I have ever acted uprightly and loyally as a good patriot, and as such I shall die."

'The crowd was perfectly silent.

'He then took his cap from John Franken, drew it over his eyes, and went forward towards the sand saying, "Christ shall be my guide; O Lord, my heavenly Father, receive my spirit."

'As he was about to kneel with his face to the south, the provost said,—"My lord will be pleased to move to the other side, not where the sun is in his face."

'He knelt accordingly with his face towards his own house. The servant took farewell of him, and Barneveld said to the executioner, "Be quick about it, be quick."

'The executioner then struck his head off at a single blow.'

Thus Barneveld passed away from the stage, and if our estimate of this eminent man is not quite so exalted as that of Mr. Motley, he unquestionably was a great citizen, a true-hearted and clear-sighted patriot, and, after the death of the King of France, the champion of the Protestant cause in Europe. His fall quickened the strife in the Commonwealth, and, until Richelieu appeared on the scene, the house of Austria had a free course to pursue its crusade against the Reformation and human liberty in the 'Thirty Years' War.

Our estimate of Mr. Motley's work will be:

gathered from what we have written. His history is rather too much a biography; he makes too great a hero of Barneveld; he somewhat exaggerates the position of the Netherlands in the affairs of Europe; he has not had space for the splendid pictures which form such a feature of his former works; he has not always, perhaps, caught the true significance of religious movements. But he has displayed the most conscientious industry; he has guided us with no ordinary skill through a very intricate maze of history; when an occasion offered he has given proof of his remarkable pictorial art; and he has vindicated in this, as in his other writings, his title to rank among our best classics. We sincerely trust that he will be spared to exhibit his powers in the great field of narrative opened by the events of the Thirty Years' War.

ART. V.—*The Sources of the Water Supply of London.*

Report of the Commissioners. Royal Commission on Water Supply. London. 1869.

THE first principle which controls the water supply of London, or of any given city or district, is one of perfect simplicity. So plain, indeed, it is, that when pointed out it may be called a truism. And yet the want of a distinct grasp of this truism has led to much confusion of ideas, and to much waste of money. The principle in question is this: The natural water supply of any water-shed district is derived entirely from the excess of rainfall over evaporation that annually occurs within its limits. Those limits are neither arbitrary nor political; they are those which are directed by the physical conformation of the country, which determines the lines of water-shed.

It is only of late, comparatively speaking, that precise scientific views of the true source of water supply have been popularly apprehended. There are many persons who would highly resent the imputation of imperfect education, who have yet very hazy views as to the origin of what are called springs. The fact that, in so many instances, water is found near the summit of mountains, has been a secular puzzle to the poet. As the tourist presses up the steep flank of Skiddaw, having left his bed, it may be at the unwonted hour of two o'clock, in order to witness one of the

grandest scenes which can be commanded in England—sunrise, as viewed from that lofty elevation,—his steps become painfully embarrassed by a zone of swamp within a few hundred feet of the summit. How is it, many an inquirer asks, that this should be the case? How is it that the very top of the mountain is alive with water springs? The piety of our ancestors met the question by a reply of that teleological nature that once was held to be amply sufficient. The simple truth is, that every drop of water which falls on the surface of a hill, and which is not evaporated, or absorbed by vegetation, must either trickle down the sides, or percolate through the soil. The former action occurs on impervious strata, and thus forms torrents; the latter takes place when the strata are pervious. The water then reappears, in the form of springs, on the surface of the next layer of impervious soil. If this is found near the top of the mountain, as on Skiddaw, we have lofty springs. If it lies far below their feet, as in the chalk downs of Wiltshire, we have a district in which water is only to be found in wells.

The bulk and magnitude of mountains, pressing on some subterranean channels at their bases, and thus forcing the water to their summits, has been one of the physical theories that long found favour with a portion of the public. This view has been advocated, and probably based, on the occurrence of a phenomenon by no means singular in the hilly districts of England. An isolated hill on which the falcon glance of some old feudal chieftain long since fell, when he chose the site of his eyrie, and reared and walled his substantial keep, will be found provided with a well or spring that seems to reverse the ordinary habits of the rivulet, and to rise for the special service of the lord of the castle, or the saint invoked as the patron of the monastery.

It is to the geologist that we are indebted for the solution of what was once a formidable problem; although it is now one of the simplest instances of the direct relation between cause and effect. The precision which orographical survey, or the delineation of mountain contours, has attained under the skilled hands of our ordnance surveyors, is another source of information. Trigonometrical survey gives us the absolute height, above the sea, of dominant mountains. The spirit-level enables us to trace the courses which water will naturally follow in, and furnishes us with any required altitude, to the hundredth part of a foot. The geological survey succeeds the preparation of the physical map. Sheet over sheet, like the leaves of a book, lie strata of sand, lime,

and clay, of every conceivable consistency, depth, and colour. Sometimes a whole packet of these leaves is twisted and contorted, in the manner in which evil students are wont to serve their dictionaries. Sometimes a packet of such twisted leaves lies under a series of fair, smooth pages. But crumpled or smooth; level, inclined, or even standing on edge; the greater part of these pre-historic pages have been studied by the geologist. To most of them he can assign the proper serial number. To each of them he has assigned such number with approximate truth. His toil is rendered more perplexing for the moment, but more richly promising for the future, by the fact that there are different editions of the great geological book. Pages that are of great importance in some versions of the record (as, for example, the coal measures in Great Britain) are absolutely wanting, or replaced by stunted abbreviations, in other instances. Pages of familiar form are found to correspond to others, of which the colour and type are different, although the geological date and import are the same, as in the case of our own chalk and of some of the Italian marbles. That primary division of the great geological record into chapters, each containing numerous leaves, which affects the supply of water, is due to the broad distinction that exists between pervious and impervious soils. The topographer and the engineer ascertain the contours and elevations of the surface; the geologist tells us the order and nature of the strata; the patient watcher of the rain-gauge informs us of the rainfall. In these we have the elements that decide the quantity of the water supply of a given district; all but one, and that is but imperfectly known. We can ascertain the maximum quantity of water that can be discharged by a given river. But the minimum quantity depends also on the activity of the evaporation.

When we just apply the test of arithmetic to the question of the water supply of any part of the population of England, it appears as if it were impossible that any difficulty could arise in the matter. A comparison of our actual population, as ascertained by the census of 1871, with the area of the kingdom—we confine our comparisons to England alone—shows the proportion of an acre and a half of land per head. The water supply of our principal towns, including not only all that is required for domestic use, but the demands of various manufactures, is calculated on the allowance of from thirty to thirty-five gallons per head per diem. We will use round numbers, because they are more easy to understand and to remember,

and are thus of more substantial literary value, than more exact fractions. Thus we are justified in placing the demand of an urban population for water, apart from any supply from springs, wells, or water-butts, at fifty tons per head per annum.

An inch of rainfall on an acre of ground is equal to one hundred tons of water. It follows, that to supply the entire population of England with the desired quantity, of fifty tons of water per head per annum, one-third of an inch of rain will suffice. As the total average rainfall, varying from twenty to one hundred inches in various localities, may be taken, in ordinary years, at some thirty-six inches, we find that one per cent. of the rain that comes from the skies in the course of the year is ample to supply the entire domestic requirements of the natives. If we were to include Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, the requisite depth would be considerably diminished.

In a question like that of the supply of water, however, although the subject should be first viewed from a broad and general standpoint, it is unsafe to rely on averages. We must expect and provide for a maximum demand; we must be prepared for the minimum supply of a hot summer and a long drought; we must look not at the average country, but at the chief centres of population. And we must provide not only for this year and the next, but for the reasonable anticipations of the future.

Since statistics have been compiled with sufficient care to allow of any reliance being placed on their outcome, the population of the metropolis has shown a strong tendency to double itself in forty years. If we go minutely into a division of periods, we shall find this rapid rate to be increasing rather than declining. The Royal Commission on water supply has declined to look this fact in the face; and the Commissioners have preferred to make imaginary estimates of what they thought likely, rather than to draw deductions from positive facts. Enormous as the rate appears, and highly probable as may be the occurrence of some unexpected and violent check, it is none the less the duty of the engineer to rely, not on fancy, but on fact. In regarding the future sources of supply for the metropolis, the steady rate of increase of the population is a feature requiring as much consideration as the actual number at the present time.

It will result from this view that if we should hereafter find ourselves called upon to decide between two systems, one of which is final, the other gradual—one magnificent, and to be carried into effect once for all, the other modest, but capable of

continual expansion; the natural requirements of the case are altogether in favour of the latter. In fact, the less artificial, and the more natural, are the sources on which we rely, the wiser will be our course.

Our first correction, then, of the average demand made by population on rainfall, estimated by the acre, is due to the irregular grouping of the population. We have not only to divide the face of the country into the natural water-shed districts, but moreover to ascertain the respective populations of such districts. We must not attempt to regulate the supply of the inhabitants of Middlesex by the average rainfall of Westmoreland.

The area which naturally supplies the water required for the metropolis, which is our present subject of inquiry, is the water-shed district of the Thames, with its affluents and tributaries. This basin covers an area of 3,300,000 acres; the average rainfall over which is variously estimated at from twenty-five to twenty-seven inches. But we must regard not the average, but the outside limits. For the supply of water, we must inquire into the minimum which experience has recorded—that is to say, the rainfall of the driest year known. For the maximum, we must provide for the escape of the largest quantity of water ever known to fall from heaven in twenty-four hours. The lowest rainfall known by observation to have visited the Valley of the Thames is that of the year 1832, which was 16.1 inch.

The next question that arises is, how much of this quantity can be regarded as available for domestic use.

There is, however, a further deduction to be made, as regards the contributing area, before we enter into the question of superficial supply. Gradually, it has been enforced on the water companies that draw their supply from the Thames, that this intake must be at some point on the river above the reflux of the water polluted by the drainage of London. Teddington Lock has been taken accordingly as the division of the water-shed of the Thames into the part which may, and that which may not, contribute to the water supply of London. We shall see by-and-by that this is an imperfect division. But it errs, at all events, on the safe side. By following this rule we find the water-shed area available for the London demand to be reduced by a million of acres.

Even the dry weather of 1832 witnessed the fall, on this restricted area of 2,300,000 acres, of nearly 4,000,000,000 tons of water. Before we inquire what becomes of this respectable quantity of rain, we have to ask how much of it may be desirable for the

domestic supply of the inhabitants of the water-shed district.

The Royal Commission of 1869 have contented themselves with anticipating four and a-half millions as the 'future population' to be provided for in the metropolis; and therefore, to be on the safe side, assume an 'ultimate future population of 5,000,000.' The actual population of the metropolis may be taken at 3,300,000. But to this has to be added, when we are speaking of the capabilities of water-shed area, nearly a million more of the residents in the district. It will appear, therefore, that a population of 5,000,000 souls represents not the ultimate, but the very proximate, number of the future claimants on the springs and sources of the Thames. Five millions of people would require, on the foregoing allowance, 250,000,000 tons of water for their annual consumption. This is one-sixteenth part of the rainfall of 1832 over the contributory water-shed area above Teddington.

On passing from the general question of the average, or the minimum, amount of the rainfall of a given district, to the detailed inquiry of what actually becomes of the water that thus descends, we enter a region of incertitude. The best estimates obtainable as to the actual flow and volume of the Thames differ somewhat widely. In no instance, however, does the estimate exceed one-third of the rainfall. The Royal Commissioners give an average annual rainfall of 27.2 inches, one-third of which they consider flows down the Thames at Hampton. Mr. Bailey Denton estimates the fall at 25 inches, and the escape at the river at 3 inches, or 3.25ths of the rain. Mr. J. T. Harrison, whose evidence is referred to as of value by the Commissioners, estimates the summer flow of the deep-seated springs, that can alone be depended on in a dry season, at one sixth of the rainfall. In matters of estimate it is unsafe to run too close. If we take the rainfall of 1832, the proportion given by Mr. Harrison, and the allowance of fifty tons per head per annum per 5,000,000 souls, we arrive at one third of the summer flow of the Thames as the quantity of water required for the domestic use of the population of the basin.

Considerations of the foregoing nature have led to the investigation of various methods of providing for the future water supply of the metropolis. We are not aware that the subject has ever before been presented in such naked simplicity. But it is essential to look the worst in the face before we cast about for a remedy. The subject is, as yet, far more in the state of doubt, of incertitude, and of estimate, than is at all cre-

ditable to the practical education of the community. Unless further light be thrown upon it, we can only set opinion against opinion. And when such is the case, ordinary sagacity demands that much weight should be given to the most unfavourable opinion. The Royal Commission has so far endorsed the estimate of Mr. Harrison that it must be treated, at all events, provisionally, with respect. And when we apply that opinion to the ascertained rainfall of a dry year, and contemplate a rate of domestic demand that cannot be very long postponed, we come to the possibility of being driven to pump one-third of the flow of the Thames into the reservoirs of the five of our water companies. The proposition is startling enough to lead people to look elsewhere for a supply.

We propose to return to the question of what becomes of that portion of the rainfall of the Thames basin which is not accounted for in the flow of the river. This will more naturally come under consideration when we have described the various plans for bringing other rivers to aid the flow of the Thames. But we have first a word to say as to the meaning of an expression, which is often in the mouths of the advocates of the various schemes, namely, the supply of water by gravitation.

The ordinary phrase, water will find its level, simply means that the surface of the water in any vessel, or in any connected series of vessels, is always level. This is a necessary result of the fluid condition. Whether we regard a teapot with a curved spout, a series of reservoirs connected by pipes, or a great natural basin of clay, such as that which underlies the gravel beds on which part of London stands, the result is the same. Whether the vessel be simple or complex, large or small, artificially combined of pipes and boxes, or naturally filtering and percolating through chalk or gravel, the same rule applies. Everywhere in the vessel, or connected series of vessels, the level of the water that is contained in it will be the same.

It follows from this, that if there is a reservoir of water at a high elevation, as on the top of Hampstead Hill, or on the summit of one of the iron turrets at the Crystal Palace, the fluid may be made to rise to the same level in a pipe, wherever that pipe may be conducted, provided that no leakage, either of water out or of air in, be allowed. And if the issue of the water from such a pipe be permitted, at a level much below the head-water, the pressure will cause it to spring upwards with a rush, proportioned to the head and to the size of the

aperture. It is thus that the fountains at Sydenham play, under the pressure of the lofty head of water in the tanks at the top of the water towers. And it is for this reason that, in the City-road and elsewhere, reservoirs are placed at the top of hills. The service of pipes and mains connected with such reservoirs is calculated to maintain a constant supply of water, at any point of delivery up to the level of such head.

Water, moreover, may be directly forced to ascend to a required elevation by the forcing pump. The *law* of gravitation is constant in its operation. But the *power* of gravitation is matter of calculation, and this power may be overcome by a stronger power, such as that of the steam-engine. In the simplest use of the common pump, or even in that of the windlass which draws a bucket of water from a well, human labour raises the weight, that is to say, overcomes the gravity, of the water raised. It is the same thing, in principle, in the deepest Cornish mine, or in the draining of the Haarlem Lake.

In those instances in which steam power is used to force a certain quantity of water directly through a system of pipes, it is customary to provide a hydraulic safety-valve. It might be possible to burst a main by the steam-engine; and a limit has therefore to be put upon the resistance. The known laws of the pressure of water, according to its head, enable us to fix this limit with precision. A column of water, a foot high, presses with a weight of 62·4 lbs. on the square foot. Thus, if an open or 'stand' pipe, of twenty or thirty feet high, be connected with a closed system of pipes, into which water is forced by a steam-engine, the pressure is kept up by the head of water in the stand-pipe. If, from any obstacle, the resistance in the closed pipes exceeds the prescribed limit, the water will escape from the top of the stand-pipe; and thus the limit of safety can never be transgressed.

If water be found in large quantities, at a level sufficiently high to command a supply to every portion of a large district, we have the simplest and most inexpensive case possible. This, however, but rarely occurs. Artificial aid is for the most part indispensable. It then becomes a simple question of cost or of convenience whether it is best to pump the water into lofty reservoirs, and allow it thence to descend by gravitation, or to force it directly through mains and pipes.

Thus it is apparent that it is Nature herself who prescribes the limits to the engineer. If we can obtain a sufficient supply of

water, from sources at a level that commands a given district, we have the simplest case of hydraulic action. When this is not the case, we must pump. The nature and arrangement of the pumping apparatus are matters of engineering detail. To the pump, however, nine times out of ten, we have actually to resort.

It will be found useful to bear in mind these clear and simple principles. In the contest between different schemes, the subject of delivery of water by gravitation is so often mentioned, that it is essential to understand what is really meant. To see that, we have to regard two concurrent elements. We must not only study convenience of situation, as far as level is concerned; but also economy in pumping—that is to say, to consider whether it is better to pump to an intermediate reservoir, or to drive water directly through the mains.

Mr. Bateman, an engineer of considerable experience in hydraulic works, proposed, in 1865, a plan for supplying the metropolis with water, which was investigated by the Royal Commission of 1869.

Mr. Bateman has sought to intercept the head waters of the Severn, the second of our rivers; and to bring them across England, in an artificial river of 180 miles in length, to aid the possibly failing stream of the Thames. The disgraceful neglect which has left us without any information as to the physical condition of our country, except such as is supplied by the private enterprise of individual lovers of science, prevents us from speaking in those precise terms as to the basis of Mr. Bateman's plan that the importance of the subject demands. The very primary elements of his scheme are matters of controversy; a state of things which, in the present condition of civilization and of science, is nothing short of a national disgrace. We are thus compelled to exhibit *ex parte* statements as to the actual possibility of Mr. Bateman's plan. To its relative merit we shall subsequently advert.

Mr. Bateman has selected certain high districts in North Wales, lying to the south of Swindon, and to the east of Plynlimmon and Cader Idris, as gathering grounds. The mountain soil of the vicinity consists of hard and impermeable rocks. The sparse character of the population is thought to be favourable to the purity of the water. The Severn rises on the east slope of Plynlimmon. It is joined, within a few miles, by five other streams. The whole area of the water-sheds thus drained is treated as a single district, called the southern district; whence the rainfall is to be conducted into

a main reservoir at Trefeglwys. The watershed of two other rivers, lying more to the north, and at present falling into the Severn between Welshpool and Shrewsbury (which is called the northern district), is to supply a second large reservoir near Rhyd y Gro. Separate conduits from these two main reservoirs are proposed to meet at Martin Mere, near Montgomery.

From this point, the joint volume of water was designed to be led to London by a common aqueduct, which should cross the valley of the Severn, near Bridgenorth. Running thence, past Stourbridge, Bromsgrove, Warwick, Bullingham, Aylesbury, and Watford, it was to discharge into large reservoirs, to be constructed on the high land, near Stanmore, about ten miles north-west of London. As Stanmore is on the highest ground in this district, and as the valley of the Colne has to be crossed, (which involved an embankment containing upwards of a million cubic yards for the London and North Western Railway, which runs at a level far below that of Stanmore Hill), it is clear that the whole supply would have to be pumped to that height, or that works of enormous magnitude must be attempted in that part of the country.

The total length of the aqueduct is estimated at 180 miles. The fall, from the head of the conduit in the Welsh Hills, to the proposed reservoirs at Stanmore, which would be about 270 feet above Trinity high-water mark, is about 180 feet, or twelve inches in a mile. But this fall is only a very rough average. The gradients of the aqueduct must vary, most materially, in different parts of its course. Indeed, it is proposed to cross the deep valleys by siphon pipes, which would be subjected to extraordinary pressure from within, and a failure in one of which would be disastrous. The aqueduct is said to be designed to convey 230 millions of gallons per diem; and the reservoirs were to be capable of containing two thousand millions of gallons, or twenty days' supply at the present rate of consumption.

Without entering at present into the details of Mr. Bateman's plan, it is obvious that it is one which, from its essential character, nothing but absolute necessity could induce a prudent legislature to sanction. Engineering, as a science, is only the organized outcome of common sense; and the principles of common sense are those which will always, in the long run, assert their power.

We find that the first idea of this plan involves the total neglect of the natural and existing source of the water supply of the

metropolis—the rainfall of the basin of the Thames. If London stood on an arid rock, far from any stream, and with no subterranean supply of water accessible, it might be necessary to imitate the great aqueducts of the Romans. But it would, at the same time, be proper to imitate those great builders, in exhausting the neighbouring springs and fountains before seeking contributions in aid from those that were more distant. This neglect of the Thames supply appears to have arisen from the consideration, that nothing but a compulsory water rate on the whole metropolis would pay for so gigantic a scheme. The estimate is eleven millions. We have no more exact grounds for checking this estimate than the proposers had for its formation. In the absence of detailed surveys, the sum must be regarded as little more than guess-work. But, supposing it to be accurate, the objection to the ignoring of all existing sources and means of supply is little short of insuperable.

To make a great city depend entirely, for its daily supply of water, on an aqueduct of 180 miles in length, led directly across the backbone of the country, crossing river valleys of magnitude, and conveying the springs of the second river in England to displace those of the first in its own basin, is, no doubt, an engineering possibility; but it would hardly be a statesmanlike act. The risk involved would be prodigious. The proceeding would be an inversion of the order of nature. The details, as we shall see, are open to much debate. The general principle is one which political, financial, and engineering reasons alike oppose.

Before pointing out some of those difficulties of detail which tend to throw doubt on the engineering programme of this scheme (if the money were forthcoming for its prosecution), it may be well to point out those rival plans, of essentially similar nature, which were brought, together with that of Mr. Bateman, before the Royal Commission of 1869.

Messrs. Hemans and Hassard proposed to supply the inhabitants of London with the water of the three Cumberland and Westmoreland Lakes—Ullswater, Thirlmere, and Haweswater. The actual level of Ullswater, the largest and the lowest of the three, is 480 feet above the sea. The distance to be traversed is 240 miles, or one-third more than the length of the aqueduct of Mr. Bateman. But the length of the aqueduct is stated at 270 miles, or 50 per cent. more than that of the former scheme. Thus the average fall is but little more than nine inches per mile, instead of twelve. We must guard ourselves against the supposition

that, in matters of this nature, it is safe to rely upon averages. Each portion of a complicated hydraulic system must be tested according to its own merits; and in this, as in all mechanical systems, the weakest part is the measure of the strength of the whole. Still, it must be borne in mind that the difference of fall, if it were the same throughout, is such as to give the course of the river brought from the Cumberland, a velocity of only about two-thirds of that from Wales. This is equivalent to making the cost, or, at all events, the sectional area, of the longer aqueduct, one-third more per mile than that of the shorter one. This important consideration has not, apparently, crossed the mind of any of the Commissioners.

The points most in favour of the scheme of Messrs. Hemans and Hassard, when compared with that of Mr. Bateman, are two. First, the quantity of water obtainable is larger in the Cumberland district than in North Wales; the available area is wider, and the rainfall, so far as the observations go, is deeper. In fact, in the Lake districts occurs, in one particular locality, an annual rainfall of tropical depth—the rain-gauge at the Sty, according to ‘Symonds’ British Rainfall’ for 1872, having actually registered 243·98 inches, against 150·21 inches at Beddgelert. The second point is not less important. The natural outfall of the Ullswater lake is at the north end, by the river Ermont, flowing into the Eden, and so, by Carlisle, into the sea. The abstraction of this main affluent (if, indeed, it be not called the head water) of the Solway, serious as would be its hydraulic effect, would not tap the main springs of the water supply of so extensive a district as that now watered by the Severn.

The consideration of this grave national question, as to one of the results of Mr. Bateman’s plan, has led Mr. Hamilton Fulton to select the district of the Wye, in place of that of the Severn, for the source of his proposed supply. The navigation of the Wye, he remarks, is very small, and consequently the abstraction of its water would be no injury, so far as the navigation is concerned. Up to Hereford the trade is nearly extinguished on the river, and the present water communication of that town is by canal leading to the Severn.

Mr. Hamilton Fulton’s scheme appears to be even more unstudied in its details than that of Mr. Bateman. But as far as it is possible to compare the two, in the absence of those exact data, which it is discreditable to the civilization of the country to lack, the former has the advantage in almost every particular. The gathering ground is

double in area. The rainfall must be taken as approximately the same. The robbing of the river would consequently be equal to only half the amount: while the district watered by the Wye is not much more than a third part of that watered by the Severn. The length of aqueduct is alike in the two cases. But the fall from the lowest reservoir at Rhyader, which is at the level of 590 feet above the sea, to that proposed at Barnet, six feet* above the level of Mr. Bateman's proposed reservoir at Hanwell, is 314 feet, against the 180 feet of the Severn scheme. This gives an average fall of nearly twenty-one inches per mile, against the twelve inches of Mr. Bateman—a difference which would allow of more than double the velocity of current, and thus of a corresponding diminution in the cost of works. Against this great and indisputable advantage, however, has to be weighed the fact, that the works necessary for carrying the new river athwart the valley of the Severn must be of the most formidable character. In the absence of a distinct survey of both lines, it is impossible, with propriety, to say more than that a careful examination of the plan of Mr. Fulton would be a necessary preliminary to the serious consideration of that of Mr. Bateman. The cost of the former is estimated, by the projector, at about £2,000,000 less than that of the latter. Reserving the question of the relative expense of crossing the Valley of the Severn, there is no doubt that the fall obtainable from the Wye, as compared with that from Plynlimmon, would allow of a material economy in the construction of an aqueduct supplying an equal daily quantity of water.

A fourth scheme, of the same general character, is that of Mr. George Remington, who proposes to bring water from the hills of Derbyshire. His collecting area is one of 262 square miles. The head of his conduit is designed to be at Mill Dale, on the River Dove, 586 feet above the sea. The length would be 135 miles; and it would find a reservoir on Barnet hill, twenty-four feet higher than that proposed by Mr. Fulton. This would give an average fall at the rate of twenty-five inches per mile. The rainfall over the collecting ground is less than in either the Cumberland or the South Wales districts. District No. 17 of Mr. Symonds' 'Rainfall Reports,' which most nearly coincides with the locality, only averaged a rainfall, as far as actually gauged, of less than twenty-four inches per annum for the years 1850–1859.

* Such six feet would represent an annual economy of £1,000, if the most perfect mechanical appliances were employed.

Thus Mr. Remington's estimate, in round numbers, of 100,000,000 gallons a day amounts to nearly two-fifths of the rainfall, as far as it is actually ascertained. Mr. Remington has assumed the quantity falling on the high district to be 48 inches, and has calculated on obtaining one-sixth part of this for his reservoir. In the absence of rainfall observations to support this estimate, and taking into account the evidence supplied by the nearest neighbouring gauges, Mr. Remington's plan is not in a condition to demand serious consideration. As far as actual observations go, the abstraction of the entire river drainage of the area specified would be entirely insufficient to supply the quantity of water required for the consumption of the metropolis. And the construction of 135 miles of aqueduct, across England, for a mere subsidiary supply, is not a matter that can be regarded as ripe for discussion.

It is unnecessary to make more than a very brief reference to the suggestion of Mr. Thomas Dale, engineer to the Corporation Waterworks of Hull, to carry the water of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Lakes to supply twenty towns in Yorkshire and Lancashire, as this does not concern the metropolis; otherwise than in the case of any serious attention being directed to the scheme of Messrs. Hemans and Hassard.

The difficulty which we mentioned, in describing the plan of Mr. Bateman, is one which is opposed to all the schemes we have enumerated. A liberal enterprise, attempted for no less serious an object than the supply of a main necessary of life to the largest city of the world, is a financial operation of the first magnitude. If attempted by any other persons than the national government of a country, it is one which, in order to meet support, must stand on a perfectly sound basis, as regards remuneration for outlay. Therefore half measures, or minor measures, are out of the question. Nothing but the entire supply of the metropolis would allow of repayment for works of this magnitude. Thus we are driven to neglect all those nearer and more natural sources which we conceive more safe and less costly. Thus, on the other hand, we are compelled more rigidly to criticise the proposed plans. If it should turn out, in the event of their accomplishment, that any unforeseen difficulties arose, or that any calculation had been in error, the result would be no less than a national calamity.

The first point, then, which is obvious, in regarding all these great schemes as a class, is the fact that our observations are deficient. Our knowledge of the rainfall of the

country is derived from amateur sources alone. The highest credit is due to the scientific public spirit of Mr. G. J. Symonds and his allies, to whom we owe an annual report on the British rainfall, collected from the observations of more than 1,500 separate observers. But when so serious an engineering problem as the formation of a second New River, and one of far greater volume than the stream now existing under that name, is at stake, we require something more precise and definite as our authority for determining the minimum annual rainfall over each proposed catch-water area.

When we have ascertained such rainfall, a second question will arise. It is one of little less importance than the first; but it is one as to which our positive information is of the most meagre description. Given our supply, supposing it to be impounded in Ullswater, in Martin Mere, or in the artificial lakes of either of the rival projectors, what becomes of it? How much can we draw out per diem? Or rather, for it is the reply to this question which determines the answer to the former query, how much do sun and wind daily and nightly pump up from its surface, and remove as invisible vapour?

As to this important point, the amount of annual evaporation, we are in a state of ignorance that is absolutely disgraceful. Observations on the point have been left, as in the case of rainfall, to amateur care. But the degree of accuracy required for the purpose, the scientific knowledge, the delicacy and cost of apparatus, are far higher. For observations of rainfall, daily care, and simple procedure with inexpensive apparatus, will suffice. For observations of evaporation, the best method is yet undetermined; the best apparatus is as yet unknown. One gentleman, who has given daily attention to the subject for eleven years, tells us that he is as yet unable to give any definite result, in a form such as we require. The results of eight different series of observations, for the year 1872, published in the 1873 number of 'British Rainfalls,' range from 7.96 to 40.26 inches of water. 'In experiments made some years since by Mr. Dickenson, on the rainfall in the district of the Colne, he found, on an average of seven years, that from April to September, inclusive, 93 per cent. of rainfall was evaporated, and 7 per cent. absorbed, equal to 1,192 tons of water per acre evaporated, while but 91 tons per acre were absorbed or filtered into the ground; and from October to March, inclusive, 25½ per cent. of water was evaporated, equal to 360 tons of water per acre, and 1,052 tons per acre were absorbed.' We

take this from Mr. Latham's book, entitled 'Sanitary Engineering.'

These figures are very remarkable. They coincide with an average rainfall of 26.95 inches, of which 15.5 inches are evaporated, and 11.43 absorbed in, or run off by, the ground. But the amount of evaporation arrived at is nearly one-fourth less than that given over averages of from eleven to sixteen years, by evaporation, at Wisbeach, Bolton, and Manchester. The mean of these observations gives an evaporation of about 58½ per cent. of the rainfall; but it does not appear as if the amount evaporated depended directly on the amount that falls, since the differences in the respective readings by no means correspond. Thus a difference of twelve inches in rainfall existed last year between the gauges at Wisbeach and at Manchester; and at Bolton seven inches more fell than at Manchester, or nineteen more than at Wisbeach. But the difference in evaporation was only 0.01 inch between the two former stations, and 0.8 inch between the first and third, over the entire average of the time observed.

These results are thus far anomalous. The proportion borne by evaporation to rainfall, according to the estimate of Mr. Dickenson, is very close upon that arrived at by the Yorkshire and Lancashire experiments. But these experiments, as compared between themselves, do not show the evaporation to be in any way proportioned to the fall, but rather to approach a constant quantity in each place; although from year to year the general variation is as much as from 14.30 to 24.14 inches. It is thus certain that we are far from possessing sufficient information to enable us to determine, how many inches of water will be evaporated, from the surface of an acre of reservoir, in any part of England, in the course of twelve months. At Wisbeach, in 1871, the quantity would have been 1,430 tons. In the Colne Valley, for seven years, it is estimated at an annual amount of 1,552 tons. But at Wisbeach, in 1868, it rose to 2,414 tons. What it was in a position receiving a much heavier rainfall we are without observations to show.

Here, however, we are again shown the danger of relying on averages, in questions referring to daily consumption. Were the water supply of a year stored up in one immense open reservoir, we might arrive (though we are not yet in a position to do so) at the total loss that would occur in the course of that year from evaporation. But we are not dealing with such reservoirs. We have to look at the entire surface of large collecting areas, over the whole of

which the constant abstraction of moisture is going on. July is, ordinarily, one of our wettest months. Mr. Dickenson's seven years of observation give 60 per cent. of the annual rain as occurring during the summer half-year. In dry years it is usually this portion of the supply from heaven that fails. Such failure, however, has no effect on the evaporating power; which, on the contrary, increases in energy with increase of temperature. Seventy-seven per cent. of the summer supply was evaporated, according to these observations, when that supply amounted to 15.5 inches. But the evaporation of twelve inches would have gone on, we may conclude, had a smaller quantity of water fallen. Thus it might well occur that for a month or six weeks (or for a longer period in years of exceptional drought) the profuse contributions from the catch-water area to the artificial lake would be *nil*, while the lake itself was daily losing from its surface as well as from its outlet. We are thus driven to contemplate the necessity of enormous reservoirs, to maintain a minimum supply from any artificial source. We could not put the capacity of such reservoirs, with any prudence, at less than 50 million tons of water, a capacity equal to that of 50 million cubic metres, or 54½ million cubic yards. A lake of one mile square and fifty feet deep would hold less than a fifth part of this volume of water.

If such be the magnitude of the works that would be requisite for the collecting reservoir, or artificial source, of our new 'New River,' the character of the conduit that would cross the backbone of England would not be less worthy of consideration. We will say nothing indeed of the elevations, but allow that our skill and experience in tunnelling, and the strides that have been made in this craft between the date of the commencement of the tunnel under the Thames, and the completion of that through the Mont Cenis, reduce this part of the estimate within the limits of reasonable certitude. But the crossing of the valleys is another matter. We are not among those persons who so devoutly take for granted the fact of the superiority of the present generation of mankind to all those that have preceded it, as to believe that the Romans carried their great aqueducts on a level, in consequence of their ignorance of hydraulic law. We hold that they did so for far more valid reasons. In one respect, it is true, we have an advantage over these mighty builders. Our metallurgy is more perfect. We can cast tubes of iron of a weight and magnitude that would have excited the wonder of the Imperial engineers.

But in most other respects, as far as the construction of aqueducts go, they were our masters. When they needed to make what we call culverts, or closed conduits of masonry for the conveying of water, they built them in a manner calculated to excite the despair of the English mason and bricklayer. If they avoided the use of syphon pipes of masonry, it was neither because they were ignorant of their mode of action, nor because they were unable to construct them. Why they avoided them, in works intended to supply water for the table and for the bath, we may learn, if we examine the condition of those works, of a similar nature, which our own engineers constructed, when our command of iron was less perfect than is now the case, to carry streams under our canals. The accumulation of mud that is always present at those spots is such as to justify the foresight, and to explain the costly work, of the great Roman engineers.

A question of this kind assumes extraordinary importance when we regard a project that is designed to conduct a great river of pure water across such natural depressions as the valleys of the Severn, of the Trent, and of the Colne. Such an operation may be attempted on three different modes. The first is that of the construction of an arched aqueduct, built of masonry, to a height that will allow of the equable flow of the water. This is the method adopted by the Roman engineers, of whose works such magnificent ruins yet remain in many parts of Italy and of France. The second plan is to raise an embankment, on the top of which the water is conducted in a channel, lined, or, as it is technically called, puddled, with clay. Of this we have some fine examples in this country, of which the Birmingham canal may be cited as an instance. The third method is by the use of pipes. From the facility with which iron is now cast, and from the manner in which the systems of pipes that supply our cities are conducted in every direction, it is argued that the same plan, on a scale of corresponding magnitude, may be applied to the main conduits of supply; and that a river of a volume of a hundred and twenty millions of gallons per diem may be conducted up and down any acclivities, or around any curves, in large cast iron pipes.

The great contrast between the works of our contemporary engineers, and those of which the Romans have left such imperishable memorials, depends on the fact, that with us cheapness, and with the Romans permanence and excellence, appear to have been the primary consideration. Without denying that waste or unnecessary outlay is an engineering fault, deserving due repre-

hension, we think it certain that many of the theories which are not only held, but glorified, on this subject, are of an extremely mischievous nature. It is one of the misfortunes of the mode of executing great public works by associated private capital, that the element of pecuniary return is thus necessarily thrust into the foreground. In manufactures and in metallurgy, the former reliance that the world was wont to place on the soundness and excellence of English work, no longer exists. In most instances it is no longer justified. The desire of gain, and still more the effects of competition, exaggerated, rather than checked, by false doctrines of political economy, have inflicted an injury on the English character which is of incalculable damage; and the result of which it is hard to foresee. In this matter of hydraulic conduit, the application of these remarks will be readily obvious.

To lay large pipes on the level of the ground, across a valley, is an expedient so much less costly than to build an aqueduct, through which the water may run with an equable flow, that there can be but little doubt that such a plan would be selected by the engineer of a public company.

The objections to this mode, however, are so grave, that it is certain that no Roman engineer would have exposed the service of a great city to the risk of interruption involved by its adoption.

In the first place, the ordinary mechanical action of running water would tend to choke the lower portion of the pipes. The rapidity of this process would depend on the quantity of foreign matter, held, either in suspension or in solution, in the water.

The plan of collecting the rainfall from a large impermeable surface, which is that of Mr. Bateman, is also that which tends to bring down the largest proportion of suspended matter, or, in plain terms, to yield the muddiest water.

The chemical difficulty is far more subtle. There is no subject on which analytic chemistry is so much at fault as in the attempt to decide on the delicate differences in the nature of water collected from different sources. The exquisite chemistry of nature, in this respect, as yet mocks the art of man. Analyses of the same samples of water, by eminent chemists, differ materially in their result. The reason is, that while the actual proportions of each chemical element present are ascertainable, the state of combination in which these elements existed is, for the most part, entirely unknown. Thus, as is well known, the water of certain streams, or of certain wells, has a value to

the brewer which can be neither rivalled nor explained.

Thus we find that the Royal Commission on water supply states (p. 17 of Report) that of sixteen samples of Welsh waters, nine were found to act more or less on bright lead, and five to have no action; while on tarnished lead two had considerable action, and fourteen had no action. This is a distinct proof of the necessity of ascertaining, by actual experience, the active chemical qualities of water, in place of inferring them from argumentative reasons. The subject was thus raised, and very properly, by the Commission, with reference to the effect, on health, of the action of different springs of soft water upon lead. But a similar caprice (we can find no more appropriate word) appears to characterize the action of different samples of hard water, with reference to iron. This does not so much interest the medical analyst. But to the engineer, who wishes to use iron pipes, it is of primary importance.

To this, indeed, a reference is made in the Report (Art. 174), but it is a subject to the engineering importance of which proper heed has not been given. Mr. Duncan, engineer to the Corporation of Liverpool, states that at Chorley they had to take up and relay a number of pipes in the town, because they had become choked up in consequence of corrosion. In the same way the pipes at Grenoble became so damaged and choked after ten years' use, that they had to be removed. A similar mischief, in a lesser degree, happened at Cherbourg. Like, however, the action on lead, this action on iron is uncertain and irregular. As a destructive influence, it is by no means to be lightly esteemed. Capricious in its exercise, as in the before cited case of action on lead, the corrosive action of running water in iron pipes is, in some instances, of fatal rapidity. We have seen, in Liverpool, water mains removed from the ground, which had been only laid down eight or ten years, which were more than half full of sinter; the fine silicious deposit, which is not mechanical, but chemical, in its mode of precipitation. The water in question was very hard. But in its course through the iron mains, the oxygen which gave it that quality dropped the mineral with which it was in chemical union, in order greedily to attack the iron of the pipes. Thus chemical action at the same time choked the flow of water (and in time would have absolutely arrested it) and attacked the material of the conduit, which in time it would have absolutely destroyed.

It is thus evident that in any system of

conducting a large volume of water through large and long syphon pipes, provision must be made for the inspection, the cleansing, and, if necessary, the renewal of these pipes; and that without interfering with the daily supply. This would involve a spare or supplementary conduit, which would be no trifling addition to the estimated cost.

Again, the retardation of the amount transmitted by the syphon pipes would be very considerable. It is not necessary here to go into the mathematical investigation of the case. But the difference in velocity between the flow of a given volume of water through an even and straight channel, and the flow of an equal volume through syphon pipes, would be very great. If a powerful head were available to force the current through the syphon (which would diminish the average fall of the stream in other parts of its course), the resistance of the bends and curves would be considerable. The entire stream would be regulated in its flow by the capacity of the most restricted part of its course. For these reasons the provision of piping for crossing a valley would involve a very formidable outlay, as well as give occasion for constant anxiety and care.

Embankments are not less objectionable for the support of water conduits of importance. Heavy embankments shrink and consolidate for years after their completion. In a railway, this process may be detected chiefly by the additional stress thrown upon the locomotive. In an aqueduct it would be detected by the overflow of the water. The process of repair is a costly one; and if, as on a well-remembered occasion in the canal between Birmingham and Bromsgrove, a storm effects a breach in the side of a lofty embankment, the consequences are very disastrous.

Again, in some instances, embankments, such as would be required for the purpose of the water supply of London, are impracticable. That is to say the expense would be enormous, and the attainment of stability extremely doubtful. We can give a case in point. Mr. Bateman's line, and probably any line, of conduit, must cross the Valley of the Colne. The project, on plan and section, may not seem one of alarming magnitude. But the case is just one of these which shows the absolute necessity of the adoption of the plan, formerly suggested in our pages, of the division of England into great engineering districts, each under the control of a Government engineer in chief.* We can imagine the preparation of plans,

sections, and estimates in due course; the usual Parliamentary debate, the overpowering of local opposition, and the legalization of the project.

But when the engineer of the new River had made his contracts, and had well entered on the execution of this portion of his scheme, he would have to encounter the same unexpected difficulty that beset Mr. Robert Stephenson in this very locality. The Valley of the Colne, near Watford, while not presenting the aspect of a great main line, such as that of the Severn, has a peculiarity which makes it very difficult to cross, with any work of magnitude. At a depth of some five to ten feet below the alluvial surface of the broad meadows, occurs a stratum of peat, or peaty mud. As weight is put on the surface of the land, a huge billow of this mud is squeezed up, and pushed before the new work, swelling ahead, and on either side, and engulfing the foreign matter poured upon its bed. In the case of the London and Birmingham Railway, deep gravel and chalk excavations occurred on each side, and more than a million of cubic yards were poured into the valley. A basis, adequate to support the railway, was thus ultimately attained. But the cost and difficulty were great. Had the embankment been destined to bear the puddled channel of a canal, years would have elapsed before it could have been made water-tight; and the expense would have been something truly formidable. Nor would the difficulty have proved less serious, if an aqueduct of masonry had been substituted for an embanked canal. Syphon pipes, if they had once displaced the crust of the valley (which would probably have occurred as soon as they were filled with the current), would have disappeared altogether in the unsuspected bog.

It is not our wish now to enter minutely into the engineering details of these schemes. But we trust that our readers have accompanied us thus far towards the conclusion that an attempt to divert the water-shed of the Severn, the Wye, the Eden, or the Dove, to feed the domestic consumption of London, is one of those proposals to override the natural indications of physical geography that nothing short of necessity can justify. Should such a necessity be shown to exist, the work is one of a magnitude and importance that is national; and is therefore not one that can be attempted, without extreme probability of failure, unless by the national Government. Lastly, far more exact research than has as yet been attempted must be bestowed on the subject, before it can be placed in the cate-

* See 'British Quarterly Review,' for July, 1873, p. 22.

gory of schemes that are shown to be feasible.

We are thus led to reconsider the capabilities of that area which forms the natural collecting ground for the water required by the metropolis; that is to say, the district of the Thames and its tributaries. And the question whether it is needful to restrict the supplies to be obtained, to the results of the rainfall of the district above Teddington, is one that, in the first place, demands consideration.

The Royal Commission, issued on the 4th of April, 1867, appears (to use plain English) to put the cart before the horse. It recites that the present supply of water delivered in the metropolis, as well as in many other large towns, has been found insufficient; and that a large portion of the water now supplied is drawn from rivers and open streams which pass through populous districts, and are therefore continually exposed to pollution from various causes. On this ground the document directs the Commissioners to ascertain what supply of unpolluted and wholesome water can be collected in the high grounds of England and Wales, 'and whether there are other districts in addition to the high districts of England and Wales from which a good supply of unpolluted and wholesome water can be obtained.' It is clear that if the instructions to the Commissioners, instead of emanating from the Crown, had been drawn up by the projectors of one of the vast schemes we have described, they could not have been couched in language more characteristic of a foregone conclusion.

We have spoken of the danger of relying upon averages, when the matters actually to be dealt with are questions of maximum and minimum. In this respect a very marked and material difference exists between the operations of Nature and those of man. Or it may be more proper to say that a marked difference exists between two systems by which Nature herself operates; and that when man follows one of these, he is in a much more favourable position than when he follows the other.

This great and primary difference depends on the physical character of the country. Geology is the study to which we look for the information we require on the subject. But all that we have at this time to ask of the geologist is, whether the soil be permeable or impermeable; and, in the former case, what is the magnitude and natural boundary of the permeable system of water-shed.

The water-sheds of the mountain districts, as pointed out by the advocates of those sources of water supply, are formed of

impermeable strata. That is to say, they form the natural cradles, not of rivers, but of torrents. Torrents indeed may be said to feed rivers. But they rather serve to glut than to feed them. The rapid and violent discharge of surface water, from an impermeable area, whether natural or artificial, is always a matter difficult to deal with. In any attempt to store this water for steady consumption, we are rather counteracting than aiding the operations of Nature. A steady flow, which is the form in which the rainfall of a country is most available for human use, must be fed by the water that filters through a large surface of permeable ground.

A remark is made in the report of the Royal Commission that is here in point. 'It is worthy of remark,' say the Commissioners, 'that during the exceptionally long drought of 1868 the Thames and Lea seem not to have been diminished in volume below the ordinary flow of dry years, a result entirely due to the equalizing effect of the great subterranean stores contributing to their flow.' When we contrast such an observation as this with our experience of the violent and capricious supplies of water that form the torrents of the Welsh and Cumberland hills, we see in a moment in which direction Nature herself indicates that we should search for the main sources of supply of an urban population. No artificial reservoir, short of such works as those of Lake Mœris, can for a moment be compared with the great natural reservoirs of a pervious district of water-shed.

While, therefore, we must bear in mind, in casting about for supplies of water, that the rainfall in the Thames basin has been as low as sixteen and a half inches in a year, we must also remember that the average annual fall, from 1815 to 1868, has been twenty-four inches. Wherever we depend, then, on the surface catch-water drainage of this district, we not only are obliged to regard a minimum monthly supply of one and one-third inches of rain, but we must further bear in mind that the distribution of this supply over the year is extremely capricious, and that we may have two or even three months with hardly any rain at all. But when we regard the subterranean store, we shall find that an average fall of two inches per month, year after year, is committed to its recesses, diminution being made of the quantity lost by evaporation.

As to this, however, we are in urgent need of more extended observation. The information we possess is of the most meagre description. And further, it is questionable how far the recorded experiments,

however exact in themselves, give results directly applicable to the problem proposed. The observations of Mr. Miller, now extending over a period of eleven years, have been from the surface of water. Observations of evaporation from the soil are but in their infancy. The difficulty attendant on them is extreme. The nature of the soil must very seriously affect the quantity of evaporation. From a marsh, for example, the vaporization would very possibly be larger than from a lake, in consequence of the aid afforded by the vegetation to the exposure of evaporating surface. In a field where light soil is based on 300 or 400 feet of pervious chalk, the rapid percolation of the rain may be thought to remove the supply, with great rapidity from the risk of evaporation. Thus while we find that, in different parts of England, over a period of fourteen to sixteen years, the mean evaporation measured is under twenty inches of water per annum, we also find the ratio, from year to year, to vary extremely: 14.30 inches are attributed to 1871, against 24.14 (at Wisbeach) for 1868. In this year the evaporation is thus actually in excess of the rainfall. As a practical matter, that is, of course, out of the question. But that, in a very hot year, the evaporation from a surface of water may exceed the rainfall of that year is highly probable. Such a statement, however, gives us little or no information as to the quantity of water that is actually received by the subterranean reservoirs in that year. It is certain that more water cannot rise in vapour than falls in rain, over any given district of country. It is not for a moment to be supposed that the whole supply of 1868, and a portion of the residue of that of 1867, were thus vaporized. Thus we are at fault as to a very important element of calculation. And we can hardly doubt that while a given quantity, say twenty inches of water, falling on a reservoir or impervious surface from which it would not otherwise escape, might evaporate within the year, but a small proportion of that fall would so evaporate, if it once made its way into the chalk.

We decline to attempt, in order to give completeness to our statement, to guess at the value of so important an element of the calculation. That an average annual quantity of four inches of water sinks into the permeable beds of the Thames basin is matter of record. How much larger a supply is thus stored is only, at this day, matter of guess-work. That the summer flow of the Thames should not appreciably fail, in the year when the measured evaporation exceeded the measured rainfall of the district (and

that very largely), is a proof of the great conservative power of the natural reservoir, afforded by the chalk and other permeable beds.

We must now refer to a matter as to which it is extraordinary to observe the silence that is maintained in the Report of 1869. It is that of the amount of money that has been, up to this time, expended in order to provide the existing water supply. There is, indeed, a table which contains in one of its columns a statement of certain sums set down as capital; but their total falls short of the returns since made by the companies themselves by a million and a half sterling.

Eight separate companies have expended, in providing the existing water supply of the metropolis, £10,137,710 sterling. This was the amount returned in 1872. The united gross incomes of these companies are at the rate of about 10 per cent. on the outlay, and their dividends do not exceed an average of 4 per cent. on the capital. In proposing, then, to expend ten or twelve millions in providing an entirely novel source of water supply, it must not be forgotten that *bond fide* vested interests now exist to a nearly equal amount.

Five of these companies—that is to say, the Chelsea, the West Middlesex, the Grand Junction, the Southwark and Vauxhall, and the Lambeth companies—derive their supply of water from the Thames. They have expended a capital, according to the Report of 1869, of £4,270,856, and according to their own Report in 1872, of £5,177,807. They supplied, in 1867, a daily quantity of 223,000 tons of water, pumped from the Thames. The supply thus averaged may be taken at about 234,000 tons in summer, and 212,000 tons in winter. The area supplied by these companies is stated at ninety-five and a half square miles, with a population of 1,385,000 souls, who inhabited, in 1867, 200,824 houses.

Sixty-nine square miles of metropolitan area, containing the large population of 1,475,000 souls, more densely packed in 206,114 houses, were supplied at the same time with the lower average quantity of 196,000 tons of water by the New River and the East London companies, from the basin of the Lea. The capital laid out to afford this accommodation is returned at £4,483,184.

Lastly, 240,000 persons, inhabiting 34,504 houses, spread over an area of sixty square miles, were supplied from chalk wells in Kent, by the Kent Company, with 30,000 tons of water per day. The capital of this company is returned at £476,719.

These facts, which we have endeavoured to state in the simplest and most intelligi-

ble form, show that the metropolis has, up to this time, been dependent, not on one, but on three distinct sources of supply. The indications given by Nature herself have been followed in the first instance. Until the beginning of the seventeenth century, the water of the upper Thames basin, including the wells and pumps sunk in the metropolis, and the supply pumped from the river by a water-wheel erected at London Bridge, were the sources of the urban supply. In 1606 an Act of Parliament was passed to enable the Corporation to bring a stream from sources in the chalk near Ware. But the fathers of the city proving slack, a private citizen, Sir Hugh Myddleton (who at last obtained the assistance of no less a partner than King James the First), undertook the task. In 1613 the aqueduct called by the name of the New River, was opened, and it has ever since been an important source of metropolitan supply. The speculation proved one of the most permanently lucrative investments of money ever effected. The work is one of those in which the engineer has followed the guidance of Nature. The Lea is an affluent of the Thames, although its natural infall is below London. In collecting and conveying from the perennial sources of this river a supply which is only slightly, and, it may be said, temporarily, diverted from its natural outfall, we find that a great advantage has been gained at the smallest possible cost. It is little wonder that the plan was crowned by such complete success; and that the financial result was as remunerative as the engineering design was sound.

So well-considered has been the application of the supplies derivated from the basin of the Lea to the wants of the metropolis, that it is not probable that a greatly-increased supply is obtainable from this source. The area of the water-shed is about 500 square miles, of which the upper part is chalk, the lower chiefly London clay. Thus the river supply, properly so-called, represents very fairly the rainfall over the permeable district. And the torrent supply, or water falling on the clay, occurs in the least available part of the river system for storage and subsequent use. At the same time, any project for the water supply of the metropolis would be short-sighted and extravagant, that failed to take into account the means of insuring a regular daily influx of at least 200,000 tons of water, drawn from the present source, and flowing through existing channels. Whatever be the ultimate demand and supply of the metropolis, we may consider that the requirements of 1,400,000 of the inhabitants will be permanently met

by the system of the Lea and New River water-shed.

The supply of water obtainable from the Valley of the Lea is a portion of the natural affluent water of the Thames, artificially diverted so as to pass through the water-works of London. On the south and east of the metropolis exists a large area of water-holding chalk, a portion of the outfall of which may, in a similar manner, be made available for urban use. The Kent Water-works Company supply, as we have seen, an area of sixty square miles, comprising Deptford, Greenwich, and Woolwich, and extending from Camberwell to Dartford, and from the banks of the Thames to Bromley, Chiselhurst, and Bexley. The supply is pumped from three wells at Deptford, two at Charlton, and one at each of the remaining stations of Plumstead, Bromley, and Crayford. The natural surface of the water, at these stations, varies from the level of ten feet, to that of 115 feet, above the high-water level of the river; and the action of the pumps brings down this surface by fifty feet in the former cases, and by about twelve feet only in the latter. The expense of pumping is the chief objection to this source of supply, as the water is extremely pure.

The Kentish source of supply assumes much importance when we consider that the large area of suburb over which it is now distributed is at present the most sparsely-peopled of the metropolitan districts; and is likely, now that it is opened up by various railways, to increase in density of population more rapidly than other neighbourhoods. The district, again, is more dependent on local sources of supply than is the area north of the river, as the conducting over or under the Thames of a body of water, brought from the north, would involve expensive works, and be a source of daily expenditure.

The data as to the quantity of water available in this district are incomplete. In one small district near Gravesend springs issue from the chalk, which pour ten million gallons per diem into the Thames, according to the estimate of Mr. P. W. Barlow. Considering the facility with which the Kent Company could augment their present deliveries, and the evidence of the escape of much water from this large permeable area, the Royal Commission came to the conclusion that from four to five times the actual supply from this source may be relied on in case of need. Thus we may safely assume that at least a million out of the future population of the metropolis will be ultimately supplied with water from the chalk district of Kent.

On the north of the Thames, springs near Grays, in Essex, are said to be capable of supplying 45,000 tons per diem. This must be regarded as a supplement to the New River system of supply. It would raise the population that might be accommodated from that source by about 315,000 souls. We thus see that, out of the future population of the metropolis, as many as two and three-quarter millions of inhabitants may be amply supplied with water, without trenching on the main source of the natural supply of the metropolis, the rainfall of the Thames system above London.

We are thus naturally led to the investigation of the supply of water, positively attainable, from that source. We mentioned at the commencement of the inquiry that the area of this basin, above Teddington, is about two and a third millions of acres. We have also seen that it is not so much actual area, as area of permeable soil, that is to be depended on for the supply of a steady river-flow, as distinguished from sudden torrents. We have also had occasion to point out that the amount of evaporation, which is at present calculated only from observation on evaporation from water, or a wet surface, is likely to be materially diminished in districts where strata absorb water like a sponge, which is the case with the chalk. Another phenomenon has been observed in this material, which has a direct relation to the matter in hand. The chalk not only readily absorbs all the rain that reaches it, but it provides and feeds a subterranean waterway, which is to a great extent independent of the visible river courses. The escape of the water which fills the vast reservoir of the chalk, is regulated by the form of the underlying impermeable beds, far more directly than by any modification of the surface. Thus there is adequate reason to believe that a large proportion of the rainfall over the chalk district, which does not feed the rivers, and which we are accustomed to regard as evaporated, really keeps up the flow of a vast subterranean river to the sea; and is available for our domestic wants, if properly solicited by the engineer.

Upwards of two millions of acres of permeable oolitic limestones, sands, and chalk exist in the area of the Thames water-shed above Kingston. The Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire oolites have their water thrown out by the lias, Oxford, and Kimmeridge clays, and thus play no small part in keeping up the permeable flow of the Thames. It is to the chalk that we have to look for the largest supply of the water which now escapes, unseen, although not in the form of vapour. It would be a matter

worthy of a civilized people to take adequate steps to ascertain to what extent this constant waste of so great a source of wealth actually occurs. When we examine the practical outcome of the labour of the Commission on this subject, it is lamentable to note how vague and crude are the conflicting opinions cited in the Report. The total discharge of the Thames at Kingston, for eleven years, is said by the Commissioners to have been shown to be equal to an average of nine inches of rainfall. Mr. Bailey Denton estimates that three inches of rainfall supply the permanent flow of the river, and 'that while one and a-half inches of rain maintains the ordinary summer flow of the river from April to September inclusive, at least four inches runs off during the remaining months from October to March inclusive, without taking into consideration excessive floods.' That engineer takes the ordinary winter flow of the river, at Wolveral, as two and a half times the summer flow. Mr. Stacey takes it at four and a half times. To bring their divergent views into harmony, we must imagine that the torrent water, or that of excessive flood, is twice the amount of the permanent flow of the river, taking summer and winter together. This is a proportion which we think altogether improbable, from an area of the geological character of the Thames water-shed.

The minimum summer flow of the Thames is estimated by Mr. Bateman at 308,720,000 gallons per diem for a considerable period together. This is at Hampton. Mr. Simpson has gauged the minimum quantity at Kingston, in 1864 (the driest year known), at 380 million gallons per diem, after the whole of the companies had taken their supply. Mr. Beardmore puts the mean flow in June, July, August, and September, for 1864 and 1865, the two driest years known of late, at between 380 and 390 million gallons per day. Mr. Harrison tabulates the number of days in which the flow was below 400 million gallons at 25 per annum, in 1858, 1859, and 1864; and below 350 million gallons, at only 12, in each of these years. The engineer to the Thames Conservancy Board has often gauged the river at Teddington, and never found it below 380 million gallons per diem; and the engineer to the Grand Junction and the Southwark and Vauxhall Companies, says the lowest gauging ever taken of the Thames was 360 million gallons per diem at Teddington. To all these estimates, except that of Mr. Bateman, some 50 million gallons per diem must be added for the supply abstracted by the water companies.

Without, therefore, affecting a precision which the state of natural science and of ac-

tual observation in this country does not justify, we think it is abundantly clear that the increase of our metropolitan population may continue for many years before it approaches the limit of the exhaustion of the natural sources of the water supply of London. A population equal to five-sevenths of the existing numbers may be supplied from the basin of the Lea, and the chalk districts to the south and east of the metropolis, without drawing on the stores of the Thames proper. The five water companies that were drawing 50 million gallons daily from the Thames have Parliamentary powers to take double that quantity. By so doing, they would abstract, at the very driest time of the driest years, not much more than one-fourth of the minimum flow of the stream. They would thus provide for a population equal to nine-tenths of the existing number. Thus hard upon six millions of people can be provided with an adequate supply of this main necessary of life, before we attempt to organize the utilization of the great underflow through the chalk; which, there seems fair reason to estimate, would be ample for the supply of at least an equal quantity. We have thus, at least, until 1954, as a period to be safely regarded as provided for by the natural water-shed of the district, without the need of robbing the cradle of either the Severn, or the Wye, the Eden, or the Dove. And we trust that no very large proportion of this term of grace will be allowed to elapse before adequate measures are taken to ascertain what really becomes of the rainfall over our great chalk districts.

We have touched but one out of several distinct and important divisions of the subject of the water supply of the metropolis. It is, indeed, the first point on which sound information is required; but it by no means exhausts the interest of a practical inquiry that comes home to every urban resident. The subject of quality is as essential as that of quantity. The chemical investigation necessary when any new source is contemplated, is less urgent when we have to deal with water so pure and so familiar to our use as is that of the chalk basin. But the great sanitary question of the preservation, or the restoration, of the purity of streams, here presses for solution. Hardly less grave is the subject of the method of domestic supply—of the maintenance of pressure, combined with the avoidance of waste. Alone, and forming a matter of serious national importance, stands the question of adequate provision of water for the extinction of fire. Into these important branches of the great subject of urban water supply

it is impossible now to enter. To treat them otherwise than with a detail befitting their importance would be useless. We have therefore limited our investigations to the primary field of the sources of the supply of water for the metropolis; and we trust that we have made it clear that, at all events for the next two generations, the only duty of the engineer in this respect will be to preserve and to utilize the supply which nature brings ready to his hand, and to arrive at that accurate knowledge of the actual phenomena of the waterfall of the Thames basin, of its discharge by the river channel, of its evaporation, and of its subterranean percolation, which it is disgraceful to England to lack.

ART. VI.—*The Abolition of Patronage, and the Scotch Churches.*

- (1.) *An Act to alter and amend the Laws relating to the Appointment of Ministers to Parishes in Scotland.* 1874.
- (2.) *Journal of Henry Cockburn.* Edmonston & Douglas. 1874.
- (3.) *Law of Creeds in Scotland.* By A. TAYLOR INNES. Blackwood & Sons. 1867.
- (4.) *Life of Principal Carstairs.* By R. H. STORY, D.D. Macmillan & Co. 1874.
- (5.) *Parochial and Ecclesiastical Law of Scotland.* By JOHN M. DUNCAN. Bell & Bradfute. 1869.
- (6.) *The Ten Years' Conflict.* By ROBERT BUCHANAN, D.D. Blackie & Son. 1852.

'ALL establishments,' said the wittiest, and, in many respects, the wisest, of the band of robust Whigs who founded the *Edinburgh Review*, 'die of dignity; they are too proud to think themselves ill, and to take a little physic.' This, if not absolutely true, is a sufficient approximation to truth to be a typical Whig sentiment, and is certainly quite consistent with a creed the essence of which is that all revolutions may be prevented by timely reforms. Considering that, as we learn on high authority, Mr. Disraeli is the heir of all the Whig ages, it is not, perhaps, to be wondered at, that, in the first year of his reign, he should have sought to save and prolong the life of the Scotch Establishment by what, at first sight, seems to be only the administration of a wholesome dose of physic. Unfortunately, however, if not for his present position, at least for his future reputation, it has been Mr. Disraeli's fate to play his various parts—whether of violent Radical, of Protection-

ist, or in these latter days, of defender of the lines of the Reformation—a little too late and a little too violently; and the same thing will, we believe, be said of him in his rôle of physician to the Scotch Church. It would be rash to deny that a measure similar in character to the Conservative Patronage Act of 1874 would not, if passed in 1834, have prolonged the life of the Scotch Church, inasmuch as it would have removed the occasion, though by no means the cause, of the great secession of 1843; but it would be rasher still to deny that this measure, sectarianizing without disendowing the Church, has hastened by many years the inevitable day of its disestablishment. Those who read history chiefly to enjoy its irony, may relish the spectacle of the Bolingbroke of the nineteenth century undoing, amid the acclamation of his followers, the work of the Bolingbroke of the eighteenth; those who consider Mr. Disraeli the most skilful party-leader of the time, will marvel at the discipline he keeps in the ranks of his supporters, as shown by the fact that men with the ecclesiastical prejudices of Mr. Gathorne Hardy, whose opinions upon patronage in the Church of England are expressed by the Select Committee of the House of Lords—who in their report of this year affirm that ‘private patronage is an element of great value in our Church system, and would deprecate any attempt to supersede it,’—declared, with regard to patronage in Scotland, that the ‘election of ministers should be not from without, but from within.’ Both classes, however, will unite in believing that, by the Act of 1874, Mr. Disraeli has promoted the triumph of religious equality, and that, if his tombstone should become, not a catalogue of supposed virtues, but a record of the actual facts of his life, it will be stated that he shortened the life of the Scotch Establishment; although it may be added, by way of extenuation, that he did not understand what he did.

In endeavouring to make the change in the relations of the Scotch Churches brought about by the Patronage Act of 1874 ‘pervious to the English understanding’—to use a phrase of the late Lord Cockburn, the recent publication of whose journal has thrown a flood of light upon the catastrophe of 1843,—it will be well to bring into prominence two facts which distinguish the Scotch Presbyterian Establishment, if not from every other Reformed Church, from every other that has become identified with a nation’s life and been supported by the State. The one is the reality of the recognition of the headship of Christ over the Church. At no time in its history did the

Scotch Presbyterian Church profess, much less hold, the Anglican doctrine that the sovereign is the supreme governor of the Church. Its founders were a ‘congregation of Christ’ before they became the Church of Scotland, and when the final triumph of Knox and his companions came, in 1567, in the establishment of the Kirk, they took the doctrine of the headship with them into that establishment. Indeed, what the late Dr. Binney affirmed to be ‘the principle and spirit of evangelical dissent,’ that ‘Christ must be first, fellowship next, and *then* as much uniformity as will follow from the two,’ may fairly be said to have been a cardinal doctrine with the Scotch Reformers; and it is only by firmly grasping in all its reality the theory that the Church is, in the last resort, a spiritual society with a spiritual head, that one can understand the tangled web of Scotch ecclesiastical controversy, and can see how it is that, as the matter is well put by Mr. Taylor Innes, the able author of the ‘Law of Creeds in Scotland,’ ‘sectarianism common enough in fact, is in theory the accursed thing in Scotland.’ The other fact, closely connected with that just mentioned, which it is necessary to remember is, that at no time was the Established Church of Scotland in theory identical with the State in the sense that the Anglican Church was identical with it; although we can quite believe that at one time the Church of Scotland was co-extensive with the national life in a manner which cannot be affirmed of the sister establishment. Mr. Freeman, in his powerful though not, in all respects, conclusive pamphlet on ‘Disestablishment and Disendowment,’ has brought vividly before the public mind the circumstance which, if generally known, is also known only vaguely, and ‘lies bedridden in the dormitory of the soul,’* that the notion which lies at the foundation of a great deal of popular declamation and, we fear, of party legislation, that at one time there were two distinct bodies in England, the Church and the State, and that they came to a *concordat*, or agreement, is an utterly absurd one, and that ‘in early times the Church was simply the nation looked at with reference to religion, just as the army was the nation looked at with reference to warfare’—a belief which continued to be held long after the Reformation. But it is, perhaps, not too much to say that, in 1567, Church and State *did* come to an agreement in Scotland. We know it has been attempted to be shown, by the late eminent Scotch metaphysician, Professor Ferrier, and to a less extra-

vagant degree, and in his younger days, by the present Duke of Argyll, that Church and State were in Scotland, as in England, identical, and that the General Assembly was at first a junior house of Parliament; but it is impossible for the advocates of this theory to controvert such facts as these, that, while the Scotch Estates through Parliament adopted, in 1560, the Reformers' Confession of Faith as their creed, it was not till 1567 that they established and endowed the Kirk, and that during these intermediate years the Kirk held its courts, transacted its business, and enforced its discipline, although unconnected with the State; holding in fact the very position that the Free Church does now, except in regard to the one point—that while the Free Church does not seek endowment, the early Kirk did; which is almost tantamount to the difference between the ecclesiastical ideas of the sixteenth and those of the nineteenth century. It is quite clear that Knox and his coadjutors were above all things desirous that the Church and the nation should become one, both in extent and in conscience. They all but succeeded. They did succeed in making Scotland and Presbyterianism co-extensive. But the fundamental and characteristic doctrines of that Presbyterianism had in them the germs of disestablishment.

It will not be out of place briefly to relate the history of lay patronage in Scotland after the Reformation, and up to the introduction of the Abolition Bill of this year. And it must be remarked at the outset that there is no essential difference between lay patronage in Scotland and lay patronage in England. It was, indeed, argued in the course of recent debates in the Commons by ignorant English Members, of whom Mr. Disraeli must be considered one, that there is no resemblance between the two; and that consequently legislation in regard to the Scotch institution cannot be quoted as a precedent for dealing with the English one. Anglican benefices are, indeed, much more valuable as a property than Scotch Presbyterian livings; and there have been, as was pertinently pointed out at the last Assembly of the Church of Scotland by Dr. Cook,*—the sagacious leader of the remnant of the Moderate party, and almost the sole champion of patronage,—much greater scandals and abuses in connection

with the exercise of lay patronage in England than in Scotland. But, alike in origin and in recent exercise, lay patronage in Scotland is all but identical with lay patronage in England. The brocard '*Patronum faciunt dos, ædificatio, fundus*,' holds good on both sides of the Tweed. It is as true of the Scotch as of the English patron that he was in early times the advocate or champion of the ecclesiastical corporation, sole or aggregate, which was under his patronage; that while his duties, once both important and dangerous, have passed away, the right, which was the principal reward of these duties, remains—namely, not the direct bestowal of property or of office, but of presenting to a benefice, being, in the case of the Englishman, the submitting of a clerk to the bishop, in that of the Scotsman, the submitting of a minister to the congregation, and finally to the presbytery. It is utterly vain, therefore, to argue that legislation in regard to patronage in the Scotch Church can take place without affecting the same institution in the sister Establishment; and Sir Robert Peel was probably wiser, in the sense of being more conservative—because perhaps he knew more and felt more deeply—than is Mr. Disraeli, when, in 1842, he declined to abolish patronage, chiefly, if not solely, because of the effect the step might ultimately have upon the Church of England.

There is this difference, however, between the two countries in regard to patronage—a difference which has been made the most of by men who, although resolute champions of patronage thirty years ago, have yet recently been mainly instrumental in bringing about its downfall—that the Church of Scotland has always been averse to patronage, and in favour of the popular election of ministers, which the Church of England has never known, and even now does not understand. This probably arises from the fact, to which we have already alluded, that from 1560, or, to speak more accurately, from the 'covenant' of 1551, to 1567, the Church of Scotland, although the church of the people, was in fact a voluntary church. It is not at all surprising that in the First Book of Discipline, or original manual of Presbyterianism, drawn up by Knox, but never ratified by the State, it should be said that 'it appertaineth to the people, and to every several congregation, to elect their minister;' for in the early days of the Church the congregations both maintained and appointed their ministers. Since both the Church and patronage were established in 1567, the latter has had a history almost as chequered as the former. It was condemned in 1578 by

* Since this Article was in type, this distinguished clergyman, the last and most genial of the Moderates, and one of the most influential Churchmen and typical Scotsmen of his time, has died, surviving only by a few months that method of appointing ministers of which he was by far the ablest champion.

the Second Book of Discipline, prepared by Andrew Melville, and approved of by the General Assembly, but, like the First, not ratified by the State. The State, indeed, steadily supported patronage. In 1579, the provisions of 1567 regarding it were re-enacted, and even the Act of 1592, which has been called the Charter of Presbyterianism, and which abolished the powers formerly possessed by bishops to collate to benefices, bound the presbyteries to receive and admit every qualified minister presented by the Crown or lay patron. Patronage continued to be considered part of the constitution of the Kirk after the abolition of episcopacy in 1638. In 1649, during 'the Usurpation,' it was abolished by the Scotch Parliament, and the 'calling' of ministers vested in congregations. But with the restoration of the Stuarts, in 1661, came the restoration of patronage also. And it was not till the Revolution Settlement, and the year 1690, that an attempt was made, in a statesmanlike manner, and under an orderly government, to remove the 'grievance' of patronage. Acting under the advice of Carstares, the leading Presbyterian minister of the time, and a singularly far-seeing man, as well as his intimate personal friend, William III. consented to the passing of an Act which was intended to be a *via media* between purely popular election and simple patronage. It cannot be said that by this Act patronage was abolished, but the right of presentation was transferred from the lay patron to the Protestant 'heritors' (i.e., persons with a certain amount of property) and the elders of the parish, who were authorized to propose a clergyman to the congregation. 'This measure,' says Dr. Story, in his 'Life of Carstares'—an able work, in spite of many inequalities of style, and a certain unpleasant snobishness of tone—'was distasteful to William. He had no faith in popular election, or any approximation to it. Like a lawyer, he regarded the right of patronage as property, and he knew his meddling with it, even in Scotland, would alarm and irritate the English clergy and the English patrons.' This measure remained in force for twenty-one years, during which time it would seem that only three instances of the right of presentation being transferred from the patrons to the heritors and Kirk sessions of parishes occurred;* and the main fact in favour of it is, that it was in force at the time that the union between England and Scotland was finally consummated, in the reign of Queen Anne. In

1712, however, was passed what has been generally known in Scotland as the 'infamous Queen Anne's Act,' which restored the right of presentation to the patrons, and which has been the occasion, if not the cause, of the leading secessions from the Established Church which have made it, in the end, the church of the minority of the people. The immediate unpopularity of the measure was largely caused, in the first place, by the more than 'indecent haste' with which it was forced through Parliament, and the political reasons which dictated its passing. Not only were the people and the Church of Scotland not warned of the measure by its promoters, but it had actually passed the House of Commons before it was even known in Scotland that it had been introduced. Then, what was possible under the circumstances was done. The General Assembly despatched three of its ablest members, including Carstares, who had been the chief instrument in obtaining the Act of 1690, with a petition, couched in the most impressive language, to the House of Lords. This, however, proved of no avail, and the bill passed. But it was the political object of the measure that rendered it so unpopular in Scotland. It was introduced by Harley and Bolingbroke in the interests of the Pretender, and to add to the power and dignity of an aristocracy then largely Jacobite; and Sir Walter Scott, himself a Tory of the Tories, says:—

'The Act which restored to patrons the right of presenting clergymen to vacant churches, was designed to render the Churchmen more dependent on the aristocracy, and to separate them in some degree from their congregations, who could not be supposed to be equally attached to, or influenced by, a minister who held his living by the gift of a great man as by one who was chosen by their own free choice.'

Dr. Story, whose sympathies are certainly not with 'Highfliers,' 'Non-Intrusionists,' or Evangelicalism, says of the Act of Queen Anne, 'The object of the change was wicked. It was a blow aimed at the Protestantism and Presbyterianism of the Church, in the interests of a superstitious religion and a tyrannical policy. It was a political injury wrought for political ends.' When such is the calm verdict in the nineteenth century of judges inclined to be favourable to lay patronage rather than otherwise, what must have been the feeling of Scotsmen immediately after the Act was passed? From 1712 patrons and patronage became associated in the minds of Scotch Presbyterians with episcopacy and the Stuarts—with a hated dynasty and a hated religion—from

* See Duncan's 'Parochial and Ecclesiastical Law,' p. 91.

both of which they and their forefathers had suffered wrongs, and which to this day cause an outburst of indignation when they are mentioned at any public meeting of their descendants. This ill-omened Act remained unrepealed until the present year, when the Tories of the reign of Queen Victoria undid the work of their predecessors of the reign of Queen Anne.

It has been frequently said, especially during the last few months, that but for Queen Anne's Act, the three great secessions from the Established Church of 1733, 1752, and 1843, which have resulted in the formation of the two leading Dissenting Presbyterian bodies, the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church, would not have occurred. It would be unsafe positively to deny this, but it would probably be not less so positively to affirm it. It may be doubted whether the hereditary pretensions of the Church of Scotland to independence of the State are not of such a character as would, though there had been no lay patronage, have led in some way to collision with the State, which, after the union with Episcopalian England, was no longer co-extensive with the Church; while it may be argued, on the other hand, that had the patrons been members of the Church of Scotland, instead of being notoriously out of sympathy with it, and adherents of what is considered an alien denomination, there would have been no intrusion of presentees upon unwilling congregations, and, consequently, no occasion for secession. This much, however, may be safely said, that, had a proposal been made to repeal the Act of Queen Anne, and to return to the Act of 1690, in the beginning of that stormy decade which ended in the Disruption of 1843, it would have been at once politic and popular, and would have removed the original occasion of that Disruption itself. It would probably not have won back the secessionists of the older eras, for they had become voluntaries, and after their own fashion advocates of religious equality. But in spite of these the Church was at that time in an overwhelming majority. It had awakened from the sleep of a semi-sceptical and wholly apathetic Moderatism, and had entered upon what promised to be a most brilliant career of propagandism. The members of the popular party in it, instinct with the spirit of Andrew Thomson, and led by the all-consuming energy and earnestness of Thomas Chalmers, were fast reclaiming to Christianity and civilization the masses of ignorance and vice to be found in the large cities of Scotland. Never had the missionary enterprise of the Church been so great, never had its coffers

been so filled, its churches so crowded. It is no exaggeration to say that the evangelical ministers of the Church of Scotland had at the time an influence over the popular mind such as no agitators, before or since, except, perhaps, those of the Anti-Corn Law League, have possessed.

'We,' said Chalmers, in one of his most fervid addresses, 'are the tribunes of the people, the representatives of that class to whom law has given no other representatives of their own, of the unfranchised multitude who are without a vote, and without a voice in the Commons. Our sacred object is the moral well-being of that mighty host who swarm and overspread the ground-floor of the fabric of our commonwealth; and after the mists of prejudice and misconception have cleared away, our ultimate hope of success, under Heaven, is in the inherent and essential popularity of our cause.'

Can it be doubted that a measure popularizing the franchise of the Church, following close upon that for popularizing the franchise of the State, would have prevented the intrusion of presentees, the Veto Act, the Auchterarder and Strathbogie cases, the collisions between the civil and ecclesiastical courts, and the melancholy, and yet in many respects glorious and inspiring Disruption of 1843? The evangelicals were not opposed to the Establishment principle; at first they were scarcely even opponents of lay patronage. On the contrary, their leaders were foremost in defending the principle of Establishments against its opponents in a now forgotten but fierce dispute in Scotland, known as the 'voluntary controversy,' and when the secession of 1843 became inevitable, they took good care to inform the 'seceders' of the time that they were as much opposed to voluntarism as before; while Chalmers himself on one occasion referring to patronage said, 'I will not be a party to the delusion that our Church is necessarily to become more Christian by the constitution of it becoming more popular, or by the transference of its authority from the hands of the few to the hands of the many.' It was because the thrusting of unpopular ministers upon congregations obstructed the practical work of evangelization and interfered with the prosperity of the Church that Chalmers and his associates threw themselves into the war of non-intrusion, that made them pass the Veto Act declaring the unacceptableness of a presentee to a congregation a sufficient disqualification, and forced them into collision with, and subsequently separation from, the State. Had the congregations been granted the right of choosing their own ministers, intrusion of

presentees would have been a practical impossibility, and there would have been no occasion for the theory of the spiritual independence of the Church, or, to speak more accurately, the mutual independence of Church and State being brought into prominence, and converted into a 'blazing principle.'

But it does not follow that what would have been expedient forty years ago must suit the present time; on the contrary, it is quite possible that 'the policy which would have been just, impartial, and healing in 1843, may be now an unjust, partial, and irritating anachronism.*' Let us see what circumstances a wise statesman, anxious to do what Mr. Disraeli professes his desire to accomplish, to strengthen existing Establishments in view of the coming Armageddon between the temporal and the spiritual power, should have taken into consideration before proceeding to legislate with a view to popularizing the Scotch Establishment. What are the points in favour of the Establishment as it is, or rather as it was at the beginning of the present year? In the first place, it has recovered wonderfully from the shock given it in 1843. Not only are its pulpits filled once more with able and energetic men, but, adopting the machinery of its Dissenting rivals, it has entered with great success upon a career of Church extension and voluntary giving for religious and missionary purposes. Sir Robert Anstruther, the Liberal member for Fifeshire, in the course of the debate on the second reading of the Patronage Bill, said that—

'Since 1843, and principally within the last twenty years, and while the disestablishment movement had been going on, the Church had, through the agency of its Endowment Committee, created 203 new parishes, 47 of which had been reorganized within the last three years. They had also created 200 new missions, almost all of them in destitute localities; and while in 1843 the amount raised for home missions was only £28,900, last year this effete body raised £116,000.'

The annual voluntary contributions of the supporters of the Church amount to more than it obtains from the State. Principal Tulloch, of St. Andrew's, in a statement regarding the Church of Scotland, which he contributed some time ago to the *Daily Telegraph*, calculates the revenue of the Church at £662,200, of which £283,500 came from the State, leaving £378,700 contributed in one way or another by the people to the support of home and foreign missions, other

evangelical and philanthropic schemes, and the support of new churches, chapels, and parishes; and this is exclusive of such magnificent donations as the half-million presented to the Church the other year by Mr. Baird, an attached and wealthy member of it. And further, in behalf of the Church, it may safely be alleged that there was no violent movement in Scotland for its disestablishment. Of the Dissenting churches the United Presbyterian alone had joined the platform of the Liberation Society, and even it had confined its efforts almost entirely to the issuing of pamphlets showing the righteousness of disestablishment; and it is unquestionable that at the struggle at the polling booths, in February last, the question of disestablishment had no appreciable effect upon the fortunes of a single election. The feeling of the mass of the people of Scotland in the beginning of May this year was probably not inaccurately represented by Mr. Gladstone in the memorable speech he delivered immediately after coming from his retirement, when he said, 'Though the Established Church in a minority was an anomaly, I was well content to tolerate it—and the masses of Scotland were content to tolerate it—because they were guided, not by abstract principles, but by careful regard to the state of the facts.'

But, on the other hand, when, in the midst of a profound ecclesiastical calm, the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Disraeli came forward with their scheme, not for saving the Church of Scotland from the attacks of the Liberation Society, but for strengthening it in view of the approaching assault of Archbishop Manning and Dr. Littledale upon the Commonwealth and the Crown of Britain, what other circumstances should they have taken into consideration? The strongest practical argument in favour of the maintenance of any Established Church is that it represents a majority of the people amongst whom it is established, that it is all but co-extensive with the State. This argument in favour of Church reform in Scotland could have been used forty years ago; it is impossible to use it now. The Church of Scotland is the church only of the minority of the people. For some time back a war of pamphlets has been going on in Scotland as to the exact proportion of Church of Scotland adherents to the population. Mr. Johnston, a Free Church clergyman, who has published a pamphlet on the ecclesiastical and religious statistics of Scotland, out of a total population of 3,394,000, gives the proportion in the Establishment at 1,063,000, as opposed to a Dissenting Protestant total of 1,501,000;

* Speech by Colonel Mure in the House of Commons on the second reading of the Patronage Bill.

while, on the other hand, Dr. Elder Cumming, of Glasgow, the leading statistician on the side of the Establishment, claims for it a population of 1,448,000. As there has been no religious census of Scotland for some time, it is impossible to decide positively between Mr. Johnston and Dr. Cumming; and a mysterious Parliamentary return of Church of Scotland 'communicants,' published some time ago, does not assist us in coming to a decision. It will be seen, however, that even Dr. Cumming only claims for his church 42·86 of the population, and if we place the Church of Scotland adherents at between a third and a half of the whole, we do the Church more than justice. But not only is the Church of Scotland in a minority, taking the country generally into consideration, but in the whole region of the Highlands, it is in a miserable, we had almost said, a scandalous minority. At the last meeting of the General Assembly, Professor Wallace, the leader of the Broad Church party, who has certainly shown no love for the strictly orthodox Presbyterian Dissenters, but who has approached this question of the abolition of patronage and the reconstitution of a national church in something like the spirit of a statesman, said—

'He had compared the best statistics he could procure, and he found that, in Inverness-shire the proportion between the Free Church and the Established Church was 49 to 31; in Caithness, 68 to 20; in Ross and Cromarty, 82 to 9½; and in Sutherland, 89 to 9½; and that, in short, taking an average of the whole district lying on the north-west of the Caledonian Canal, they (the Establishment) had, out of 100 of the population, 17½, while the Free Church had 78.'

With figures such as these before him, Mr. Gladstone might well describe Ross and Sutherland as the Munster and Connaught of Scotland. In one island, that of Lewis, out of a population of about 23,000, upwards of 22,000 adhere to the Free Church. The Parliamentary return just mentioned admitted that several parish churches in the Highlands and Islands have fewer than six communicants—one congregation has only one, conjectured to be the parish minister's wife. 'Some years ago,' said Mr. Gladstone, 'a member of the ministry at Dingwall, speaking of the county of Ross, told me, not as exulting in the state of the facts, but as lamenting it, that one single kirk could hold all the Established congregations in the county.' Such statements are only samples of what has been, and what might be said with truth of the Church of Scotland generally in the Highlands.

Looking at these two facts alone, that over the country generally the Church of Scotland is in a minority, and that in the Highlands the Free Church is acknowledged by the enormous majority of the inhabitants to be the true Church of Scotland, what would a statesman firmly persuaded of the truth of the Establishment principle, desirous to make the Church of Scotland truly the national church, have done, or at least have proposed to do? Would he not, as was proposed in the General Assembly of the Church itself by some of the more liberal of its clergy and laity—and to their honour be the fact stated—have given the power of electing the parish minister, supported out of the national funds, into the hands of the parish Protestants or, at all events, Presbyterians? Would he not have looked the fact of the predominance of the Free Church beyond the Caledonian Canal boldly in the face, and have proposed to that church 'permissive concurrent endowment at the least? It may be very true that the Free Church would not have accepted the proposal, indeed it is morally certain that it would not have accepted it, but none the less should the proposal have been made. As Dr. Wallace said, 'If they would not take it, saying they could not take it, at all events he would have shut their mouths, so far as he was concerned, against any complaint which might be directed against himself in the way of unneighbourliness, illiberality, or a desire 'not to concede to them the utmost portion of their reasonable rights.'

Undeniably this was the very least that should have been done, or proposed to be done, to reunite the scattered fragments of Presbyterianism; indeed, it is difficult to suppose that some such proposal was not contemplated by the original promoters of the Patronage Abolition movement in the Church itself. That movement was commenced, as was scarcely disguised at the time, to checkmate, neutralize, or outbid, so to speak, the movement for union between the Free Church and the other Presbyterian Dissenting bodies in Scotland, which after having been carried on for ten years was suspended in 1873. In 1869, a deputation from the General Assembly of the Church, headed by Dr. Pirie—who from first to last led the movement against patronage—and the late Dr. Norman McLeod, waited upon Mr. Gladstone, then Prime Minister. An interesting conversation took place, in the course of which Mr. Gladstone said,—

'It is the nature of an Established Church to have a large body of adherents, who look at the institution very much in connection with its temporal expediency, and its effect

upon social welfare, and other considerations which are outside the strictly ecclesiastical sphere. And speaking of the Scotch Church, in that sense, I think it would be said by those who went through this struggle twenty-six years ago, that the ecclesiastical property should be made over to [another report has 'divided with'] those who bore earlier testimony to the same principle—namely, the Free Church in 1843, and the various seceding bodies now forming the United Presbyterian Church. Have the Free Church declared or pronounced any opinion, or what view do they take of the matter ?

Dr. Pirie replied to this, 'The Free Church has pronounced no opinion on the matter, but I may say that the mover of the petition for the removal of patronage in the Assembly, and those who acted with him, did so with the view specially of conciliation towards the Free Church.' Looking at facts and figures, looking at the statements made by the leaders of the only ecclesiastical body that had moved in the direction of the abolition of patronage, can it be doubted that the wise statesman of our ideal, in proposing that reform, would have offered some concession to the original anti-patronage Presbyterians outside the Establishment, and if the restoration of the men of 1843 to their livings were an impossibility, would have proposed at the very least the concurrent endowment of the Free Church in the Highlands, and would have attempted to remove the scandal and anomaly so well described by Mr. Gladstone as that of the 'shepherds receiving the wool, but not feeding the sheep ?'

Laying aside, however, possibilities and duties, let us come to facts ; from the wise statesman let us descend to Mr. Disraeli and the Duke of Richmond. The Act which, under the auspices of these gentlemen, has been passed this year can be explained only too easily. It abolishes patronage, but that cannot be considered the principle of the measure, inasmuch as patronage had been doomed long ago by popular feeling in Scotland, and for many years had become to a large extent a more or less wholesome veto upon popular election on the part of persons representing, directly or indirectly, the State, or nation, as distinct from the Church ; and it vests the appointment of ministers to parishes in the congregations of the Church of Scotland. Let it be noted here, in the first place, what the Act, and those who passed it, resolutely ignore. In spite of the conciliatory words and proposals of Dr. Pirie and his friends, the Act takes no cognizance whatever of the anti-patronage Presbyterians outside of the Establishment, particularly of the secessionists

of 1843 ; although these, even in the eyes of the Whigs of the time, such as Cockburn and Macaulay, were the true Church of Scotland, and certainly upheld in all its integrity what we have already mentioned as the fundamental doctrine of the Church—the sole and real headship of Christ over His Church.

'Suppose,' said Macaulay, 'that we could call up Carstares ; that we could call up Boston, the author of "The Fourfold State," that we could relate to them the history of the ecclesiastical revolutions which have, since their time, taken place in Scotland, and that we could then ask them, Is the Established Church or is the Free Church identical with the church which existed at the time of the Union, is it not quite certain what their answer would be ? They would say, "Our church,—the church which you promised to maintain unalterable—was not the church which you protect, but the church which you oppress. Our church was the church of Chalmers and Brewster, not the church of Bryce and Muir."'

The first impression that one has after carefully considering the measure of 1874 is that it is an act of injustice ; that, professing to reconsider, if not to reconstruct religious affairs in Scotland expressly on the basis that the Government were wrong in 1842 in not abolishing patronage, it yet bestows the benefits of abolition, not upon the representatives of Chalmers and Brewster, but upon those of Bryce and Muir ; not upon the church that was unrighteously oppressed, but upon the church that was unfairly protected ; that it absolutely ignores even the anomaly in the Highlands. It is not surprising that the Free Church should have now been stung into active movement against Establishments. By enormous majorities, it declared, through its last General Assembly, 'that the maintenance of the existing Establishments in present circumstances involves great injustice,' and 'protested against legislation in the interest of Scotland generally, which proceeds on the application of the General Assembly of one body of Christians, without inquiring into the condition, convictions, or wishes of the people generally,' considering 'the entire disregard with which the Free Church, and the other disestablished Presbyterian churches are treated, as peculiarly unbecoming, viewed in the light of the circumstances in which successively they felt themselves constrained to separate from State connection.' The Act has converted into Free Churchmen, so far as this particular point is concerned, all lovers of common justice to the north of the Tweed, to whatever denomination they may belong.

Turning from the omissions of the Act, let us now consider what it actually does. It might briefly be described as an Act for secularizing without disendowing the Church of Scotland. As already said, its principle is the transference of the right of presentation to livings from the Crown, private individuals, and corporations to congregations belonging exclusively to the Church of Scotland. Before the passing of the Act there were, it is computed, in Scotland in all 1,109 livings. Of these, 626 were in the gift of private patrons, 319 in that of the Crown, 44 in that of town councils, and 10 in that of universities, the appointments of the remaining 110 being made more or less by popular election. Mr. Disraeli said that the characteristic of Scotch patrons was, that they 'did not patronize.' This is scarcely correct. It is true that many of the private patrons and the Crown left it to congregations to choose their own pastors, but, on the other hand, many of them, such as the Duke of Buccleuch, presented directly to livings without consulting congregations at all; while town councils were notoriously in the habit of taking their own way in regard to such matters. Even those patrons, such as the Crown, that did not patronize directly, always retained in their own hands a veto upon congregational choice, and only presented in accordance with that choice when it was unanimous. Moreover, the patrons in various ways represented the State, as distinguished from the Church. The Crown, that is to say, the Home Secretary, represented after a fashion the popular will, as given expression to at the polling booths; and the very fact which was repeatedly mentioned to the prejudice of private patrons, that being mostly Episcopalians they belonged to an alien church, was, at all events, consistent with the belief, or delusion, that the Church of Scotland was still the Church of the nation.

But the Act of 1874, transferring the power of presentation from the patrons to the congregations of the church, violates in a double way the only theory upon which an Established Church can be maintained, if it can be maintained at all, in the present time. In the Act patronage is represented in the light of property, for it is considered as a saleable thing, and one for the loss of which compensation is to be given. As national property it might be considered not unreasonable to transfer it from the older representatives of the nation to the newer. The patrons might be considered as such representatives in the feudal or aristocratic times, but who are its representatives in the times of Mr. Disraeli, democracy, and

household suffrage? To this question there can be but one answer—the parish ratepayers. Had the Act proposed to transfer patronage, both as a matter of property and as an ecclesiastical trust to the ratepayers, it would have been an intelligible thing, and one in accordance with common sense and legal precedent on the one hand; and, on the other, it would have attempted to solve, although in a rough kind of way, the problem of setting up a religious establishment that will satisfy the demands of religious equality in a democratic time. But by transferring patronage in a parish from the patron to one congregation, the Act gives national property to persons, not on account of their national and propertied, but on account of their ecclesiastical and spiritual, qualifications; and it gives the right of appointing the parish clergymen not to all, but only to a section, and in the great number of cases, the minority of persons qualified either by possession of property, or by spiritual distinction, so to elect. A grosser violation of the only possible theories of Establishment could scarcely be conceived, and certainly was never before perpetrated in history. The Duke of Argyll, the only advocate in either House of the Patronage Bill and of the theory of sectarian establishment—of the State making a new concordat with a church in a minority—who showed much ability, and even enthusiasm, said in support of his argument that 'no sane man' could approve of a ratepaying ministerial franchise.

'Not many years ago, a minister of a church in Scotland was a very important person; he was the head of the parish; he had many privileges strictly connected with civil power; and there might be some argument for his election by the ratepayers at that time. But he is not now the head of the parish in any matters which relate to civil power. There have been, within the last few years, changes which have dissociated a minister of the Established Church from all his civil powers and duties, so that he now performs a purely spiritual function. He is the spiritual guide and instructor of the people or those people who choose to become members of the Church. He is nothing to them except as regards spiritual matters, and, therefore, it would be contrary to all justice and common sense that you should give to men who do not wish to enjoy his ministry any share in his election.'

Did it not strike the Duke as 'contrary to all justice and common sense' that the persons who represent the nation in a parish should have no voice in the allocation of the national property? There is something singularly ominous, too, as it strikes us, in this

description of the gradual reduction of the powers and duties of the parish clergyman. He is now, according to the Duke, merely the spiritual instructor of a section of the inhabitants of the parish. Does his Grace not see that the next step will be the supporting of the minister by those for whose benefit he labours?

We cannot believe that English patrons, or even Englishmen generally, have thought seriously of the enormous powers which, by allowing the Patronage Act of 1874 to pass almost unchallenged, they have given to the Church of Scotland, and to its chief court, the General Assembly. Mr. Gladstone, indeed, who probably knows Scotch ecclesiastical matters better than any living Englishman, endeavoured to sound a note of alarm:—

‘If you are,’ he said, ‘going to transfer a religious endowment, you ought yourselves to determine who shall be the persons entitled to dispose of it, and you ought not even to delegate such a thing to the General Assembly. Still more remarkable is it that we should be asked by the Bill to entrust powers of enormous importance, and beyond all precedent, to a Committee of the Assembly. But the Bill goes further than that. It says that the sentences of the Church upon all questions that may be raised in the course of the proceedings shall be final and complete. What is the meaning and legal intention of those words? Are questions of civil right, which arise in the course of these proceedings, to be final and conclusive? If so, it hands over to those communicants a power which no voluntary religious communion in the country possesses.’

But this warning fell on unheeding ears, and the Lord Advocate was permitted to insert amendments in the Bill giving the General Assembly still further powers, especially in regard to the appointment of ministers in the Highlands, without a single English Churchman raising his voice in protest. The Claim of Right of the General Assembly of the Church in 1842, and the other documents, which form the basis of the constitution of the Free Church, were laid on the table of the House of Commons in the course of the debates in the month of July last, but no reference was made to them, to the Free Church, or to the struggle which ended in the disruption of 1843; and yet a pseudo-spiritual independence has been granted to the Scotch Church likely to be much more mischievous than that always openly contended for by the founders of the Free Church, failing to obtain which, their representatives are quite willing to remain always unconnected with the State. The General Assembly, or chief court of the

Church, is now practically omnipotent in it. To it is entrusted the power of defining what the congregations or electoral bodies are to do, while through its colleges and minor courts it has always had the power of settling the qualifications of ministers professing to teach the Church's doctrines; and, so far as we can gather from a mysterious amendment hurriedly inserted in the Act at the eleventh hour by the Lord Advocate—to whom is generally attributed the paternity of the measure—it is, through a committee, to be the patron of the Highland parishes. The power of the Assembly is to be final in all matters affecting the appointment of ministers; and consequently if a clergyman is or believes himself to be peculiarly aggrieved by some decision of the Church courts, he cannot appeal to the civil courts in the hope of obtaining damages, as can be done even by a Nonconformist clergyman so situated. Well might both Liberal and Conservative Scotch members feel alarmed at the enormous powers, both spiritual and civil, given to the Assembly; well might the former implore that Parliament should at least retain in its hands the power of revising the General Assembly's rules regarding the election of ministers, and the latter endeavour to retain some fragment of the old connection between the Church and the land of the country by including landowners, even although not members of the favoured Church, in the patronal body. Both, however, appealed in vain to the Lord Advocate and the majority at his back, who appear to have been resolved that the Church should have everything or nothing; and the result of the discussion of the measure, as put by the *Glasgow Herald*, one of the most influential journals in Scotland, and which, like the *Times* and *Manchester Guardian* in England, steers an independent course between Conservatism and Liberalism, was that—

‘Mr. Disraeli gives to the Church of Scotland a portion of what the Ultramontanes are demanding from the Continental Governments, of what Prince Bismarck is resisting with the military might of Germany. The Patronage Bill is, in reality, an Act to enable the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to regulate all the affairs of the Church without interference from State or law.’

Such is the outrageous measure which, violating alike ordinary principles of justice and all tenable theories of Establishment, has been passed in the first session of the new Disraelian régime, with an indecent haste, surpassed only by that which attended the Parliamentary progress of the Act of the Queen Anne, which now disappears from

history, pelted with obloquy by the political descendants of Harley and Bolingbroke. That it will fulfil the ostensible intention of its promoters, and strengthen the Church of Scotland, there is no reason whatever to believe. From first to last the laity of the Church generally have shown no enthusiasm for the anti-patronage movement; and although the bulk of the clergy appear to have been carried away, as ecclesiastics are apt to be, by the persuasions of some clever and pertinacious wirepullers in their midst, anxious, we fear, above all things, to seize a 'snap' sectarian victory, with the aid of a Government believed to be singularly favourable to Church pretensions; the Act has given much offence to, and will, in the end, probably extinguish, two sections of them, formidable, if not in numbers, certainly in the quality of their lay adherents. The one is the old Conservative or Moderate party, which has always had strong views upon the supremacy of the State over the Church, and detested spiritual independence, whether pure or spurious; and which has hitherto found its supporters among quiet people, who in the days before the passing of the Act could obtain the ear of private patrons, and thus exercise an influence upon the election of ministers, but who will be overborne and outvoted in times of popular election by more vigorous and intriguing spirits. The other is the new Liberal or Broad Church party, whose hopes of seeing a latitudinarian church established in the country are finally blasted by the most thoroughly sectarian measure that a British Parliament has passed since the Reformation; and whose members, if they venture to broach their theories of creed-relaxation, will be speedily crushed by the majorities of an all-powerful General Assembly. It is scarcely possible to conceive that, in the creed-bound and uncontrolled church of the future, either a Dr. Cook or a Dr. Wallace will be able to breathe; and with such men will disappear from it many retiring and thoughtful but still influential laymen, who clung to it either because they had a sentimental dislike to Dissent, or because they cherished the hope that the Church would yet be transformed into such a comprehensive Establishment as haunts the dreams, and enlists the activities, of the Dean of Westminster.

Nor can we discover any quarter in which the Church may hope, by recruiting, to repair the losses it is thus almost certain to sustain. It is idle to entertain the idea that the abolition of patronage will bring back the Highlands to its allegiance; for there patronage has been a dead letter for many years, owing to the fact that most of the

livings have been in the gift of the Crown, which uniformly accepted the verdict of popular election; and, moreover, the Highlanders abandoned the Church in 1843, on account of their devotion to the doctrine of the headship of Christ over His Church, which, as we have seen, is not only not mentioned, but absolutely ignored in the Act of the present year. Still more hopeless is the idea that the Act will enable the Church to draw supporters from the Dissenting Presbyterian bodies outside it. No doubt it will encourage a very reprehensible and certainly unchristian kind of competition among the various denominations, known in Scotland as 'fishing for another church's communicants;' but, so far from making that likely to be successful, it will simply compel—we should rather say has compelled—the non-established bodies to take up the position of active belligerency towards the Church. The political supporters of the measure, at least, abandoned in the end all pretence of a desire to make it the means of bringing together the fragments of Scotch Presbyterianism; and when Sir William Stirling Maxwell, who has been called the Bayard of Scotch Conservatism, wished to insert in the preamble of the measure words to the effect that it was intended to conciliate the Dissenting bodies, his proposal was unceremoniously hustled out of committee by the advocates of 'the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill,' or rather, 'the Church, the Church of the minority, and nothing but that Church.' It is not in the nature of societies, any more than of individuals, not to resent insult added to injury, and we venture to predict that the first effect of the Act of 1874 will be to hasten the union of the Free Church and the other non-established bodies, the representatives of the first protesters against patronage. The movement for such a union was suspended a year ago, but at the same time an Act, known as the Mutual Eligibility Act, was passed by the Assembly of the Free Church, which enables ministers to pass from it to the bodies with which it was at the time negotiating, and *vice versa*. Mutual Eligibility cannot fail, under the circumstances inaugurated by the Patronage Act, to become mutual agreement. Already all the Dissenting Presbyterian bodies have accepted, even on the ground of expediency, the principle that disestablishment is better than establishment. The United Presbyterian Church has been for long, theoretically as well as practically, voluntary; and as its members are able to raise annually a sum of £300,000, they see no reason, even of a material kind, to regret the day they broke off

their connection with the State. It is many years since the leaders of the Free Church, which, in the thirty years of its existence, has become the possessor of a very large amount of property, and has an income of more than half a million, gave up—if indeed they ever cherished—any hope of returning to the State, and came to the conclusion that, in the present age, they cannot carry out their theory of the mutual independence of Church and State, except in a condition of isolation from the latter; and their literary champion, Mr. Taylor Innes, declared in the *Contemporary Review*, some time after the anti-patronage movement in the Church of Scotland commenced, that to attempt to get back the Free Church to the Establishment by abolishing patronage would be as hopeless as it would be to seek to cure small-pox by cutting off a leg. The Free Church cannot, in the nature of things, remain much longer in a state of unstable equilibrium between practical voluntarism and theoretical but unpracticable establishmentarianism; and it is morally certain that the next Liberal administration that has to consider the position of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland, will find, on the one hand, a large, prosperous, and united Presbyterian Church, unconnected with the State, and on the other a body, probably not so large, but identical in doctrine and in discipline, and connected with the State only and slenderly by the golden link, which, as an able Scotch critic of the measure has said, is at once the weakest and the most liable to attack.

Nor is this all. 'What yesterday was fact,' says Junius, 'to-day is doctrine.' Patronage in England is, as we have already shown, essentially the same as patronage in Scotland; and English patrons must ultimately suffer from the transference of the whole advowson property of Scotland to a democratic and spiritually qualified body. Moreover, 'yesterday's fact' is more than the fact of the abolition of patronage—it is the fact that another church has been set free from the State. Cockburn (who by the way describes Jeffrey and himself as 'not devotees of ecclesiastical establishments,' a fact worthy of the notice of the *Edinburgh Reviewers* and others of the present day who look askance at Mr. Gladstone, and consider his celebrated declaration that he is 'no idolater of establishments' as tantamount to throwing in his lot with Nonconformity) writes after the disruption of 1843:—'Nor is it only in Scotland that the recent transactions will operate. It is the greatest fact that has yet occurred for all the enemies of ecclesiastical establishment. It is their case. The mitres of England may

tremble for it. If it be true that the Church of England cannot be destroyed without revolution, this is the most revolutionary event in modern history. Protestantism was our first Reformation; Presbytery our second; this erection of Presbytery, freed from the State, is our third.' If this, which reads like an extract from the chapter in Mr. Herbert Spencer's 'Study of Sociology,' on the 'Theological bias,'* was true in 1843, how much more true is it in 1874? And if it should be recorded that the Act for sectarianizing the Church of Scotland, by creating a practical ecclesiastical grievance, was the preliminary step to the fall of the mitres and advowsons of the Church of England, it will also be recorded that the step was taken by those whom the Church returned to power to protect and strengthen itself.

ART. VII.—*The Established Church and its Defenders.*

- (1.) *Three Essays on the Maintenance of the Church of England as an Established Church.* By Rev. CHARLES HOLE, B.A., Rev. RICHARD WATSON DIXON, M.A., and Rev. JULIUS LLOYD, M.A. (Peck Prize Essays.) John Murray.
- (2.) *Catholic Thoughts on the Church of Christ and the Church of England.* By the late FREDERICK MYERS, M.A. W. Isbister and Co.
- (3.) *Disestablishment and Disendowment.* By E. A. FREEMAN, D.C.L. Macmillan and Co.
- (4.) *The Church of England, Dissent, and the Disestablishment Policy.* By a Mem-

* 'The Churchman is reluctant to believe that the union of Church and State is beneficial only during a certain phase of progress. He knows that within the Establishment divisions are daily increasing, while voluntary agency is daily doing a larger share of the work originally undertaken by the State; but he does not join this with the fact that, outside the Establishment, the power of Dissent is growing. He resists the inference that these changes are parts of a general change, by which the political and religious agencies that have been differentiating from the beginning are being separated and specialized. He is averse to the conception that just as Protestantism at large was a rebellion against an ecclesiasticism which dominated over Europe, so Dissent among ourselves is a rebellion against an ecclesiasticism which dominates over England; and that the two are but successive stages of the same beneficial development. That is to say, his bias prevents him from contemplating the facts in a way favourable to scientific interpretations of them.'

ber of the Carlton Club. Longmans, Green, and Co.

(5.) *The Proposed Ecclesiastical Legislation.* By Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D. Oxford and London: James Parker.

(6.) *Unity among Churchmen.* By Rev. J. C. RYLE, M.A. William Hunt and Co.

(7.) *Disestablishment—What good will it do?* By Rev. J. C. RYLE, M.A. William Hunt and Co.

How to deal with Established Churches is the political problem of the hour. The statesmen of all countries wherein they exist feel its difficulty, and on none does it press more severely than on our own. Twelve months ago it might have been supposed that it was the Liberals only who were troubled by it, and that the perplexity which it was causing them was only the just punishment of their own offences, in stimulating passions which they ought to have repressed, and in exciting hopes which they ought at once, and imperatively, to have discouraged. But the advent of a Tory Government to power—and to power so absolute, as to exempt them from any necessity of humouring the prejudices or passions of any section of their supporters—has at least served to dispel such an illusion, and to show that whatever party be supreme, the question is one which cannot be let alone; and that, even when it is handled by those whose one aim is to strengthen the foundations and extend the influence of the State Church, it leads to endless complications and stirs up perilous controversies. The idea of disestablishment is, indeed, irrepressible, and seems to grow as well by the action of foes as by that of friends. By all the laws of political warfare it ought, if not finally disposed of, to have received such a serious check from recent events as to be hopelessly discredited for some time to come. Parliament, by an immense majority, has refused even to entertain the suggestion, and the judgment of the constituencies is supposed to have more than confirmed the verdict of the House of Commons. The disasters of the general election are said (with what justice we do not stop now to inquire) to have fallen with special severity upon the Nonconformist wing of the Liberal party, and its leaders are solemnly warned by journals that profess to represent a type of Liberalism which is predominant in the country, that, if they are to regain the confidence of the nation, they must purge themselves of all suspicions of complicity in any plans of revolutionary change, and, especially, in any scheme for interfering with the Establishment. One of these pa-

pers has gone so far as to say not only that 'the success of the Nonconformists in causing the Church to be popularly regarded as an institution belonging to the past has been absurdly over-estimated,' but, further, 'that henceforward no statesman can take a safer assumption for the basis of his policy, than that the great mass of Englishmen are more interested in the Established Church than in anything else, and that its assimilation to the Papal system is more detested by them than anything else.' Nor does it hesitate to assert that 'a mistaken opinion on these points was one of the chief causes of the fall of the late Government, and of the miscarriages of some of its leaders.'

The more faith we repose in these representations of public opinion, the more extraordinary does the present state of the question appear, and the more perplexing must be the problem which it presents to these interpreters of the signs of the times. So far is the hope of disestablishment from being quelled, that it is cherished and expressed more confidently than ever; and, what is more, it is felt by all who are clear-sighted enough to look below the surface, and beyond the hour, and too independent to be blinded by party feeling, that the Tory ministers have done much to hasten its fulfilment. It was, indeed, an adverse critic, though an earnest Churchman, who said that they had done more to weaken and imperil the Establishment in five months than their predecessors had done in five years; but there is a widespread conviction, shared by a large number of Conservatives, that Mr. Goschen was right. The Government have encouraged, if as yet they have not themselves undertaken, the work of Church reform; and it becomes clearer every day that here reform means revolution. They, or perhaps we should rather say, the dominant section among them, have sought to meet the two demands of the nation, as set forth by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, to strengthen and, at the same time, to Protestantize the Establishment, and they have found that every step they have taken to accomplish the one object has tended to defeat the other. The Endowed Schools Bill was meant to repair one of the mouldering defences of the Establishment, and its chief result has been to rouse the antagonism of the strongest Protestants in the nation, against whom its proposer, in a piece of idle rhodomontade, as ill-judged as it was vain-glorious, declared war *à outrance*. The Public Worship Regulation Bill was intended, on the testimony of the Prime Minister—who, however, became its putative father only when he saw that it might be made to

bring him popularity—to put down Ritualism, and its effect has been so to irritate a powerful section of the clergy, that they openly proclaim that they prefer disestablishment to the Erastianism which has become dominant in the Legislature. Whether the Bill will do anything to fulfil Protestant expectations is extremely doubtful; the one certain thing is, that it has shaken the Establishment to its centre.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, in a recent address, wisely warns his clergy 'that they must not, because there is a lull, deceive themselves into the belief that there is not a strong opposition to the whole principle of Church Establishments in this country at this moment.' It is not surprising that one in his Grace's position should take an optimist view of the situation, but on what he rests his belief that there is a 'lull' in the movement against Establishments is not clear. The fears of Churchmen have always been more lively than the hopes of Nonconformists, and as prior to the reaction, indicated by the general election, they were unduly apprehensive that disestablishment was imminent, so now, with a feeling of security, possibly as exaggerated as the alarm which previously prevailed, they seem disposed to think of 'political Dissenters' as a discomfited and disquieted faction, out of whom all heart had been taken by their defeat. It is therefore assumed that they are either so cowed that they will not venture on aggressive action, or so powerless that it is of no importance whether they do or not. But as Nonconformists never expected immediate success, they have not been disquieted by the casual reverse which to their opponents appears so crushing. They are willing frankly to admit that they have received a decided check, but they regard it as just the kind of check which has come in the history of all great movements, and which they had anticipated and discounted as sure to occur in theirs. If the Archbishop chooses to regard this as a lull, we have no desire to rob him of any comfort he may find in such a belief, and it is quite unnecessary, for events are sure to correct his error.

It is not, however, the Nonconformists whom the Establishment has principally to dread. It has much more to fear from the revived spiritual life of its own members. The Primate errs, in common with many others, in confounding the Establishment with the Church of Christ that is to be found in it, and supposing that the vitality of the one must give strength to the other. The very opposite is likely to be the case. The prosperity and power of the Church

may be, and in fact are, the most serious peril of the Establishment. Where there is torpor and corruption there will, of course, be more vulnerable points presented to hostile attack, but the question 'whether' (to use Canon Liddon's phraseology) 'the material or spiritual ingredients of a Christian Church are best worth saving,' will never arise to disquiet men's consciences and unsettle their faith in the compromises by which the Establishment is maintained. But where there is a deep sense of loyalty to Christ, a sensitive delicacy of conscience, and a sincere desire to do God's will at whatever cost, this question is sure to arise, and when it does, there can be little doubt how it will be decided. Men with such elements of character are the glory and strength of an Establishment so long as they are in harmony with the principles of its administration, but should these ever come into collision with that higher law of Christ to which they owe supreme deference, they may easily become instruments in the overthrow of an institution in which Cæsar claims a service that belongs only to God.

It is a crisis arising out of such conflict through which the Anglican Establishment is passing, and the Primate's policy, and still more the manner in which it has been advocated, has done much to aggravate its intensity. It is not well to exaggerate the importance of strong declarations made in a time of excitement, and possibly of passion, but it would be just as unwise to treat as a mere *brutum fulmen* the decided language of men who feel that they are being forced to decide whether they will serve God or man. Dr. Pusey's weighty words on this point will not be treated with indifference by any except the most blind partisans or the most credulous optimists. He has never been a violent man, and he speaks now with all the authority of years, and under a full sense of his responsibility—

'It is easy to ridicule thoughts of coming disruption. It is as wise to ridicule the notice of successive cracks in a massive building. "You have told us of cracks again and again, and the wall has not fallen." But the successive cracks may betoken a settlement below. Each crack may give token of the presence of the unseen cause, though in the forbearing mercy of God the fall may be long in coming. Men may speak unadvisedly again and again of the approach of a crisis in the Church of England; but so far from thinking such a crisis unlikely to arise because people have so often been mistaken as to its immediateness, I should think that the frequency of the occasion on which thoughtful men so speak, an indication that it was coming at last. People feel the presence of

the electric fluid, although the storm does not as yet, by the mercy of God, break in upon us. To accustom people to the thought that the thing may be done is a great step towards its being accomplished' ('Proposed Ecclesiastical Legislation,' page 5).

We have little doubt that Dr. Pusey, the veteran leader, and one of the most moderate and conscientious men in the High Church party, is right in his anticipation that great changes are impending. Whether they will be of the character he indicates is more doubtful. Disruption does not seem to us the most probable contingency. From voluntary secession all parties naturally shrink, from a very intelligible and natural reluctance to leave their opponents in possession of the great resources of the State Church, and what danger of it there is may possibly be averted by such a discreet administration of an obnoxious law as shall avoid causes of provocation. Even this cannot be very easily done; for in the present state of feeling, the tendency is to an internecine conflict, whose result will be to compel the defeated party to abandon a position which it is no longer possible to retain with self-respect. But should this be avoided there remains the probability that the feeling of attachment to the Establishment may be so weakened as to lead many of those who have hitherto been its most ardent supporters to anticipate with indifference, if not with satisfaction, the possibility of its overthrow. Already this process is going on. We can quite understand how repulsive such an idea must at first be to those who have a firm belief that the nation should have a faith and a Church of its own, and who almost shudder at the thought of what they regard as a godless State. But their feelings will undergo an entire change if once they are brought to see that they have been imposed upon by mere words, that Cæsar, while professing to honour the Church of Christ, is in reality setting up an institution of his own, and that it is impossible, therefore, for the Church to receive the material advantages he is willing to confer, without sacrificing more precious spiritual rights, and compromising the authority of her Master. The idea, once so hateful, comes gradually to be accepted as an inevitable necessity, and men feel that separation from the State is better than submission to its usurped authority. It is thus that we are able to reconcile what at first may seem the wildest of paradoxes, that, while the Anglican Church was never so strong, the prospects of the Establishment were never so gloomy. He would be a rash man who should venture to predict its downfall within a certain

definite period, but he would be rasher still who should undertake to guarantee its continued existence, say even for two decades.

The secret consciousness of danger to the Establishment which exists among its friends betrays itself in the earnestness with which they are rushing to its defence. Church defence associations, prize essays in vindication of the Establishment, episcopal charges, eloquent clerical denunciations, and philosophical disquisitions, intended to warn us of the perils of disestablishment, are all confessions of danger. Among the devoted adherents of the Establishment there are many whose attachment is more fervid than intelligent, who are utterly insensible to the difficulties by which its defence is encompassed, and who in fact cannot understand that there can be anything rational, or indeed, anything at all, but envy and jealousy, in Dissent, and who are therefore impatient at that silent endurance of its attacks, which would certainly be a more dignified and safer course.

It is to a sentiment like this that we owe the production of the Peek Prize Essays, with which we can only hope that Sir Henry is not disappointed. We, as Nonconformists, certainly need not grudge him any satisfaction that he may enjoy, for if these three essays are to be regarded as such a statement of the case on behalf of the Establishment, as its ardent friends are prepared to accept and endorse, we can have no doubt as to the result of the discussion.

We must not, indeed, ascribe to the volume a representative or authoritative character, still less must we assume that the Anglican Church has no men who could have pleaded more effectively on its behalf. There may be in some country rectories men of talent as distinguished, piety as pure and simple, and charity as large and genuine as the late Mr. Myers, whose loyalty to his Church was as unquestionable as his power to serve it was rare. Or there may be other intelligent and liberal-minded laymen besides Mr. Freeman, who have no sympathy with the clerical ideas of the Establishment, and are not insensible to the logical difficulties of its position, but who are keenly alive to the possible perils of its abolition, and who, from a purely secular and political point of view, are able to construct a very plausible argument in its support. But these are not the men to write prize essays. They make admissions supposed to be too dangerous and compromising; they are able to do justice to an opponent's case, and to understand that they can only hope for success as they recognise and refute its strong points; they are not able to employ *ad cap-*

tandum arguments, whose hollowness they have detected; in short, they have too little of the spirit of the partisan to commit themselves to the thorough-going advocacy expected from those who are to win the honours in such a contest as that instituted by Sir Henry Peek. Mr. Myers' singularly thoughtful volume would produce a much deeper impression in favour of some union between the Church and the State, and be more likely, if not to make Liberationists pause in their aggressive action, to induce a kindlier feeling towards the Establishment, against which they feel compelled to protest, than all these essays combined. But there can be little doubt that it would have been set aside by the judges as an unsafe and unsound production. We can conceive, indeed, that one of them would have been captivated by its spirit, while all must have admired its originality and beauty, but it is impossible to suppose that they would have accepted it as fulfilling the design of the donor.

The fact is, independence, freshness of thought, elevation above mere party feeling, are too heavily handicapped in such a race for men with these qualities to enter the lists with any prospect of victory, and it is not surprising, therefore, that these prize essays, even though written under the strong stimulus which the present circumstances of the Establishment might well supply, do not rise to the highest level of literary productions or add anything to the strength of the defence. We should be sorry, indeed, unduly to depreciate the writers who have addressed themselves conscientiously to their work, and who have executed it with more consideration and respect for opponents than we should have expected under the circumstances. But it would be a false compliment to say that they have shown any great breadth of view, or dealt with the questions at issue in a trenchant and vigorous style, or, in fact, have risen above the level of the better class of Church defenders. But they are hardly more independent in their thinking or more convincing in their arguments, and may possibly make even less impression than some of the coarser and more virulent assaults on Dissent and Dissenters in which ruder controversialists indulged, and which, unfortunately, are better suited to the taste of a large class among the bigoted adherents of the Establishment. They are, in fact, too cautious and moderate for the taste of these Church Philistines—assuredly the most unenlightened and stiff-necked of all Philistines—and yet not so fresh and forcible as to secure the favour of the more intelligent. We cannot see what class they

are likely to satisfy. They will not convince Dissenters, they will not please high Churchmen, and yet strong Erastians may complain that they are the work of clerical minds, which have felt too little of the liberalizing influences of general society.

A Devonshire rector, a minor canon of Carlisle, and a Scotch episcopal clergyman may have a very intimate knowledge of Church life and be familiar with the aspects in which the Establishment presents itself to the clergy; but of the world of thought and activity in which we move, of the part which Nonconformity plays in it, and its value as an element in the national life, and of the new character which the question of the Establishment assumes under the ever-changing conditions of modern society, they can be expected to know very little, and that expectation is abundantly confirmed by their essays. Mr. Hole, the author of that to which the first prize was awarded, is removed by a considerable interval from both of his associates, but even he has but a partial grasp of the subject, and writes as a country rector, though with much more liberality than belongs to his class, not as one who, by an extensive acquaintance with men of different parties, has learned better to appreciate the excellencies of all. We do not find in him a trace of unkindly feeling or ungenerous purpose, nor, indeed, is there much in any of the essayists; but we do find in him, as in them, indications of ignorance, so far as Nonconformists are concerned, which have fairly astounded us. This would be of less importance if they rested their defence of the National Church on the ground that the State was only showing proper deference to the one true Church, to which belonged all the authority that a Divine commission can impart, for in such case the sole question would be the validity of the title. But they are content to take the lower ground of expediency, and to rely chiefly upon the advantages which a national church secures for the country, and its great superiority therefore, to the Free Churches. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that the latter should be represented as they are, and as they are in their best forms, not as they are painted by unfriendly critics, as they appear to those who see them only from the outside, or as they may be supposed to be by those who judge of them from the admissions of friends, who frankly point out their defects with the view of remedying them. But in this knowledge of Nonconformity, and, we might say, in the knowledge of much connected with their own church, the essayists are lamentably deficient, and write like men in a bal-

loon. We can only smile at many of their pictures, when we remember what the facts really are which, with the most honest intentions, they have succeeded in so strangely misrepresenting.

We should weary our readers and ourselves were we to undertake a refutation of all the misrepresentations of Dissenters, most of them probably quite unintentional, but not the less injurious, which we find in these essays. Unhappily, absurd as they appear to us, they help to swell the number, already sufficiently large, of the calumnies with which Church defenders season their lectures and feed the bigotry of their supporters. The bitter railings of disappointed men who have failed amongst us, and seek to excuse themselves by reviling the system they have abandoned are accepted as unquestionable truths; a few isolated facts, which are not properly understood, are regarded as illustrations of the normal proceedings of our churches; *ex parte* representations of some controversy—such, for example, as that of which Mr. Brewin Grant was the hero—are quoted as though they exhibited all the facts of the case, and the world is invited to look on the picture as a faithful likeness of modern Nonconformity. And yet the men who do this never fancy that they are guilty of any unfairness. They have been imposed on by fancy pictures themselves, and in perfect innocence are helping to deceive others.

Ignorance, arising from that infrequency of intercourse between men of different religious parties, which is one of the saddest features of our religious life, is one great cause of the prevalence of the erroneous views of each other which obtain more or less on both sides, but which we fully believe are more common among intelligent Churchmen than among ourselves. We can hardly conceive, for example, a Dissenter, as high-minded and honourable as Mr. Julius Lloyd, one of these essayists, unquestionably is, committing himself to a statement relative to the Church so unfounded and so injurious as that which he makes, when he says that 'the ancient loyalty of Nonconformists to Holy Scriptures wavers in the prospect of taking from the Church of England her well-earned control of national education.' When a man like Sir Watkin Wynn, at the late Eisteddfod, in speaking of a Dissenting minister who had been chaired as the bard of the year, in honour of a poem on the Bible, congratulates Nonconformists on still having some learned men among them who study their Bible, we are not surprised, for he is only a partisan who has caught up the cuckoo cry of his friends.

But a clergyman, and a prize essayist, should know better. Mr. Lloyd's ignorance, however, is only that of large numbers. We have before us a tractate, by a member of the Carlton Club, which is highly commended by one of the essayists. It professes to give an account of the 'Dissenting bodies,' and contains information, much of it quite new, if not altogether true, relative to our life and work, which has been compiled with considerable pains, and which the writer evidently supposes to be unimpeachable. It would take a good deal of labour, which would not be very usefully spent, to correct all its errors. *Ex uno disce omnes.* Speaking of Independents, he says:—

'The doctrines of this sect, like those of all the other Dissenting communities, save in the adult baptism, generally, but not universally prevalent among the Baptists, is (sic) substantially the same as those of the articles of the Church of England, taken in a Calvinistic sense; but their views of Church polity are different; and in theory, though I strongly suspect not in practice, they uphold a piece of fanaticism worthy only of the Fifth Monarchy men, namely, that it is impious to attempt to found a church by missionary effort, inasmuch as if God intends that a Church should be founded in a particular place, He will there put it in the hearts of men to raise one.'—(Page 185.)

When the author has found Baptists who do not practise adult baptism, or who are Pædo-Baptists, whom he classes as one subdivision of the Baptist family, we shall be prepared to enter on the discussion of the preposterous theory, which is not only without scintilla of proof, but is in opposition to the evidence both of their writings and works, which he attributes to Congregationalists.

Such ignorance would be almost incredible, were it not that Mr. Ryle tells us that members of the different parties in the Establishment fall into misconceptions equally strange in relation to each other.

'The extent of this ignorance is something marvellous and appalling. I frankly own that it is only within the last few years that I have realized its length, and breadth, and height. On the one hand how many High Churchmen have the most absurd conceptions of what is held and taught by an evangelical clergyman. They imagine he is a kind of disorderly, wild person, who alters the Prayer Book at discretion, who dislikes baptism, despises the Lord's Supper, admires dirty churches, cares for nothing but preaching, makes light of the prayers, prefers Dissenters to Churchmen, hates bishops [that we thought, by the way, was a special characteristic of Ritualists], disapproves of good works, and does not see much beauty in the

Church of England. Ludicrous as this picture may appear, I am afraid that it is a correct account of what many High Churchmen think. I often think that they know no more about us than a native of Timbuctoo knows about skating and ice-creams, or an Esquimaux knows about grapes, peaches, and nectarines. On the other hand (for I wish to mete out equal justice), how many Evangelical Churchmen have the most crude and inaccurate ideas about the amount of sound doctrine held by High Churchmen? ('Unity among Churchmen,' page 14).

Verily there is need of culture—and especially of Christian culture—even among the clergy. But if they know so little of each other, is it wonderful that they know no more of us than of the natives of the Celestial Empire? We venture to ask, however, that until they know more they write less.

If long experience had not taught us how high a place the Establishment holds in the affections of the great body of Churchmen, and how much they will forgive to anyone who will maintain it in the full enjoyment of all its privileges, we should have expected these essays to call forth a number of indignant protests, both from Evangelicals as well as from High Churchmen, for whatever the writers effect for the Establishment is at the expense of the most sacred rights and cherished privileges of the Church. We search in vain, indeed, for any definition of what a church is, or how it happens that one particular church is (to use Mr. Hole's words) in the enjoyment 'of certain property dedicated from ancient times to ecclesiastical uses,' and is thus 'constituted an established church.' We have the history, more or less accurately given, of the way in which this property came to be set apart to the service of religion, Canon Dixon, with a candour so rare as to call for special praise, admitting that 'the first endowments which the Church received were probably national; public land, folkland, was turned into bockland for the benefit of the Church; and this was done with the full consent of the people in gemote assembled.' We have elaborate explanations of the meaning of the Royal supremacy over the Church and of the extent to which the State interferes in its affairs; we have a careful exhibition of the advantages resulting from these arrangements, and solemn warnings against the danger of disturbing them; but what the Church is we learn not. Canon Dixon tells us in opposition to his brother essayists, especially to Mr. Hole, who argues at length against the theory, that 'the Church and the nation are one and the same

thing, differently regarded; that there is one State which is both ecclesiastical and civil;' but the definition, though seemingly very convenient for the purposes of his argument, will be accepted neither by those who believe in the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, of which the Anglican is a branch, nor by those who believe in a spiritual church of Christ, of which men can become members only by their own personal trust in the Saviour. It is, in short, the definition of a political institution, not of a spiritual community, and tells us nothing, except that the nation, acting in its ecclesiastical capacity, becomes a church; which implies that should it determine to adopt the worship of Reason instead of God, or the creed of the Koran instead of the New Testament, it would remain a church still. This view may suit statesmen who regard religion only as an effective instrument either of police or instruction, and esteem it of the first importance that the State should employ it to the utmost advantage in this way; sanctioning, therefore, such a creed and such a polity as may be most subservient to its own purposes, as James I., one of the most perfect types of an Erastian ruler, preferred Episcopacy to Presbyterianism because of the supposed political tendencies of both. But the theory which thus makes a church include numbers who are not only destitute of spiritual fitness for its communion, but who declare that they believe neither in Church nor Christ nor God, is so alien to the spirit of New Testament teaching, that it is little short of a miracle how any Christian minister can be found to acquiesce in it. Canon Dixon himself does not see all that it involves, for he declines to go into all the historic questions relative to disendowment, 'because we think that so extraordinary a change must have come over the spirit of English justice before the Church is disendowed, that disendowment may be dismissed from the region of probabilities.' Dismissing the involuntary smile which steals over our countenance at the confidence thus expressed, we ask, on the essayist's own theory, where the injustice lies! If the Church be a distinct entity, having its own history, its own independent rights and its property, for which it is able to produce title-deeds as valid, and possibly as ancient, as those of any landowner in the kingdom, we can understand how the nation, that is, the Legislature representing it and acting on its behalf, may be accused of spoliation (with what justice we need not examine at present), if it tramples upon the rights so universally recognised. But Mr. Dixon's theory cuts away the ground of such

an accusation altogether. The property clearly belongs to the nation, which has chosen to apply it to religious uses, but which, if it arrived at the opinion that it could not any longer be wisely employed for such purposes, might, as it has to deal only with its own, find some better mode of utilizing it. The only question to be considered is the wisdom and expediency of such a procedure. Justice has no more to say to it than to a scheme of a landlord for converting his deer forests into farms, or, if the time comes when we may safely reduce our enormous armaments, to the disendowment, entire or partial, of our army or navy.

The number of various theories as to the relations between the Church and the State affords a great advantage to the defenders of the Establishment, of which they are not slow to avail themselves, enabling them to employ on behalf of their own special view, arguments which can apply only to an opposite theory, and which are absolutely irreconcilable with that which they are defending; and Mr. Dixon has been betrayed into this fallacy. The only injustice of which the nation, supposing it to be identical with the Church, could be guilty, were it to alter entirely the appropriation of ecclesiastical funds, would be to existing incumbents, should it hastily withdraw from them the advantages they enjoy, and this injustice it certainly would not be likely to commit, as Nonconformists would oppose it as heartily as Conformists. It is much more easy to show that it is guilty of injustice now, when the majority, which of course guides the action of the State, persists in assigning large funds, which were intended for the good of the whole, to an institution in whose benefits only half the church-going people, if so many, participate.

The Church of England then, which the essayists have undertaken to defend, is a powerful system, with doctrine, discipline, and ritual all prescribed by law, with its chief officers appointed by the State, and holding high rank in the State, and what they attempt to prove is, that it is good for the nation that the law should continue as it is. That is all, and we must add we do not see how practical and honest men could well attempt to prove more. We do not sympathize with Mr. Hole's liking for the term 'Established Church;' and its fuller form, 'the Church of England by law established,' would be to us still more objectionable, as a description of the religious community to which we belonged. But we quite agree in his rejection of the phrases 'union of Church and State,' or 'alliance of Church and State,' as untrue, and to an extent mis-

leading. For they suggest the idea that the Church has an independent existence, which, as a matter of fact, it has not. From the beginning of its history it has been a political institution, fashioned, directed, and controlled by the action of the State, and such it is at this hour. 'Originally created' (says Canon Dixon) 'by the will of English free-men, as a national institution, and grafted into the State, with which it is all but coeval, the Church has partaken of the destinies of the nation, grown with its growth, passed with it through the storms and sunshine of centuries, and stands at last the most venerable, yet the most vigorous institution of the realm. It has never had any existence apart from the State.' That is rather a poetic mode of stating a fact extremely prosaic in itself, and utterly opposed to those exalted notions of right and prerogative which we hear so confidently advanced by a large section of the clergy. Whether they are successors of the apostles or not, the position they have in the country is theirs as members of the Church of England; and that Church is what it is, not because it has the notes of catholicity, or alone retains the mystic gifts of sacramental grace, or is, in some special sense, the depository of the truth; not because her creeds are scriptural, or its clergy in the true line of apostolical succession, or its ritual catholic, but simply because it has from age to age accepted the ruling of the State and conformed to it. From the outset it has been, we are told, to an extent which no other national Church has ever realized, 'completely expressive of the instincts of the people.' When the State approved of masses the Church celebrated them, and when it pronounced them blasphemies it abandoned them. It exchanged its old Missal for the Book of Common Prayer when the State so decreed, and it had to dispense with the Liturgy in its turn when it pleased the Parliament to prohibit it. Whether, in all these changes, it has been 'completely expressive of the instincts of the people,' it has, at all events, been obedient to the will of the people as expressed through their representatives. And if another change was to supervene on all that have gone before, and the three estates of the realm were to determine on disestablishment, there would be no Church of England left; and before there was even an Episcopal Church, it would have to be organised as such. It is worse than misleading, therefore, to talk of the Church as possessing private property, for in such case 'private property' is a pure fiction, as there was no body to whom it could be left.

Mr. Hole is extremely careful in the mat-

ter of definitions, and seems strongly impressed with the notion that he has risen superior to some prevalent errors of speech. But his definition of 'establishment,' and, indeed, we may say, his definitions altogether, are mere examples of perverted and useless ingenuity, a straining after novelty, which only tends to create fresh confusion. 'Establishment' with him means 'endowment,' and nothing more. Even if part of its ancient property be left, a church cannot be disestablished. Thus he says in one of the most extraordinary passages of his essay—

'Disendowment not being complete, the Church continues "established" as strictly as ever. Thus it is in Ireland at this day. The Protestant Episcopal Church of that country is *not* disestablished. The great bulk of its property has been taken from it, but it has a legislative title to the remainder. It is a *reduced*, not a disestablished church. In virtue of the Act of 1869 a representative church body was called into existence, approved by the Crown, and by royal charter incorporated. In this Corporation was vested certain property which the Act restored to the Church. That Act first divested the Church of its property, and thus strictly disestablished it. It thus restored a fragment of the former possessions in the manner just described. Technically speaking, this was disestablishing and subsequently re-establishing. The Church of Ireland is as truly by law established as before' (Peck's 'Prize Essays,' page 8).

It may be very obtuse in us, but we see neither the cleverness nor the use of all this ingenuity. If all that Mr. Hole says were true, it would really not be worth while to enter on a crusade against a phrase in universal use and perfectly well understood. The Irish Episcopal Church would not be one whit better if it were called a re-established instead of a disestablished church. Nor is Mr. Hole's own argument at all advanced if this extraordinary assertion that Mr. Gladstone who planned the measure, and the Liberal party who carried it, and the Tory opposition who resisted it, and even the bishops themselves were all wrong; and that what friends and enemies alike esteemed disestablishment was nothing of the kind. But we object altogether to the view he propounds. Establishment is not endowment, and endowment is not establishment. It is possible to conceive of a church which a nation determined to recognise as the church of the nation, but on which it bestowed no revenues, and it is still more easy to see how a church might receive certain revenues at the hands of the State, as the Roman Catholic Church received the Maynooth endowment, without being established at all. But

the idea of a national sanction is involved in the establishment of a church, and when that is withdrawn, and a church becomes a 'private' community, whatever endowments may be left to it, it is disestablished. Mr. Julius Lloyd, who is less ambitious, and is content to walk in the beaten tracks, gives us a much more correct idea of an Establishment, when he says it is 'the public recognition by the State of one particular religion.' There are various ways in which that recognition may take place, as for example, taking the cases he gives that 'the solemn acts of the State should be accompanied by public acts of worship; that the chief ministers of the Church should hold, in virtue of their office, a certain political dignity;' but, whatever the mode in which a State may determine to signalize a particular church as that of the nation, that is establishment.

Mr. Freeman, than whom no man is more competent to the task, alike because of his great historic lore, his scientific habit of investigation, and his acquaintance with our ecclesiastical and political institutions, has discussed the points connected with this question of establishment in a volume which, though brief, is very able, and condenses a great deal of valuable matter into small space. He does not pronounce either for or against disestablishment; he only undertakes to explain what it means, and, by clearing away prejudices and misconceptions on both sides, to prepare for a more intelligent management of the controversy. If his own mind leans to the maintenance of the existing order of things, the indications of such a bias are few and obscure, and are to be found in the tone that runs through some of his statements, rather than in any direct and positive expression. When we find a writer reminding us that 'in all cases of change, especially in so great a change as this, there is a great deal more to be thought of than whether the proposed change would be ideally an improvement,' and carefully guarding against the supposition that an advocate of disestablishment in Ireland must, in consistency, support the like course in England, and especially when these views are first set forth in a journal which has of late made itself conspicuous by its hostility to the 'blazing principles' of advanced Liberalism, particularly on the ecclesiastical side, it is not unnatural to infer that he is not yet convinced of the necessity of the change. But whatever be Mr. Freeman's preferences, they do not colour his representations of the facts, which are set forth in a singularly clear and dispassionate manner. We should be disposed to qualify

or object to many of his statements, but that only means that there is such difference of opinion as might naturally be expected to arise when independent minds look at the same subject from opposite stand-points. These differences, however, are not trivial, but virtually affect the conclusions at which we may arrive in relation to the policy of the measures under discussion, and it is necessary, therefore, that we point out the grounds on which we hold that, with every desire to be impartial, he has failed to do justice to the Nonconformist case, and has unconsciously been affected by his own prepossessions in favour of the Establishment.

Mr. Freeman is a literary iconoclast, and is never more at home than when he is demolishing some popular prejudice or superstition, especially if it be advanced by one who, with a parade of learning, propounds some old-fashioned view which modern scholarship has exploded. How effectually he can demolish such pretensions, and what valuable service his criticisms have done to our historic literature, the readers of his able essays do not need to be told, and even if at times there is a tone of severity in them, that may easily be excused in one whose own extensive and accurate knowledge naturally makes him a little impatient of old-fashioned errors, of the tenacity with which they retain their hold on the popular mind, and of the factitious strength they derive from the loose modes of expression adopted by those who assume the office of its instructors. But this tendency, it must not be denied, has its own dangers. Almost unconsciously a spirit of dogmatism develops itself, and judgments are pronounced even on subjects in which his authority would not be at once conceded, in a tone sometimes too oracular. There are some points in the controversy about disestablishment, on which no man is better entitled to be heard with deference than Mr. Freeman, but there are others on which we should attach considerably less weight to his opinions. The subject has its theological and ecclesiastical, as well as its historical and political side, and it is quite as possible that the scholar or the statesman may attach too little importance to the former, as that the divine or the Churchman may overlook the latter. We should be extremely slow to dispute Mr. Freeman's ruling on the one, but we cannot so readily yield our judgment to his on the other. His great defect is that he has failed to make proper allowance for the conscientious convictions of different classes of religionists, and has looked at the subject too much from the side of the State, and of one who is interested chiefly, if not

solely, in its prosperity; and as the result both earnest Churchmen and religious Nonconformists will feel that some of the most important elements to a complete understanding of the subject have been left out of account.

He disposes, as might be expected, in very summary style of the idea that any special sanctity attaches to Church property, which would make any interference with it by the State an act of sacrilege, but he equally dismisses as untenable the notion that it is national property in such a sense as to give the State some special right over it different from that which it has over other kinds of property. Leaving to the advocates of the indefeasible claim of the Church to what they regard as its ancient and sacred inheritance the defence of their own position, we venture to join issue with him on the second point, even though it be one in which we are bound to recognise his claim to speak with authority. We may be told, indeed, that we ought to be satisfied with the acknowledgment that if the State should see fit to alter the appropriation of the ecclesiastical revenues there is nothing to bar its action; but we can hardly conceive a better way of prejudicing the cause of disestablishment than the suggestion that it could only be justified by arguments which would be equally effectual to warrant its invasion of those rights of private property which Englishmen guard with such natural jealousy. Mr. Freeman holds that it is only on the broad ground that 'the State may, when it sees good reason for doing so, take or confiscate any property of any kind,' that the State can claim to interfere with the property of the Church at all; and if he can succeed in establishing this he will have constructed a defence of the present system infinitely stronger than any which the most extreme champions of its Divine right would be able to raise. He says:—

'The State has the same power to deal with Church property which it has to deal with any other property, neither more nor less. Whenever the State deems that the rights either of individuals or corporations ought to give way to the general interests of the whole community, it has a right to decree that they shall give way to it. We talk of the sacredness of private property, and against everything else it is sacred; but against an Act of Parliament it has no sacredness at all. Every day we see private property confiscated for railways or public improvements of any kind. We use the word "confiscated" in its proper sense, not in the sense in which it has often been used by Mr. Disraeli and others when they wished to put a measure in a bad light by giving it what they thought

an ugly name. The word "confiscation" has come to have an ugly sound, because it is in no sense a pleasant process, and because in vulgar use the word has got a wrong meaning. "Confiscation" is vulgarly used to mean "robbery." A man has been known to complain that another man has "confiscated his hat." Then, of course, when once it has got this kind of meaning, it tells in Parliament or elsewhere to say that a certain measure is a "measure of confiscation." But the word has a meaning of its own, a meaning which is wanted in this discussion, and for the present purpose must be recovered from Mr. Disraeli's abuse of it to be used in its proper meaning. "Confiscation" is an act of the State, and of the State only. It is the taking of property by the State. It is a perfectly colourless word, which does not rule whether such taking be just or unjust. When a magistrate inflicts a fine he does an act of "confiscation." So when a man's land is taken from him by Act of Parliament, his land is "confiscated." To be sure he gets compensation; but the land may be taken quite against his will, and the compensation may be one which he thinks quite inadequate. It is plain that the power which takes away the land and gives compensation might also, if it chose, take away the land without giving any compensation. The land is equally taken, equally confiscated in either case. It is simply a feeling of natural justice which orders that when it is taken the owner shall have something given to him instead. An Act of Parliament, which should take away a man's land without compensation, would be unjust, that is to say, every well disposed member would vote against it. But it would be lawful, that is to say no blame would attach to those who carried it out and acted upon it' ('Disestablishment and Disendowment,' pp. 6-8).

We shall not attempt to discuss this sweeping statement in its bearings on the rights of private property, but it is surely a dangerous expedient to prop up the Establishment by laying down principles which strike at the root of our whole system of property, in the hope that the nation will shrink from a mode of dealing with the revenues of the Church which would give a sanction to maxims so perilous. For the present such a policy may be successful, but the time may come when such statements will be quoted with fatal effect in defence of a social revolution. Conservatism may now find in them an argument against any interference of the State with property which is public in the sense that it is intended for the use of the nation, but Communism, if it had the power, might equally appeal to them to justify a redistribution of all property in the supposed interests of the people at large. We should feel that our position was indeed seriously compromised if we could only re-

sist the conclusion of the one by accepting that of the other; but we can escape from the difficulty only by insisting on that essential distinction between public and private property in their respective relations to the State, which Mr. Freeman so resolutely rejects.

The fallacy of his argument lurks in the word 'confiscation.' The pleasure of redeeming an important term—which, in consequence of a sarcasm by Mr. Disraeli, had degenerated into a mere piece of party slang—and the desire to guard against such perversion have carried him away and caused him to assign to it a strictly technical meaning, which, even if correct, is essentially misleading. We will not dispute with him as to the etymology. It may be that it is right to describe a fine imposed by a magistrate upon a drunkard and the appropriation of landowner's estate without compensation as being alike acts of confiscation, but this does not efface the distinction between a normal operation of justice and an arbitrary procedure of the Legislature, which may be within its power, but is certainly going beyond its right, when it deprives a citizen of his property without compensation. Compensation is treated very lightly by Mr. Freeman, but it really is of the essence of the transaction. When Parliament compels a man to sell his property for some great public work, it recognises his absolute right and tacitly confesses the sacredness of his property by providing that he shall receive a full equivalent. It does not in fact require him to surrender it, but to exchange it, and takes all possible care that he shall not suffer by the transfer. He may contend that the compensation is inadequate, and there are no doubt cases in which no money and no other estate could appear to the man himself sufficient recompense for a separation from some homestead which innumerable associations have endeared to him; but it is that sentiment alone which the State compels him to sacrifice for the public good. So far as mere property is concerned it takes every care that he shall receive as much as he is required to give.

This cannot be said in relation to property taken from a national institution like the Church of Ireland. Rights of private property were scrupulously respected, and a very large and generous interpretation was given to them, but with the satisfaction for them all idea of compensation ceased. Individuals possessed of an actual or prospective interest in the property were fairly, not to say liberally dealt with, and ample acknowledgment was made for endowments which, having been given after a certain

date at which the existing settlement was fixed, were assumed to have been gifts to the Episcopal Church. But there compensation stopped, and the State resumed the possession of the revenue it had hitherto allotted to the Church. It is not thus that a private owner is compensated. He is regarded not as a life-tenant, but as a freeholder, and the market value of his holding is computed and paid with the addition of such *solatium* as may be determined (by a jury of his countrymen if he chooses to appeal to them) to be adequate to the loss he suffers from compulsory sale. The difference in the principles acted upon in the compensation of private individuals whose land is required for public use, and those adopted in relation to the Irish Church, marks the distinction which Parliament has always drawn, and, as we hold, rightly drawn, between public and private property.

Mr. Freeman fully admits that the cases are much more frequent in which a State may wisely and beneficially interfere with the disposition of Church property than of private property, but we contend that is something more than a question of mere expediency, for in the one case it is left for *purposes*, and in the other to *persons*. It may possibly be right that a State should interfere with both, but at least they are so distinct in character that they cannot be placed upon the same level. The Rev. F. Myers puts the case with great force, and with a candour which is beyond all praise:—

‘There is a great difference between property left for purposes and property left to persons; between that which is left to descend lineally and that which is left to descend corporately. When property is left unconditionally to persons and their heirs, the State may do as wisely as justly not to interfere with it, except in special cases as to which there can be little doubt among any. But when property is left to an order of men for particular purposes, it is strictly within the limits of justice for the State to decide whether such purposes and the existence of such an order are consistent with its own interests. If it should think them not so, to prohibit altogether the holding of such property under such conditions; or if it should think them so in the main, but not altogether, so to regulate the nature of its tenure as that it might not be inconsistent with its own welfare. Here again it is quite optional whether a church will accept property on such limited conditions; but, if it does, it cannot complain of any interference of the State which shall merely ensure the maintenance of such conditions’ (*Catholic Thoughts*, pp. 251, 252).

It is to the recognition by Parliament of this distinction—not so much between cor-

porate and private property, as between property bequeathed for purposes and property settled on persons—that we owe the rescue of a portion of the charitable and educational endowments of the country from the gross abuses to which a literal fulfilment of the wishes of the ‘pious founder’ had led, an extension of the area over which their benefits were to be diffused, and an adaptation of those benefits to the changed condition of society. It is not necessary to remind our readers of the intensity and obstinacy of the struggle, by means of which this has been accomplished or of the difficulty with which the ground already won is held. But even the limited measure of success that has been realized would never have been achieved if the advocates of reform had proceeded on Mr. Freeman’s principle, or if Parliament could have been brought to believe that in applying money left for the ransom of prisoners in Barbary, or in extending to a county or to the country at large the advantages of a bequest, whose proceeds had become too great to be wisely expended on the little parish for which it was originally designed, or in revolutionizing the entire character of the education given in an endowed school, so as to make it an institution of the nineteenth century rather than one of the seventeenth, it was establishing a precedent which would be available, if not to justify the confiscation of the property of the Duke of Westminster or the Marquis of Bute, at all events to bring it into the category of those propositions which Parliament might entertain and decide according to its ideas of their expediency. If Parliament has a right to deprive a man of his estate in the way in which it has dealt with the property of the Irish Church, or to alter its disposition among his heirs, after the fashion in which it is, through its commissioners, continually altering the arrangements of charitable and educational trusts, it is a right which, except in cases of attainder for real or alleged crimes against the State, it has never yet asserted.

So far as the property of the Established Church is concerned, there is, on Mr. Freeman’s own showing of its nature, another reason why the State may deal with it according to its pleasure, without committing itself to a claim to the absolute control of all property. If the Established Church is ‘established’ not because of any particular act of establishment at any particular time, but because it ‘was once the nation,’ and if ‘in early times’ (the times, be it observed, when the property in question was, for the most part, accumulated) ‘the Church was simply the nation looked at with reference

to religion, just as the army was the nation looked at with reference to warfare,' then it follows that the nation in disposing of it is only disposing of its own. It is true that, in the course of events, a section of the people has got exclusive possession of that which was set apart for the good of all, but the right still remains, though overridden for the time by the power of a majority which has laid down conditions that deprive the minority of its share in the common inheritance. When the majority shall feel, as assuredly some day it will feel, that an appropriation of great national funds to sectarian ends is a wrong to all who are outside the pale of the privileged class, and shall resolve on a more equitable distribution, so far from violating any rights of property, it will only be distinctly asserting them, by recovering for the people, as a whole, property out of which they have been kept for centuries by a powerful party.

This may seem a harsh mode of stating the case, but it is fully justified by Mr. Freeman's representation of the facts. The Church, he tells us, 'grew up.' 'The whole thing, in short, like everything else in this country, came of itself. The Church Establishment has just the same history as the House of Commons or as Trial by Jury. It is the creation of the law, but it is not the creation of any particular law, but of the general course of our law, written and unwritten.' That is true to a considerable extent, at least, as to the beginning of the Establishment, but it requires to be materially qualified when we come to speak of the changes at the time of the Reformation; and it ceases to be true at all, in relation to the Establishment, as it has been since it obtained a definite constitution at the Restoration.

What may have been in the minds of Henry and Elizabeth we do not pretend to know as well as some of these Church defenders, who assure us that the last thing which they contemplated was the establishing of a new church. All we know is what they did, and that was, while preserving, as Mr. Freeman tells us, the 'legal continuity' of most of the ecclesiastical corporations, to change the purposes for which they existed. The mild language in which it suits the purposes of different parties now to describe the changes which were then accomplished, is in strange contrast to the violence and injustice which disgrace the history of the period. It sounds like a cruel mockery to the memories of such men as Bishop Fisher, Sir Thomas More, the Carthusian monks, and others, who were martyred simply for adhering to the doctrines and practices in

which, from their childhood, they had been educated, and which, with the sanction of the State, they had been placed in their respective positions for the purpose of maintaining, to talk about the 'legal continuity' being preserved. To them, at least, the change was very real, so real that they felt it was better to die than to accept it; and it must surely have been as real and as important to those who presented to them the alternative of submission or death—some of whom had, when the tide turned, to suffer martyrdom themselves for their refusal to abide by the old faith. It is from the actions of such men, not from the conduct of the great mass, who, no doubt, 'were ready to conform to the law in religious matters, just as they were ready to conform to it in other matters,' that the real significance of the Reformation is to be gathered, and so long as the story is preserved it will be difficult to persuade any but those who are desirous to believe that the ecclesiastical legislation of the Reformation period was not the virtual establishment of a Church, not only differing from, but in some of its fundamental principles directly antagonistic to, that which had previously existed.

But it was at the Restoration and by the Act of Uniformity that the Anglican Church was definitely constituted. As Mr. Freeman himself admits, Charles II. and his Parliament 'did establish an ecclesiastical system by a single deliberate Act.' He seeks, indeed, to qualify this by adding that 'the form which that Act took, the revival of something old, something which was held to have been illegally abolished, gives the Act a different character,' and that 'it is quite certain that, when people talk of the Church as being "established" by an act of the State, when they talk of a bargain between Church and State, they do not conceive the event as happening in the time of Charles II.' But we have to do with facts, not with the representations given of their own action by politicians and Churchmen of the Restoration, or with popular misconceptions of history. Nonconformists, at all events, have not failed to attach their full significance to the ecclesiastical events of the disastrous period at which the Act of Uniformity created a wide chasm between two sections of the English people, a chasm which has ever been growing wider, and which can never be closed up until the cause of separation is removed. Whether or not the Church was established at the Reformation is no more a practical question in this controversy than those still more doubtful problems relative to the character and power of the ancient British Church, or the eccle-

siastical legislation of Saxon times, about which Church defenders talk so glibly. What we have to deal with now, is not the Establishment as it was under Æthelwulf, or as it was under Henry VIII., but with the Establishment as it was ordered under Charles II., and still exists. In the first period, the Church and the nation were one; at the second, though there were already germs of division, they had hardly developed into actual separation between different parties; at the third these divisions had taken distinct shape, and out of the antagonistic systems the State chose one, that is, the majority of the people resolved to appropriate to the use of their own section, for the teaching of their own creed and the maintenance of their own polity, the vast endowments which the nation, in former days, had set apart for the religious work of the whole.

We do not see how these facts are to be gainsaid, or the conclusions to which they point escaped. In no true sense was the passing of the Act of Uniformity 'the revival of something old.' The Book of Common Prayer was not the form of worship, nor were the Thirty-nine Articles the creed of the olden time, the times in which the Church of England first grew up. Even the hierarchy—the bishops, chapters, and so forth—which Mr. Freeman tells us was all that had to be restored, though it retained the same internal organization, was an altogether different kind of body, different in its relations both to the Pope and to the State from the hierarchy of the six centuries preceding the Reformation. But in a much deeper sense was this so-called restoration, so far from being a 'revival of something old,' a daring novelty—it was the establishment of a Church which was no longer like that of old, the nation, but only part of the nation. It is true that an attempt was made to preserve the old idea and to stamp out the schismatic element by the enactment of laws which thrust those who would not subscribe to the creed and conform to the Church of the majority outside the pale of national life. But this only aggravated the injustice, it did not alter the fact that a sect (using the word in no invidious sense) had succeeded in grasping the property of the nation. In face of all the facts, it is of little use to tell us that the present position of the Anglican Church does not arise out of an act of selection on the part of the State, by which it received privileges denied to the others. If to dispossess hundreds of the clergy and to install others in their places solely because of theological and ecclesiasti-

cal views, does not mean the establishment of one church in preference to all others, we see not in what way such a purpose could have been carried out. The State intended not only that the present Episcopal Church should be the predominant, but that it should be the only religion, and this it did, not on the ground that it had always been the Church of the nation—for to that assuredly a church which abjured the supremacy of the Pope, abolished the mass, and set up the Thirty-nine Articles, could not pretend—but because it was that which suited the views of the majority of the day.

'A truer statement of the case' (says Mr. Freeman) 'is to say that the Established Church is a religious body which once was co-extensive with the nation, but which has since ceased to be so.' This is a very mild way of representing the ugly fact which lies at the root of this controversy; but we are quite content to accept it, for it concedes all for which we care to contend. Such a change in the religious opinions of the people ought to have led to a corresponding change in the appropriation of an estate, which could no longer be used for religious purposes without injustice to Dissenters. The injustice was all the greater, because the wide departure from the creed and practice of the Church to which the property was originally given, deprived the favoured sect of the plea that Nonconformists were suffering because they had abandoned the faith of their fathers. This view is confirmed by the fact that Parliament has, of late years, been gradually redressing the wrong. The admission of Dissenters to the honours and emoluments of the universities was a confession that they were the property of the nation, and the Endowed Schools Bill was another embodiment of the same principle, made all the more emphatic by the provision that exempted schools, founded since the Toleration Act, from its liberalizing opinions. The provision was intended for the good of the Establishment, but it was really a legal recognition of that which its zealous advocates are so anxious to deny, the distinction between the public property, of which it is the tenant, and the private property, which is assumed to be its freehold. Whether the claim to the latter is so valid as is generally assumed; that is, whether endowments granted to an Established Church are to be regarded as given to a Protestant Episcopal Church, whether established or not, is a point into which we shall not enter, for the question is not likely ever to be a practical one. All we care to insist upon here is, that Parliament has already asserted, in relation to

universities and schools, the principle which we maintain in relation to the public property of the Establishment.

Practically it may be said there is no difference between Mr. Freeman and ourselves, as he admits that the one question to be decided is, 'Will it be for the common good of the country to make any change in these matters, or will it be better to leave them as they are?' But it makes all the difference in the spirit in which we approach this question, whether we regard the proposed change as a new exercise of arbitrary power, or as a vindication of rights which have long been unjustly held in abeyance. In the former case we should certainly hesitate much longer, allow more weight to the consideration of the evils that might result from change, and altogether lean more decidedly to the view of those in possession; in the latter, we should feel that much ought to be risked in order that justice might be done. The question, therefore, as to the real nature of the Establishment, is so far from being out of place in a discussion of the question which Mr. Freeman says is the only one to be solved, that it is the most important element in its decision. Mr. Freeman says, 'It is for the advocates of disestablishment to make out their case. They must show that the Established Church is the cause of evils to the country so great as not only to outweigh the advantages of which it may be the cause, but also to outweigh the evils inherent in so great a change—a change affecting so many interests and rooting up so many associations.' We say, on the contrary, that it is for the supporters of an institution which, in a very important sphere of action, has substituted a sect for the nation, to justify its retention of endowments and privileges to which it has no title except an Act of Parliament, by showing that the immense good which accrues from its relation to the State not only outweighs the evils resulting to itself, to religion, and to the nation at large, from the interference of Government in a province beyond its proper sphere, but also outweighs the consideration to those principles of social and political justice which the arrangement violates.

To examine this question fully, and fairly to strike the balance, would require much more space than we can give it here, but there are some points which we must briefly notice. Mr. Hole has given us a list of the advantages of an Established Church, under no less than fourteen distinct heads, and has supplemented them by seven reasons against disestablishment. It is not unfair, therefore, to regard his statement as a full expo-

sition of the blessings enjoyed under the Establishment; and certainly, if he could maintain all his assertions, he would have made out a very strong case. But some of his assertions involve contradictions, others are extremely doubtful—not to put it more strongly—and others, if admitted to be true are irrelevant, inasmuch as the good which they trace to an Establishment would remain undiminished if the Protestant Episcopal Church retained its spiritual vitality and force, even though it lost the temporal distinction and wealth of a State Church. One or two brief references to some of these must suffice. We find it, for example, as difficult to understand how an Establishment is to be credited at one and the same time with 'securing stability of doctrine' and 'maintaining the safest guarantee of truth,' and with 'dealing best with novelties in thought' and 'encouraging variety of minds,' as to see how Nonconformity can be open at once to the charge of encouraging laxity of doctrine, and to that of keeping its ministers in a moral bondage, which prevents freedom of thought. 'Mutual tolerance' is said to be promoted by the action of the State Church. Whether it is so, we leave those to judge who have followed the course of the intestine controversies which are raging within it. If the criticisms of Ritualists upon Evangelicals, of Evangelicals upon Ritualists, and of both upon the Bishops; if the recriminations of the *Rock* and the *Church Times* and the wild ravings of the *Church Herald*; if the proceedings of the English Church Union and the Church Association are the signs of that mutual tolerance which Mr. Hole asserts is a product of the Establishment, we only wonder what these antagonists would be if, by any unhappy misfortune, they should become intolerant. Mr. Ryle does not take quite so bright a view of the relations between the different Church parties. 'If we love unity and want more of it' (he says), 'I am quite certain that at present in direct spiritual work each school of Churchmen must be content to work on alone. The acids and alkalis must be kept separate, lest there be effervescences and explosions, and a general blow up' ('Church Unity,' page 21). That the Establishment 'fosters the parochial system' is true, but the blind worship of that system is, according to Mr. Ryle, one of the most serious hindrances to the growth of religion in those parishes, still too numerous, where the incumbent fails to discharge the duties of his office, and yet is able to prevent the intrusion of any other clergyman into his preserves. Disestablishment would

speedily sweep away such an abuse, and yet leave undisturbed existing arrangements, so far as they work beneficially.

But what strikes us forcibly in this enumeration of the blessings of the Establishment is the immense value attached to purely material considerations. The spiritual forces which it contains, the truth that is in its creeds, the attractive character of its worship, the piety and zeal of its clergy, the faith and godliness among its members, apparently count for little or nothing, and the power it possesses is supposed to reside in the revenues and honours which the State bestows upon it. It has, we are told, the truth firmly rooted by means of its creeds, but it might seem as if more reliance were placed upon 'statutable authority' by which they are maintained, and which is all that the Establishment gives them, than on their inherent strength. The Anglican Church is doing a great missionary and evangelistic work, with a liberality which all can admire, and a success in which all true Christian hearts may rejoice; but 'disestablish and disendow the Church, and there comes at once a chilling frost over every struggling effort in this vast system; the work of civilizing and humanizing the masses, which cannot even now keep pace with the increasing yearly demand, is disorganized, thrown out of gear, and put back, how many generations one does not think upon.' We ask, in amazement, Why? The State finds neither the funds nor the men to do the work; why should there be any pause in it because there has been a change in the relations of the Church to the nation? The faith in God, the love to the truth, the zeal for the salvation of men, which are to be found in members of the Established Church, and which are the inspiration and strength of this holy service, are surely not all to be resolved into faith in the Establishment, and therefore doomed to decay if a destructive hand be laid on that Establishment.

If this alliance with the State did nothing worse than sow these seeds of cowardice and unfaith in Christian men, causing them to trust more in political arrangements than in the word and power of the living God, it is desirable that it should be severed. We believe that the wonderful vitality and power which the Episcopal Church has shown during the last thirty years have been developed in spite of and not because of its connection with the State. We have no faith in these sinister predictions of the result of disestablishment. There is much more truth in Mr. Ryle's anticipations that her sons 'would make more of their poor old church

in her adversity than they ever did in her prosperity. They would love her better, and open their purses more liberally, when they saw her in plain attire, than they ever did when she was clothed in purple and fine linen' ('Disestablishment,' &c., page 8). Of course they would, and we should heartily rejoice in their increased zeal, whatever might be the effect on our special denominational interests. Yet even Mr. Ryle cannot wholly dismiss his fears, and says that 'hundreds of useful and life-giving organizations would at once be paralyzed, withered, or destroyed for want of funds.' What! while the Church retains the hold—which the worthy Canon says it has—over twelve millions of the people. What! when it has, according to the statement of its friends, raised £75,000,000 for churches, endowments, schools, and parsonages during the last fifty years, and principally within the last thirty-five.* What! when this 'poor old church,' reduced to plain attire, will, on the calculation of the greatest financier of the age, have a capital of ninety millions of money, if it is dealt with as its Irish sister has been, and will still be the richest church in Christendom. If it should be weak when disestablished its weakness will certainly not arise from extreme poverty. It will be much more exposed to the danger pointed out by Mr. Myers, when he says: 'Rather it would seem as easy for a camel to go through the eye of a needle as for a rich church to lead men into the kingdom of God. For a church to accumulate property beyond necessary uses is to injure itself. The love of money is the root of all evil to a church, and if it will be rich it will assuredly fall into a snare which may end in its perdition' ('Catholic Thoughts,' page 250). If there were more men among the clergy with the lofty spirit of this noble Christian teacher, we should have less of this miserable croaking. They are not, as Mr. Ryle says, his 'Nonconformist brethren who think that the power of the Church is mainly derived from her union with the State, and that a dissolution of that union would bring us down to their level, and make us like Samson when his hair was shorn.' It is from himself and his friends that these suggestions come. We believe rather that the spell of Delilah is on his church now, and that it is that which causes that nervous dread of a future in which it will be left to trust alone in God.

Mr. Hole comes much nearer to the crucial point of this controversy, when he says

* We do not profess to endorse the accuracy of this statement; we simply quote it as given by Archdeacon Earle in his last charge to the clergy of Totnes.

the Establishment 'preserves the subordination of the spiritual to the temporal,' but he fails to go to the core of this the great question of the day. The argument is that which weighs most with those Liberal Churchmen who are trying to shape the policy of the Liberal party in relation to the Establishment, which they are bent on maintaining, not because of any strong attachment to the institution itself, but from a belief that the power of the State is the only effectual check to the arrogance and assumption of the priesthood. Ultramontaniam, where it has not excited the fears or aroused the passions of politicians, has made them keenly sensitive to the danger with which it threatens the liberties of every people among whom its power is felt. Their intellect revolts against its reactionary teaching; their heart resents its insolent defiance, alike of individual right and national law; their whole manhood rises in rebellion against its attempt to coerce men into subjection to the will of a haughty priesthood, by a lavish use of the terrors of the invisible world, and the more so when that priesthood claims to determine the extent of territory over which its power is to extend. They feel, and rightly feel, that where sacerdotalism is, there is the germ of the evil. They see, with more or less distinctness, that wherever there is a powerful ecclesiastical body—a strong confederacy of men, united together for spiritual purposes, but constituting in consequence of their numbers and compact organization, a mighty force, which may be wielded for political ends or become the instrument of social tyranny—there is at least a danger that the same spirit may develop itself. The remedy for the perils they so much and so rightly dread they find in the maintenance of an Established Church, in which the supremacy of the State shall be fully asserted, and the priest kept in check by the imperial might of Cæsar.

They are willing to accept the idea which Archbishop Manning so skilfully keeps before the minds of the people, that the choice lies between Cæsarism and Ultramontaniam, and declare themselves on the side of the former, in blind indifference to the advantage which they are giving to their adversary by enlisting in his favour the deep spiritual instincts they so wantonly outrage. With all their loud talk about liberty, they have no true faith in its full development, but would employ one tyranny to put down another, and at best leave the world only the choice between two forms of coercion. And they take this course in face of the fact that the one great State in which Romanists are numerous, and Ultramontaniam

is powerless to affect the action of the Government, is the great American republic, in which there is no State Church; and that in our own country it is not the unestablished priest, like Archbishop Manning, with all his monstrous pretensions, who introduces elements of discord into our social system, but such men as the obscure Vicar of Owston and his diocesan Dr. Wordsworth, less extravagant in theory, but not less arrogant and exclusive in temper, and unfortunately invested by the State with a power which makes their assumption a real danger to the community. Dr. Wordsworth might have asserted his prerogative as a Bishop of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, with a belief in its validity, which is impervious to all argument, and undisturbed by the scorn with which his claim is regarded by all Christendom outside his own narrow circle; but he would have prophesied to deaf ears, and to no purpose, had not the State enabled him to give practical effect to his theory, by putting a slight upon his fellow-citizens. It is as a prelate of the State, not as a bishop, claiming certain powers in virtue of a supposed descent from the apostles, that he is formidable. The world could laugh at his maundering 'pastorals,' but for the factitious importance which the State has conferred upon him and them by the dignity in which it has clothed him as one of its officials.

Mr. Hole's mode of dealing with this very difficult question is extremely superficial. He is content in this, as in many other cases, to retail a number of commonplace assertions, whose truth he has taken no trouble to test, and which, whether true or false, prove nothing. Their sum is, that unestablished churches, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, are great federations marked by 'compactness, cohesion, and *esprit de corps*,' the people priest-ridden, and the ministers committee-ridden, especially in cases (and we commend this to the particular attention of our Wesleyan brethren, who fancy that, as religious Dissenters, they are regarded with more friendliness) 'where pastors are removable by a central authority, which therefore holds all their prospects at its absolute disposal,' and that 'the difference between the Nonconformist drill and the Roman Catholic drill is that the former are not under a foreign chief, but under home committees.' On the other hand, the Establishment is a public institution in which there can be no drill, where there is such diversity of opinion among the clergy that they can never move as a class, and where the laity are so independent that the only power which their ministers have over

them is that of moral influence. It may be so in all questions, except those which are supposed to affect the interests of the Church; and so far it is equally if not more true of Nonconformist communities. We need not tell our readers that this picture of a well-drilled Nonconformist army, manipulated by some central power, and capable of being employed with decisive effect in some great political conflict, is a pure fancy which can only serve to amuse those who know anything of our inner life and of the difficulties in securing unity of action even on subjects on which it might be expected a common interest or a common peril would enforce it. Mr. Hole has taken seriously to heart the talk about the 'Nonconformist wing' of the Liberal party, and its revolt from its leaders, and his imagination conjures up a terrible phantom of a 'united phalanx moving in one direction, shoulder to shoulder, under some invisible guidance.' The idea is as wild as is that of the organ of the Church Defence Association, which calls on all the clergy to devote one Sunday in the year to the enforcement of Church principles, on the ground that 'not once, but many times a year, Dissenting pulpits are used as vehicles for disseminating attacks upon the Church.' What manner of persons these Churchmen suppose Nonconformists to be it is not easy to tell, but certainly if we answered to the conception they have formed of us, they need not fear the hostility of communities which in such case could have no vital power, and would contain so many elements of self-destruction. If our churches were associations for political propagandism, nothing could long preserve them from that collapse which would be as certain as it would be well-deserved. Happily, they are not yet reduced to this condition. We regret, indeed, as much as Mr. Hole, that there should even seem to be a Nonconformist party in politics, but it is only one of the results of a State church. Remove that, and he will hear no more of united political action on the part of Nonconformists, who will rejoice that they are left free to pursue their own spiritual work.

It is refreshing to turn from so superficial and empirical a mode of dealing with a great question to the more philosophical treatment of the subject by Mr. Myers.

'The Church' (he says) 'will be seen to be a new power, generated by new principles of combination, and professing to alter materially the wills of the people. Of this the State must take notice, at least so far as to take heed that it shall not promote anti-national objects, or cause to grow up within

the empire a confederation whose members are bound together by engagements which render them injurious or even useless to itself' ('Catholic Thoughts,' page 234). The gist of the whole controversy is here. The State cannot abandon its own right of self-preservation, and cannot be expected to tolerate the development of a rival political force within its own boundaries, simply because it masks its real character under religious professions, and in the name of liberty of conscience claims to set aside the rightful supremacy of law. Where the domain of conscience ends and the reign of law begins is a question which it will not always be easy to decide, but it is foolish to expect that the State will allow the decision to pass out of its own hands. If it push its demands too far, and invade the province within which conscience ought to be supreme, there is no alternative for the true man but resistance, if need be, even unto death; but the possibility of this evil cannot lead us to deny that with the State itself must rest the decision as to the limits by which its jurisdiction must be bounded. We claim for the Church independence in spiritual matters, and would defend the principle at whatever sacrifice, but not the less frankly do we recognise the right of the State to hold that independence so far in check as to prevent it from interfering with the duty of all subjects to its own laws. A full recognition of the sacredness of the rights of conscience will make the State very cautious in any action which may appear to invade them, but it cannot allow them to be so pleaded as to make its own power a nullity.

That politicians should desire to escape these difficult questions by establishing a concordat between the Church and the State is not surprising. The wonder is that the Church, as it is clearly impossible it could ever secure the material advantages which the State has to bestow without some surrender of its own spiritual freedom and power, was ever induced to enter into the alliance. It must be said, however, that the real character of the connection in this country has been so well masked that it has been possible for Churchmen to persuade themselves that the Church had accepted no favour from the State, and had, therefore, compromised no right. One result of the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Bill, and still more of the discussions which it provoked, is the scattering of such vain illusions and the bringing out in strong relief of the hard facts. The great object of the House of Commons seemed to be the assertion of the absolute authority of Parliament, and the speaker who proclaimed it in

the most decided terms was the most loudly applauded. Nothing could well be in more perfect opposition than the views which the bishops and the High Church party maintain and those which the House of Commons, and, in the main, the House of Lords also, is determined to assert and carry out in practice. The bishops indulged in the fond belief that all that Parliament intended was to suppress the unruly party who had been the cause of so much anxiety and trouble, and had not only troubled the hearts of numbers among the people, but had even sought to bring their own high office into contempt. There was, perhaps, some justification of this faith in the fact that, though it was proposed to supersede the old diocesan courts, in favour of one in which a civil judge should preside, yet a discretion was left to the bishops as to the causes which were to be sent before this new official. But if their lordships had studied the speeches or writings of the advocates of the measure, they might easily have learned that this was only a compliment to their supposed worldly wisdom, not in any sense a recognition of their spiritual rights. There could have been no more severe satire passed upon them than the suggestion that the bishops might, in general, be supposed to be so far under mundane influences, as to do what would satisfy that large class who, as they steer clear of all extremes, fancy themselves to be the depositaries of wisdom and the true representatives of Church orthodoxy; but that, if a bishop should make a mistake, an archbishop, as being more within the charmed circle of society, might be trusted to rectify his error. We recently heard an excellent and intelligent lady, a devoted member of the Establishment, who had a considerable knowledge of bishops, say that, though she had been acquainted with several of the order, there were only two who seemed to her to have escaped the deteriorating influence of the office on all the higher qualities of the spiritual life. The language employed in relation to the Bench seems to indicate that the opinion is general, even among Churchmen, and that so far as the bishops are trusted at all, it is only because it is hoped that they better understand and are prepared to accept the Erastian conditions on which alone the Establishment is to be upheld.

The bishops of Winchester and Lincoln had clearly failed to comprehend the true state of the case, or were resolved to protest against it when they sought to oppose the *jus divinum* of bishops to the will of the House of Commons, and discoursed on the rights of their order with a gravity that

showed that they believed in them themselves, and fancied that everyone else believed in them too, except those unhappy Non-conformists, who, having revolted against all authority, glory in the shame of their own lawlessness. But the only result of their reasoning was to provoke a scornful repudiation of their claims, not from the assailants of the Establishment, but from its most zealous champions, who treated them as the fossilized representatives of an age and a school whose opinions are altogether out of date. Parliament is, no doubt, resolved to uphold a national church, but it is not the church of which Dr. Wordsworth dreams, whose bishops and clergy have exclusive prerogatives because of the descent from the apostles, and which, in virtue of its Divine origin and commission, has legislative and administrative power altogether independent of the State. The Church, which Sir William Harcourt defends is, on the contrary, a mere creation of the State, by which it is bound hand and foot. Its notes of catholicity, its elaborate clerical pedigree, its creeds, are not the foundation of its strength, but the Acts of Parliament by which it is established as the Church of the nation. The power of Parliament gives it its position, and that alone, and to that power it must yield absolute submission, not venturing to promulge a doctrine, or to introduce or omit the celebration of a rite, or to alter a rubric, except as Parliament shall decree. And what Sir William Harcourt said, the House of Commons endorsed by its rapturous applause and its steady voting. His thorough-paced Erastianism, propounded in the most offensive style, made him the idol of the hour, and if his short-lived popularity seemed to collapse under the delicate but withering touch of his former leader, it was not that his ideas were less relished, but that, even in the intensity of its Erastian feelings, the House of Commons recoiled from a man who had violated every condition of party allegiance and outraged every instinct of gentlemanly feeling, and felt its sympathies drawn to the object of his envenomed attacks—its own noblest orator, who was never greater than when he dared, at the risk of his own political influence, to breast the fierce storm of passion and prejudice which Ritualist folly had aroused.

The bill which Parliament has passed is exceedingly weak, and, as an instrument for the suppression of Ritualism, will prove a bitter disappointment to all who trust in it. It is based on no intelligent principle, for while it is professedly intended to secure the enforcement of law, it gives the bishops power to condone such breaches of law as

they consider not excessive or dangerous. Why Evangelicals should indulge in jubilation over it is not very apparent, for, at the best, it only gives cheap law, not Protestant rubrics, and it may happen that cheap law will be as effective an instrument in the hands of their adversaries as in their own. It is true that ritualists do not like it, and that Mr. Disraeli has said it is meant to stamp them out; but low as the Evangelical party has sunk already, there is a lower depth of humiliation still awaiting it if it is to put its trust in a statesman who yesterday was the prophet of the great 'Asian Mystery,' is to-day the champion of Evangelical Protestantism, and to-morrow might be, in consistency with the spirit of his career, and, we might venture to say, without any wound to his conscience or damage to his reputation, the advocate of 'Catholic reunion,' or the leader in a movement against disestablishment. A bill which, as the law stands at present, would, as it has been put by a Ritualist critic, not interfere with the fullest proclamation of the Real Presence—that 'real, actual, and objective Presence' which Mr. Bennet asserted that the Court tolerated—from the pulpit at half-past eleven, but will not allow it to be symbolized on the altar at a quarter to twelve, is too contrary to common sense, too inconsistent with itself, and too miserable a pretence of doing something, while doing nothing effectual, to effect anything of importance, unless it be followed by a measure conceived in a very different spirit.

But however inadequate the Bill may be, the spirit which Parliament showed in relation to it is not the less significant. Two principles seem to have inspired the majority—which did not so much force the Bill through the House, but stamped out opposition—hatred to Romanism, and indignation with the clergy whose sacerdotalism has created the present difficulty. The assumptions of the priests have alienated from them the sympathies of their steadiest supporters—the country gentlemen—who forgot all personal predilections and party relations in their unanimous determination to repress an insolent lawlessness, which was at once dangerous to the Establishment and offensive to themselves. Their love to the Establishment is as strong as ever, but they are resolved that they will control the priests instead of the priests controlling them. The feeling may have been wild and passionate, and have had in it much of unreasoning panic, but it would be a great mistake to suppose that it will be evanescent. The causes which have produced it are too deep and powerful for the effect soon to pass away.

Protestant feeling, though not of the highest and most intelligent character, has had something to do with it, but it is by no means so strong an element as the wounded pride which leads the squirearchy to resent the pretensions of the parsons. Had they contented themselves with reviling the Reformers, defiling their graves, and seeking to undo their work, they might have kindled passing irritation, but it would have soon died away. But ritualism has touched the squires on a much more tender point; it has set up in the parsons rivals to them in their own territory, and they are now able to see that this is only what it is doing in the nation. Hence the strong resolution which nothing could shake, which would listen to no charmer and follow no leader, which caused the soundest Liberals to snub Mr. Gladstone, and Tories who were bluest of the blue to spurn the appeals of the Marquis of Salisbury and Mr. Gathorne Hardy. One spirit animated all; they would have a Protestant Church, which, freely interpreted, means a Church without priests. The priests had got the idea that they were a law to themselves, and could give the law to the country. The House of Commons was resolved to make it apparent that it had the power, and that while there was a State Church it should be under State control.

We are but at the beginning of the struggle which has thus arisen. It is easy to blame the Primate for departing from that *laissez-faire* policy, which, though it may seem undignified and cowardly, is the safest in relation to an institution so full of inconsistencies and anomalies as the Anglican Establishment, but he has really been impelled by the course of events. Under any circumstances the contest which his bill seems to have inaugurated could not long have been delayed, for where there is such intense feeling as was manifest in the House of Commons, it must speedily have found some vent. For ourselves, we can but rejoice that the decks are being cleared, and that the two antagonistic principles, Erastianism and spiritual freedom, are being brought face to face. We shall not attempt to forecast the character or predict the length of the struggle, but of its issue we have not the slightest doubt. It will alter the complexion of political life, it will lead to new party combinations, and if the old leaders are still found at the front it will materially change the elements of their respective armies; but ere long, as the mists which are over the field of battle begin to disperse, it will be seen that the cause of religious freedom and equality is still that of true Liberalism, and the victories which have marked the course

of Liberalism in the past are the sure earnest of the success that is before it in the struggle of the future. Probably there may first be an entire disintegration of the Liberal party—certainly there will be a secession of many who now belong to it—those ‘Liberal Churchmen’ who think that they are faithful to Liberalism, while maintaining the exclusive privileges of a sect, and true to the Church when they place it under the heel of the State. But it is satisfactory to know that its one leader—the leader who for eminent conscientiousness, as for distinguished ability, towers not only above his compeers, but above all who have preceded him, in his position as chief of the army of progress—has manfully declared himself against that unspiritual and unchristian Erastianism which some would make the creed of the Liberal party. The difference between Sir William Harcourt and him was one of vital principle, and that, not as is generally supposed, the principle which divides the earnest Protestant from the Roman Catholic or Ritualist, but that which separates the Erastian politician from the man of strong faith and deep spiritual convictions. It would be melancholy indeed, if, because the former happens for the time to be opposing a party whom we distrust, we should be ready to welcome such advocacy as his, and fail to appreciate the gallant stand which Mr. Gladstone made for principles dearer to us than any political advantages. He is at present supposed to be under a cloud—at least so we are assured by journalists with whom the wish is father to the thought, and who hope that by the constant reiteration of the thought it will come to be accepted as true. But if it be so at all, it is because a certain class will insist on interpreting his words in the light of his supposed ecclesiastical leanings, instead of judging them on their own merits; and the more his position comes to be understood, the more will he be honoured for his clear perception of the nature of the situation, as well as for his manly courage. The manner in which his resolutions were received must have gone far to convince him that the Establishment can exist only as an Erastian institution, and when he has once fully accepted that, we have faith that he will say, better that it should not exist at all. A sincere and earnest religiousness is the most powerful force in his character. Hitherto it has made him a strenuous supporter of the Establishment, but if its strong spiritual susceptibilities be once aroused by Erastian aggression, it may easily force him into the opposite ranks. The peril by which the Anglican Church is menaced is indeed well illustrated in his case. The influences

which are telling upon him are affecting numbers of others; and it may be that the rampant Erastianism of the day may yet unite men of spiritual sympathies in a determined effort to restrict the action of the State within its own proper sphere.

ART. VIII.—*Landseer.—Works of the Late Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A.*

OUR English Landseer! Is there not something in the words which touches us with a sense of cordial and expressive rightness? There have been Englishmen too great to be claimed by their country as characteristically her own. Shakespeare, Newton, and one or two more tower in the transcendency of their genius above the level of any national type. Such men have been born in England; but we cannot say that we have the breed of such men. The loftiest inspiration is not hereditary; but there are qualities marking a fine breed of men, as there are qualities marking a fine breed of horses, which may be traced from generation to generation; and such qualities we trace, under wide variations of circumstance, locality, vocation, and individual character, in typical Englishmen. Prompt, brief, energetic, business-like, physically and morally brave, the Englishman of the true island breed knows what he can do, and does it; knows what he cannot do, and lets it alone; and shuns and shakes from him, as by an electric repulsion, all sluggishness, pretence, dawdling, mawkishness, every form of affectation, every form of cant, every form of humbug. What he pointedly has is clearness and decision; what he pointedly has *not* is pretence and affectation. By his works ye shall know him. The siege of Arcot by Clive, a peninsular campaign by Wellington, a novel by Scott, a canto by Byron, an essay by Macaulay, a statement by Palmerston, a speech by Bright, an army of workmen organized by Brassey,—you say, of all these things, ‘England her mark.’ No superfluity, no fuss, no bungling, no affectation,—such is the style. It is not a style to be described in terms of indiscriminate panegyric. There are some defects to which it is peculiarly exposed. The justice, which is its main ethical tone, may become hardness; its impatience of mawkishness may degenerate into want of sympathy and of sensibility. But we shall, on the whole, prize it, and be proud of it.

Landseer’s painting is simple, manly, in-

telligible. There is in it no taint or trace of that affectation which has made much of our current poetry and painting a weariness to practical men, and a sickly inspiration to maundering lads and epileptic women and children. Its meaning can reach the general heart, its beauty be seen by the unsophisticated eye. In the Landseer gallery you need no critic or connoisseur with his 'oracular sentences of deep no-meaning' to suggest a far-fetched sense for fantastic conceits, no pretentious charlatan, with his affected raptures, to beguile simple persons into the belief that some trick of singularity, portentously ugly, is a revelation of the beautiful. Time was when people could open a book of poetry with the well-grounded expectation of finding in it an intellectual pleasure that would cost no painful effort, a pleasure not the less accessible because of its being communicated in refined language and melodious verse. Now, as has been well said, it takes one man to write poetry and another to explain it. Time was when you might hope to enjoy a picture as you enjoyed a mountain, or a stretch of seashore, or a gently undulating swell of green field, or a sky flushed with sunset. The art addressing itself primarily to the eye,—the art that aimed at being an 'eye-music,' as Wordsworth called the waving of the interlaced forest-boughs,—could be read by the eye. But since the advent of Pre-raphaelitism and kindred affectations, we have had painters whose most elaborately puffed performances require a lecture, an insufferable, long-winded lecture, to make them intelligible to persons of ordinary education. We do not deny that there was an element of good in Pre-raphaelitism; the return to nature which it represented was pre-eminently good. Those representatives of the movement who have gone beyond it and got rid of its perversities are our leading artists. But it is to the perversely affected men, who have become with every new year only more quaint, and mawkish, and fantastical, that the coteries have burned the most suffocating incense. Strong, simple, workmanlike, the painting of Landseer was a protest against all this. He did not scorn to be popular with the great body of educated men. But his popularity was based upon sterling excellence, not upon facile artifice or vulgar effect. No man who has any idea of what power of painter's hand is, can fail to perceive that Landseer had the hand and the eye of a master. We cannot without grave qualification praise his colour; his perception was primarily of form, and the foundation of his power was his drawing. But he had the selective glance that discerns in a

moment what are the lines of character and of life, and with decisive stroke he could place this—this wholly, and this alone—upon his canvas. The masterliness of Landseer's touch can be seen in his earliest drawings; and in none of his works is it more keenly discernible than in his pen and ink sketches. As we look at some of these we are tempted to believe that, of all the instruments that can be used by the artist, there is none quite so wonderful as the pen. In his most mature time, with all the appliances of colour, Landseer never set before us deer and dogs more livingly than those which, with a few touches of the pen upon white paper, he shows us in these sketches swimming or struggling in torrents, or standing face to face in mortal antagonism. There is one in which two dogs follow a stag in the water, straining hard to seize their quarry. Landseer was probably less than half an hour engaged upon this sketch, and you could soon count the few lines, dots, jags and scratches that complete it; yet, from his exquisite accuracy in striking the curves that indicate the motion of the water, and his absolute rightness in seizing the expression of the animals, he makes us fancy that we actually see the convulsive action of the limbs and the heave of the panting bosoms, under the surface. Work like this has more power to summon the imagination of the spectator than the most finished picture. In point of fact, highly finished painting, with its express and limited perfection, has a tendency, even while satisfying the imagination, to lull it asleep. The vistas of the forest, the mists gathering in the hollows of a mountain-range as night comes on, reveal somewhat and hide somewhat, and powerfully stimulate the imagination; but a crystal, or a mathematical figure, does not move it in the slightest degree.

Born into a family of engravers, Edwin Landseer doubtless inherited extraordinary firmness and delicacy of hand and keenness of sight; but it is manifest that he was an industrious and careful as well as a gifted workman, and he appears to have derived pleasure at every period of his life from the mere exercise of his skill. He painted multitudes of studies, none of them slovenly. We said we could not speak of him without qualification as a master in colour; and yet we are prepared to maintain that a good deal of vague nonsense has been talked in depreciation of his gift of colour. By a colourist may be meant either first, one who can paint with literal correctness the colour of an object as it is presented, in nature, or, secondly, one who, when he looks at any-

thing, a tree, a field, a city, a face, perceives its colour in contradistinction both to its lines and to its light and shade, and paints *that*; or one who can invent abstract harmonies of tint. This last is the great colourist; the second is the painter, as distinguished from the draughtsman; Landseer was the first. Though a draughtsman as distinguished from a painter,—though his eye was essentially for form,—he could, nevertheless, paint a dog, a horse, a lion, a deer, a monkey, in colours more closely resembling the colours of nature than any other man. He was no colourist in the sense in which Veronese and Gainsborough were colourists, but he could within certain limits paint the hues of nature. Colour is a grand subject for our modern affectationists. The proof of a gift for colour would, according to them, appear to be that you do *not* see in any object the colour which people have seen in it since the beginning of the world, and that you *do* see in it colours of which ordinary observers have not a glimpse. If you speak of green grass or blue sea the coteries will convict you of colour-blindness. A genius for colour sees all the hues of the rainbow in the folds of a white sheet or the tuft of a black dog's tail. Landseer did not profess or aspire to this kind of second sight. We confess that we also are deficient in it; and this may be the reason why we are quite sure that the colours of Landseer's lions, tigers, and monkeys are more like the colours of the lions, tigers, and monkeys in the Zoological Gardens than those of any other painter.

It was only in animal painting that Landseer possessed consummate skill. In other provinces his efforts are interesting, but we shall not call them masterly. Had he devoted himself to portrait-painting, he would have been a good portrait painter, and if he had devoted himself to landscape-painting, he would have been a good landscapist; but one branch of the pictorial art seems to be enough to be cultivated with supreme success by any man. Most of Landseer's human faces are defective as compared with his dog faces and monkey faces; but one of the loveliest female faces in the world is that of his Catherine Seaton; some of his child faces are full of feeling; and we are not sure that he ever quite failed to do justice to expression and feature, except when he was painting by command. In landscape we hardly know what he might not have done in the treatment of strictly natural effect, that is to say in all but the highest imaginative walk of landscape painting, if he had made it the ambition of his life to excel in landscape. The landscape in the 'Chal-

lenge' is very grand in the solemnity of the mountains beyond the lake. His conception of the scenery of the Scottish Highlands is original, unique, and in some respects masterly. There is sturdy realism in it; there is true imagination. We have in mind those solitudes, on the tops of the highest Scottish mountains, to which Turner never cared to penetrate, where the deer congregate in the summer months, sheltered from the heat of the sun by the dim, trailing curtains of the mist. Landseer, sportsman as well as artist, loved to track them there, watching the wild, shy, beautiful creatures as they retreated behind the semi-translucent veil. With a true imaginative instinct, he felt the importance of the mist as an element in the weird sublimity of the grey Cairns and Bens of Scotland. The bursts of sunlight through the fog, which kindle here and there, amid the gloom, broad white flames of spectral illumination,—one of the most striking phenomena of Highland scenery—have not been rendered by any artist so well as by Landseer. The massive, blunt-edged crags, also, either heaped and splintered in picturesque disorder, or breaking through the sward like the skeleton of the hill, are given with boldness of line and solidity of substance. There is true imagination in wavering wreath and filmy cloud, in rugged strength of rock and force of torrent; there is no merely imitative or photographic work; but we are spared, on the other hand, all childish ideal of giddy precipice and impossible peak. The crags are big stones; the hills are swells of earth, boned with rock and mantled with sward or shaggy with heather, rather than mountains. All this is true to the character of the Scottish Highlands. We shall form no just idea of the genius of Landseer if we fancy that he was capable only of becoming an expert in one field of art. But the main channel of his energy—that to which everything else was secondary or episodic—was without question animal painting. He began, as seems to have been universally the case with important men, with severely accurate, closely realistic work. The 'White Horse in Stable,' painted when he was sixteen, is a hard, honest, unassuming record of what the Hon. H. Pierrepont's white horse was like. Landseer's pictures of horses at this period fetched ten guineas, and the price was not too little for works unlighted by a ray of imagination. The painstaking lad paints every stone on the stable-floor, every mark and stain on the horse. He puts in a cat. Something must have suggested to Landseer that there was an indissoluble connection between cats and horses, for he painted them as associates all

his life. But the cat of the stripling sits demure on the stall in the background, the cat of the painter of sixty is much improved in colour, and rubs herself against the horse's legs. When he painted this picture Landseer was learning the rudiments of his art, but he was learning them well. He continued his self-training until full freedom of hand was developed, such freedom as is shown in the astonishing sketches of Paganini; and this was retained by him until the failure of his faculties. He became a consummate master of his craft, and took delight in displays of rapid skill. Once he was kept for a few minutes at some door in Windsor palace, waiting the convenience of the Queen. To pass the time he seized a pen and dashed off two sketches of little dogs. And what little dogs! Not only as little as life, but full of quiet, racy humour. One of them, seated on its haunches, has a suppliant look, and holds in its mouth a card inscribed with the name 'E. Landseer.' The other looks to the door, listening eagerly for some footstep to assure him that he has not been quite forgotten. We don't know whether Sir Edwin was kept waiting at doors in Windsor palace *after* he executed these symbolical works! On another occasion Her Majesty asks him to give her some idea of the hippopotamus, which has just arrived in the Zoological Gardens. He scrawls and blots on a piece of paper for five or ten minutes, and hands to the Queen what he has produced. There are no fewer than four vividly characteristic sketch-portraits of the creature, swimming in its bath, standing knee-deep in water, or lying becalmed upon its side ashore. In one morning, working from memory, he dashes off full-length likenesses of the Duke of Devonshire and Lady Constance Grosvenor, giving the entire outline of both figures, and putting in many of the details of dress and feature. He never finished the picture, but it possesses great interest as exhibiting his velocity and audacity of hand. In twelve hours, working without intermission, he painted a full-sized portrait of Odin, a mastiff bloodhound; and if, by protracted manipulation, he might have thrown more of atmosphere round the log and mellowed into softer beauty its somewhat hard and arid colour, he could not have added to the vitality of the beast.

There are, we suppose, few capable of deriving any considerable pleasure from art, who do not delight to trace the line, subtle, swift and sure, of a masterly draughtsman. Many, therefore, must have derived enjoyment from the mere technical skill displayed in the works we have mentioned, and from such simple, but admirable drawings as

those of the Geneva series. They were executed in line, with a few pen-touches here and there, and slightly tinted. We call them the Geneva series, because several of the most delightful of them were done at Geneva, but we include all those of the same style drawn, apparently in a single tour, in 1840. They are curiously, not altogether pleasantly suggestive in connection with Landseer's latter work. They afford us something like a line of demarcation between his early style and what may be called his fashionable and drawing-room period. They go far to prove that he might have been greater still if fashion had not cast her enchantment over him. In these Belgian and Swiss sketches he reveals a sympathetic perception of the picturesque in peasant-life, a feeling of the mournful grace and rugged kindliness which a seeing eye can detect in the association of man with his brute fellow-labourers of the furrowed field and the rutted road. In those rough-coated, raw-boned horses hanging their heads in the stall after their day's work, in those sturdy peasants, too brave to be down-hearted, too heavy-laden to be gay, which rest their tired limbs in the cart or venture on a little clownish love-making at the well, in those broad-muzzled draught-oxen, those knowing mules, those serviceable-looking dogs, there is a depth of interest, a hold on human life, that make us recall with a very mixed feeling the winners of the Derby, the favourite hunters of Dukes of Wooden-head, the spaniels much admired by this or that Royal Highness, which were elaborately painted in subsequent years by Sir Edwin Landseer. The series of studies exhibited by Mr. Wells is another astonishing demonstration of his technical skill. We cannot understand how any one can look at these studies and yet affirm that he was not a colourist in the sense of being able to transfer to canvas any hue of beast or bird. Every variety of animal texture; fur and feather, and shaggy hide; sleek marmot, brindled lion, downy softness of white rabbit and harsh splendour of tiger, iridescent glow of pheasant's breast, delicious mottling of wood-cock's wing and cool grey of teal and ptarmigan, green glistening flame of drake's neck and dark stippled russet of the grouse, roguish sparkle of fox's eye, crisp hair of skye terrier, and gloss and curl and tuft of hound and retriever; these, with every touch and tint that goes to body forth the deer from hoof to horn, were within the grasp of Landseer. On a purely technical matter we would not speak dogmatically, but to our thinking Landseer's sleight-of-hand in the management of colour reached its climax,

first in the reclining tiger in the Van Amburgh picture (the one with the lamb in it), and again in the Brazilian monkeys in Her Majesty's possession. The light in both of these instances seems not so much to rest on the fur as to shimmer over it and through it, and, in the monkeys particularly, has a kind of electric quality—as if it would sparkle when you rubbed it—which, to us at least, is very wonderful. The monkey picture is exquisite also in its humour. The startled yet fascinated and scientific curiosity with which the little creatures, perched upon the pine-apple, eye the wasp among the leaves,—they would like excessively to investigate the mystery, but cannot make up their minds that it would be safe,—is very amusing; and if Mr. Darwin, in his book on the relation between man and the lower animals is no fabulist, their expression is so true to monkey nature, that we almost wonder the picture escaped the great naturalist as an illustration and confirmation of his remarks on the dawning of curiosity upon the simian brain.

We cannot agree with those who hold that Landseer's technical skill deteriorated in his later period. His eye retained its keenness, his hand its delicacy and strength, until the first approach of decay in physical power. In the 'Piper and Nutcrackers,' a late picture, the touches on the neck of the bullfinch, and on the fur of the squirrels, and the whiskers of one of them, are as firm and fine as he ever laid. Landseer, in the second half of his career, painted many subjects unworthy of his powers, but his hand did not lose its cunning. It is the blunder of hasty thoughtlessness to fancy that powerful painting means painting of strong and violent gesture. The contrary is nearer the fact. It is the painting of softness that requires consummate strength. It demands less mastery to paint fighting dogs, and hunted bears, and snarling lions, than to realize on canvas the tenderness and trustfulness of animal life. Talking, however, of snarling lions, we may say that, in an 'early study' of a lion by Landseer, numbered 238 in the recent exhibition of his works, we noticed a promise of imaginative strength which he did not fulfil. The lion large as life, snarls fiercely, and in the angry and angular zig-zags of the cliff beside there is a quite Turner-esque sympathy with the expression and aspect of the jaws. This is perhaps not the solitary indication to be found in Landseer's early works of purely abstract imagination; but, on the whole, his later manner was an improvement upon his earlier one. He could give the photograph of a horse or cow about as well at twenty as he could at fifty;

but at fifty he could paint air, he could give a sweet, mellowing ripeness to all his lines, he could paint, not only the anatomy of animals, but their souls. This he could not do at twenty. It is to the earlier period of Landseer's art that the pictures which we must pronounce unworthy of him chiefly belong. In these he seems to have vied with Snyders, whose coarse hand did not deserve such homage from Edwin Landseer. He was betrayed into painting one or two such subjects as the 'Otter Hunt.' Workmanship more masterly can hardly be conceived. Not only are the dogs marvellously life-like, and, crowd of them as there is, sharply individualized, but the huntsman, who holds the writhing otter aloft on the spear, is most dramatically rendered. His thickset form and stalwart limbs, and rude strong face, suit his calling; and, as he bids the dogs keep down, you seem to hear his hoarse accents amid the yelling of the hounds and the rush of the stream. No right human interest or enjoyment, however, can be associated with the agonized writhings of a small animal that has no chance against its enemies; and Landseer appears to have lost liking for the picture, never finishing the companion-work. He passed on to nobler subjects, leaving it to others to paint the ferocity, terror, pain, and rage of the animal creation.

But we have said enough of Landseer's command of his implements. Painting is, after all, but a language, with more vivid and beautiful vocables than ordinary speech. Mastery in painting can no more constitute a man a great artist than mastery in grammar can constitute a man a great author. This is an elementary truth, yet people are constantly forgetting it; and even Mr. Ruskin who, within the first twenty pages he ever gave to the world on art, laid it down with exquisite lucidity and precision, and who has never in terms abandoned it, has talked, in successive books, more and more as a drawing-master and less and less as an art-critic. The fact is that, generally, perhaps invariably, consummate power of hand in painting has been the pledge, and therefore might be made the test, of higher power. Between the touch of Titian and of Holbein, of Gainsborough and of Turner, and the feeling, imagination, invention of those painters, there has been a connection. But is it not true, also, that there is a connection—a pre-established and absolute harmony—between Shakespeare's language and Shakespeare's thought? Yet do we not recognise a distinction, a deep and just distinction, between mere grammatical criticism of his dramas, mere discussion of his spelling,

punctuation, and words, and criticism of his ideas, his characters, and the general articulation and modulation of his mighty works! 'Commas and points they set exactly right,' says Pope of the grammatical critics. Goethe did not concern himself with Shakespeare's commas and points; many could have spoken of these things better than he; but he was a better Shakespearian critic than any of the ninety and nine grammatical pedants who have left their names on the walls of Shakespeare's palaces. The studies of good painters—their exercises in the grammar of their art—are so difficult to execute and so interesting to look at, that critics constantly talk as if studies could be works of art. Landseer's studies are so masterly and look so like pictures, displaying, in fact, as much power of mere touch as his works of art, strictly so called, that they afford the critic an excellent opportunity of discriminating between the artisan's power of hand and the artist's power of creation.

The principle of the distinction is simple. A drawing or a painting becomes a work of art in proportion as the spirit of man is breathed into it,—in proportion as it is charged with feeling, thought, or imagination. The stamp of humanity may be slightly impressed; it may in landscape-art be little more than choice of subject with the faintest irradiation of feeling: but the image and superscription of man every work of art must wear.

Classifying the pictures of Landseer by this test we find that, putting aside studies, we have to consider, in ascending order, first, his animal portraits and show pictures; secondly, his works of humour; and thirdly, his works of pure and great art.

If it is but seldom that the portrait even of a man or woman becomes a true picture, valuable to the world as well as to relatives and friends, still more rarely can we look for a work of art in the likeness of a dog or a horse. When a dog has been a friend, however, and when the painter has so felicitously suggested the simplicity and sincerity, the limited but faithful sympathy, of doggish friendship, that every observer can comprehend in some measure what it was to its master, a dog-portrait may be admitted to a place, though but a lowly place, within the temple of art. It is almost cruel to tell the hundreds of proud possessors of portraits of horses and hounds by Landseer, that their treasures can with difficulty be admitted to be pictures at all; but when we call to mind the time and energy squandered by this consummate painter in perpetuating the features of nags and lap dogs, our sensibilities become steeled upon the sub-

ject. The court and the drawing-room had too much, as we have already hinted, of Edwin Landseer. Princes and nobles petted him, and so they might; for with unapproached grace and brilliancy, he realized for them all that is piquant, sportive, and fascinating, in the companionship of the wealthy and high-born with the unreasoning creatures. Dogs nestling beside infant princesses; tiny horses snuffing at flowers in hands of royal children; courtier-like hounds casting a languid eye upward for the touch or glance of a Queen; minute spaniels, with glossy fur and gem-like eyes, making themselves cosy on silken cushions; ducal children on dainty ponies; pretty horse-breakers with the horses they have broken, *à la Rarey*, lying vanquished on the straw;—it is a curious phase of our modern life, and has been realized to perfection.

Of Landseer's show pictures, illustrative of regal and aristocratic life in the nineteenth century, 'Windsor Castle in Modern Times' is the most striking. This was the centre of, perhaps, the densest crowd in the exhibition, and is, without question, one of the most popular and, in its way, imposing pictures he ever painted. A century hence it will possess historical interest, for it is a felicitous illustration, one might say elucidation, of that species of sovereignty which won the hearts of Queen Victoria's subjects, that sovereignty which is a gracious and homebred idealization of English domestic life. The palace is a pattern of what the great body of Englishmen, not the specially cultured, not the pre-eminently gifted, but the great body of well-to-do people, ordinarily educated, would like their houses to be. The Prince Consort, good-looking, highly dressed, is seated; his costume is fanciful, his features are what many ladies would call charming, but are not suggestive of brains. Her Majesty stands; the eye would possibly fail to be riveted on her features, but could not miss her white satin gown. Sir Edwin was incapable of satire on such an occasion, otherwise we might have thought that he meant to eclipse royalty in the glories of royalty's satin gown. Her Majesty has a nosegay in her hand. A prattling princess, pet dogs, a dead pheasant and other dead game, are near the exalted pair. A flood of sunlight pours in through the open window; beyond we see the lawn with flower-beds cut in the trim English fashion; an invalid is being rolled round the walks in a chair. On the whole, one cannot but wonder that there is so little feeling in the picture; everything is evidently there for show; the prince in particular, whom we know to have been a solidly able, thoughtful man, is done

injustice to in that coxcomb dress, in those dancing-master legs. The little princess is much the best of the human figures, but she is slightly painted in comparison with the dogs and game. Not thus did Velasquez and Titian work upon princes and princesses,—but could Titian and Velasquez have improved the dogs on the floor or added to the intense yet softened glow of the pheasant on the table? Granting that the fondness of Queen Victoria for animals has some importance as one among a thousand proofs of that affectionate nature, that good heart, that capacity to enjoy the simplest pleasures, which have contributed to make her beloved, we are, nevertheless, compelled to maintain that this is but a furniture picture.

And so the regret which we formerly expressed returns upon us. If Sir Edwin Landseer has shown us all that the dog and the horse contribute to relieve the tedium, or to lend picturesqueness to the pageantry of aristocratic and princely existence, we cannot forget that the companionship and service of the lower animals are more to the poor man than to the rich, and that the element of earnestness thus obtained is of essential importance in lending interest and true dignity to art. Devoting himself during a great portion of his life to horse-painting and dog-painting for the upper ten thousand, Landseer inevitably subjected himself to some extent to the evanescence, the glittering superficiality, in one word, the frivolity of fashion. Why do not critics, instead of impertinently lecturing painters on the methods of their craft, or extolling the perverse ugliness of conceited singularity as if it were a revelation of beauty, say something to emancipate artists from the bondage of fashion? It is a base and joyless bondage, depriving the artist of that consciousness of honest devotion to the beautiful, which is to him, if he be a true artist, what courage is to a soldier, honour to a gentleman, and faith in God to a minister of religion. Wherever life is in earnest, art can thrive. Immortal pictures have been painted from street-beggars. Send an artist to the steppes of Russia, where half-tamed, half-starved horses, driven by half-savage peasants, struggle through the stream that crosses the moorland track, and he will paint memorable pictures. But where fashion smirks and ogles, struts and chatters and shows off, killing the sense of beauty with her patches, and hoops, her bustles, chignons, dress coats, there is art's Sahara. There the artist must be either a palsied slave or a revolutionist,—he has no further choice. Fashion did as little evil to Landseer as, under the circumstances, was to be

expected, but we cannot think without bitterness of the extent to which it actually prevailed against him. It lay in him to be a Morland with ten times Morland's mastery of hand and delicacy of feeling, a Morland without Morland's clownish bluntness and torpid incapacity of thought. It lay in Landseer more than in any man to have made us feel all that his cow is to the cottager, all that the staggering old horse is to the staggering old man beside whom, in carrier's waggon or farmer's cart, it has trudged for many a weary year. How well could we have spared a few of Landseer's drawing-room dogs, if he had shown us one good watch-dog baying his master deep-mouthed welcome as he drew near home! How well could we have dispensed with cover hacks and glancing race-horses, if he had painted for us but one old English farm-yard;—a pair of well-boned, work-stained teamsters being unyoked in the warm evening light, the cows in act of being turned out after milking, shiftless calves getting into everything's way, vivacious young pigs nuzzling in the litter, the barn-door cock strutting about among reverential hens with those airs which caught the eye of Milton, and the pigeons on the glorious brown thatch, the iris on their burnished necks and bosoms sparking in the western sun. Let us not forget, however, that if Landseer painted too many fashionable pictures he did not paint these alone.

By his pictures of humour, we mean such works as 'The Travelled Monkey,' 'Laying Down the Law,' 'High and Low Life,' 'Dignity and Impudence,' 'Jack in Office,' 'The Catpaw,' and many others. All the world has seen and enjoyed these, and they are too frequently regarded not only as eminently characteristic of Landseer, which they are, but as exhibiting his highest power as an artist, which they do not. We have heard it remarked by an epigrammatic critic that Landseer's power consists in putting human eyes into dog's heads. Even Mr. Ruskin, who has on more than one occasion done frank justice to Landseer, seems to fall into the mistake of founding a general estimate of his art upon his works of humour.

'In our modern treatment of the dog,' says Mr. Ruskin, 'of which the prevailing tendency is marked by Landseer, the interest taken in him is disproportionate to that taken in man, and leads to a somewhat trivial mingling of sentiment, or warping by caricature; giving up the true nature of the animal for the sake of a pretty thought or pleasant jest. Neither Titian nor Velasquez ever jest; and though Veronese jests gracefully and tenderly, he never for an instant

oversteps the absolute facts of nature. But the English painter looks for sentiment or jest primarily, and reaches both by a feebly romantic taint of fallacy, except in one or two simple and touching pictures, such as the "Shepherd's Chief Mourner."

If Titian and Velasquez never jest, the fact is a proof of the limitation even of their imperial faculties. All human moods trim between laughter and tears, and all minds which if great, are great enough, and if little, are healthy, are dowered with sympathies for both. The world gets sadder as mankind grows old, and we can dispense with few things so well as with arch and genial humour. Englishmen of all men are last called upon to apologize for jesting. Our great men, the lawgivers of our literature and of mankind, have dearly loved a joke. A greater than Titian or Velasquez can never be solemn and severe for three pages on end. His Falstaffs, his Aguecheeks, his Marias, his Launces and Launce's dogs, his Malvolios, his Dogberries, his grave-diggers, have set generations on a roar, and comedy laughs consumedly in the corner though tragedy in sceptred pall sweeps by. Old Chaucer throws his heart into nothing half so much as a jest; he holds his sides and shakes with mirth, his intense enjoyment forcing you into a kind of sympathy, although the fun is pretty sure to be miles away from modern mentionability. Scott, when at his best, is almost always quietly but cordially laughing. Burns had an eye for comical doggishness so true that his descriptive word-strokes in 'The twa Dogs' may vie in graphic felicity with the strokes of Landseer's brush. No great man is a humourist only, but the greatest men are all humourists. English humour, in its light caricaturing mood, was never more charmingly displayed than in the works of Cruikshank, Leech, and Doyle, and it is a vein of the same national quality that shows itself in the gentle satire of Landseer. Of course he deliberately assumed, in this class of his works, the liberty of the caricaturist. He 'oversteps the absolute facts of nature;' and he does this, not in the earnestness of the highest imagination (which it is the prerogative of sovereign art to do) but in play; therefore, his work in this kind is secondary. If, however, he has elsewhere risen above humour, if he has occasionally produced works of the highest order—his efforts in humour attest the healthiness and modesty of his nature, the width of range, not the insignificance of his genius, and merit admiration rather than contempt. He has not, we say, confined himself absolutely to the facts of dog-life and monkey-

life; but what caricaturist, what fabulist, has with skill so subtle adapted the facts of animal life to suit his purpose, or modified them less traceably? Who shall draw the line between animal character and human character, in such marvels of delicate irony and racy fun as 'The Travelled Monkey' or 'Jack in Office'? Who shall say wherein the dogs of high vulgarity and of low vulgarity, the dogs of dignified reserve and of insolent familiarity, the sycophant dogs, the official red-tape dogs, the wise Lord Chancellor dogs, the greedy dogs, the sentimental dogs, the puppy dogs, the good dogs, pass beyond the canine frontier, and ascend or descend into mere humanity? For our own part we never feel more deeply Landseer's exquisite and comprehensive knowledge of the lower creatures than when we carefully take note of his use of dog gesture, and dog expression, and dog propensity, to point his human moral. In no instance are his dogs more human than in the 'Jack in Office;' but every one of the troop has a look and demeanour not only markedly his own but characteristically doggish, and even the sycophant, who hopes with truly human whine and self-humiliation, to beg his way into Jack's favour and a share of the good things, has an irrefragably canine look about the paws. One of the very finest works in humour that Landseer ever executed is 'The Travelled Monkey.' The painting is as minute in finish as Meissonnier's, with a spirit and vitality of touch which Meissonnier does not approach. There is delicious fun in every part of it; in the grave self-importance, the polished, condescending stateliness of the scarlet-coated coxcomb—in the exquisitely discriminated expressions of the other monkeys, respectful admiration, worshipful reverence, envious wonderment—and in the group of mother and child monkeys in the corner, the mother clasping her little one to her breast with one hand, and holding up the other as if deprecating the approach of this dazzling and dangerous meteor, which might strike her infant blind. Does this corner-group contain a first suggestion of the pathos which, a quarter of a century later, became a leading motive in 'Our Poor Relations'? We ask the question, rather thinking that the answer ought to be affirmative, but with considerable hesitation on the point. In 'Our Poor Relations' the sick baby and its disconsolate mother are principal; the swarthy doctor in the back-ground, though there is the purest comicality and fine satire in the serene complacency with which he regales himself on the oranges provided for the invalid, is secondary. This also, however, is a picture of

humour, and if, on the ground that pathetic humour is by nature higher than comic humour, it is maintained to be Landseer's best work of the kind, we shall not argue the question. To the same class we assign the 'Highland Nurses,' painted about the time of the Crimean War, and dedicated to Miss Nightingale. A wounded stag lies dying on the hill; two hinds hang over him, licking his wounds. This is a work of humour, because the action of the hinds is frankly impossible, but the humour is tragic, not comic. Landseer's pathetic vein was very delicate and sometimes deep.

These pictures, illustrative of animal emulation of human courage or faithfulness, or of animal mimicry of human vices and foibles, may have a not merely accidental or fanciful connection—M. Taine would probably insist upon this connection as corroborative of his fundamental principle of literary philosophy—with the historical characteristics of a period when science makes it her proudest boast to have unveiled those secret bonds of relationship by which, according to Darwin, Haeckel, and Huxley, the whole family of living things is linked together. Those in which Landseer depicts animals as human pets or playthings have a general tendency to foster that kindness of regard for the lowlier creatures in which people of the present day, not, perhaps, so theologically orthodox or metaphysically aspiring as former generations, may claim to have realized some small moral improvement. The rich man will be all the kinder to his dogs and horses, the sportsman will be all the more willing to dissociate his pleasure from the infliction of pain, for having looked upon the pictures of Landseer. But unhappily it is not at the hand of the rich man that the animal creation suffers most. The field-sports of civilized men imply protection, and it may be gravely questioned whether the creatures preserved for sport are not, on the whole, gainers from being hunted by man. It is from the poor that horses and dogs suffer most. A hard life—it is a stern fact, but indisputable—does not commonly soften the heart, but steels it to callousness and cruelty. The man on whom fate's strokes fall thick finds a miserable relief in passing on the blow to the slave, still more helpless than himself, that cannot return it. Landseer has pleaded with the shepherd for his dog, but he might have done more to bespeak gentle treatment for the horse.

We have spoken of studies, portraits, show-pictures, and pictures of humour; we now approach the most important works of Landseer. These may be ranged in two

classes. In the first we include such works as 'The Arab Tent,' 'Bolton Abbey in the Olden Time,' 'The Challenge,' 'The Sanctuary,' 'The Maid and Magpie,' and several others. There is in them no important thought, no great energy of imagination, no humour, but there is an unmistakable love of the thing painted, and there is realization of as high abstract beauty as is ever attained by Landseer. Perhaps, of them all, 'The Arab Tent' approaches nearest to a show-picture, and yet, if you compare it with the 'Windsor in 1842,' you will perceive that Landseer felt, in the one case, as an artist whose delight is in his work, and, in the other, as an accomplished decorator producing, to order, a furniture-picture. 'The Maid and Magpie,' is a typical work in this class. The cow is painted with an idealizing softness of tint peculiar to Sir Edwin's mature time, which is consistent with perfect veracity of delineation. The entirely spontaneous and unaffected attitude of the girl, resting her head on the side of the cow while the milking goes on, announces with simple expressiveness the terms of mutual trust and affection on which the two stand with each other. The eye of the maid is on the magpie, and the bird knows it; the sly, shy, thievish dart at the spoon gives us a glimpse into the very heart of the mischievous thing—a magpie-biography in a touch. This, we fancy, is one of the pictures in which dull critics detect 'the effeminacy' of Landseer's later manner; as if it were not a higher achievement to paint the soul of a cow than its anatomy!

The second class in this highest division of Landseer's works contains those on which we should, in the last resort, base his claim to be considered a great artist. First of all we take that picture which Mr. Ruskin selected, thirty years ago, as illustrating, with expressive eloquence of imagery and convincing clearness of discrimination, the difference between the language of painting and the ideas, or thoughts, or imaginative suggestions, which are the life of art. Mr. Ruskin introduces it as 'one of the most perfect poems or pictures which modern times have seen.' Its name is 'The Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner.'

'Here the exquisite execution of the glossy and crisp hair of the dog, the bright, sharp touching of the green bough beside it, the clear painting of the wood of the coffin and the folds of the blanket, are language—language clear and expressive in the highest degree. But the close pressure of the dog's breast against the wood, the convulsive clinging of the paws, which has dragged the blanket off the trestle, the total powerlessness of

the head laid, close and motionless, upon its folds, the fixed and tearful fall of the eye in its utter hopelessness, the rigidity of repose which marks that there has been no motion nor change in the trance of agony since the last blow was struck on the coffin-lid, the quietness and gloom of the chamber, the spectacles marking the place where the Bible was last closed, indicating how lonely has been the life—how unwatched the departure—of him who is now laid solitary in his sleep; these are all thoughts—thoughts by which the picture is separated at once from hundreds of equal merit, as far as mere painting goes, by which it ranks as a work of high art, and stamps its author, not as the neat imitator of the texture of a skin, or the fold of a drapery, but as the *Man of Mind*.'

On two subsequent occasions, within the limits of the same work, '*Modern Painters*,' Mr. Ruskin has returned to this picture, not withdrawing his praise, but, in the one instance, stating that Landseer had painted 'many' such, and, in the other, that he had painted 'one or two.' Even one or two masterpieces, added to the vast quantity of interesting and precious but not supreme works, which Landseer gave us, would justify our entitling him a great artist; but his works of pure and high art are more than one or two. Nor, all things considered, can we regard '*The Shepherd's Chief Mourner*,' as among his very greatest works. It might, we think, have been painted nearly as well by other men. Neither the thought nor the treatment is strikingly original, and it verges towards sentimental fallacy. We see no reason why Mr. Rivière could not have nearly equalled it. But if some men have painted dogs in one or two aspects as well as Landseer, no man ever approached Landseer in painting deer; and utterly alone is his '*Random Shot*.' On the mountain summit, on the virgin snow, the hind, struck by a chance-shot, has fallen dead, and the fawn seeks in vain for its accustomed nourishment. It is a picture of which words are singularly impotent to convey the impression, but the pathos of the scene is infinite, and the treatment is as grand as it is simple. Only the lone mountain-summit: above, clear sky, faintly flushed with evening-light, the cold smile of nature over the baby-fawn and its dead mother; around, the snow beginning to freeze hard as the stars come out. It is the hour when the sportsman whose random shot did the deed, will be sitting down to dine. Nothing breaks the deep simplicity, the artistic breadth, of the treatment; the blood-stains on the hoof-marks in the snow are the sole accessory in the picture. As for the colour, Mr. Ruskin declares it to be 'certainly the most suc-

cessful rendering he has ever seen of the hue of snow under warm but subdued light.' In this work Landseer atones, by its pleading and penetrating pathos, for all the countenance, or seeming countenance, lent by his paintings to the thoughtless cruelties of sport.

Another great picture is that entitled, with what we can well believe to have been no affected piety, '*Man Proposes, God Disposes*.' Again the landscape is wintry, but now we are in solitudes of thick-ribbed Polar ice. The only living things visible are two white bears, prowling for prey. One tears at some woollen fabric, blanket or shawl, which is frozen tight among the ice-blocks beside the fallen and shattered mast. A telescope lies on the snow. The other bear looks up to the icy sky, and snarls and howls, as if disappointed to find no morsel on the human skeleton whose ribs protrude from the snow. The visibility of this skeleton is the one blemish in the picture. It is a homage to the vulgar, of a kind into which Landseer was seldom betrayed. The pathos, the terrible meaning of the work, would have sunk more deeply into the heart without it, for imagination, roused by the frozen raiment and the telescope, would have seen with the mind's eye, keener in its vision than the eye of the body, what lay beneath the snow. But it is a noble picture. Man came here; nature crushed him, and ended him; hungry bears, ghastly, unhappy-looking, forlorn creatures, rend and snarl above his grave. It is the most original and impressive work ever suggested to artist by the tale, sad in its glory, melancholy in its heroism, of Arctic discovery and disaster.

In the '*Random Shot*' man has been the minister of the pain that is suffered. In '*Night*' and '*Morning*,' companion pictures, there is a representation of that mysterious cruelty which recent science has shown to be interwoven with nature's general treatment of her forest-children, and of which they are themselves the ministers. In the '*Night*,' strong moonlight shivers through mist-wreaths that trail dimly along the hills in the wind, ruffling up the lake into stormy spray, and wrapping the landscape in gloom. Two stags occupy the foreground in mutual conflict; their knotted sinews, entangled horns, and bloodshot eyes express the last energy of impassioned rage. In the '*Morning*,' all is changed. The clouds have trooped away, the wind has fallen, the lake, still as glass, looks up, like a glad, calm face, to take the sunrise. Beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of the dawn. The brave stags are dead, their limbs rigid as if cast in bronze, their antlers entangled in the

final grapple, their eyes fixed in the last glare of defiance. And lo! there, creeping up the hill, fearless now of hoof or antler, the fox comes to breakfast on venison, and the mountain-eagle winging its way across the lake, will have its share of the feast. So have the monarchs of the glen ended their duel. This is literal fact; a far deeper feeling than humour was in the heart of the painter when he executed the work; it is not fable, but epic.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon 'Lost in the Snow,' or the admirable picture in which honour is done to the dogs of St. Bernard. 'An Event in the Forest,' 'There's Life in the Old Dog yet,' 'The Stag at Bay,' and many other powerful works illustrate hunting in the Highlands. These are no mere fashionable or show pictures. Man is by nature a hunter, and the best reputed students of man's history in primitive times are disposed to assign high importance, as one of the influences which originated civilization, to his struggle with wild animals. From the huntsman to the warrior there is but a step. The inherited instincts of sport will not be argued out of us by philanthropists or professors, and it is well that they should not. No difficulty is more genuine, few more perplexing, for the social philosopher and philosophic statesman than to find employment for the leisure of the vast numbers who, in an old and wealthy country, will, unless you cut in before him, be assuredly supplied with work by the devil. Better to have them among the hills, tracking the stag, than spending the whole year amid the enervating luxury, and reeking sensuality, and festering scandal, and bitter cynicism, of great cities. The sports which Landseer loved, and which he ennobled by his incomparable treatment, were not the cockney despicabilities of sparrow or pigeon shooting, or the dreary butchery of battue-shooting, or the patient ineptitude of punt-fishing. The splendid trout in the 'Bolton Abbey' were taken by an angler who cast his fly across the tail of the stream as he stood on the slippery stones of the torrent. The man who can stalk the red deer from corrie to corrie, from ridge to ridge, until, after many an hour, he gets a practicable shot, will have the wiry sinew and steady nerve of a veteran campaigner.

The versatility and felicitous cleverness of Landseer are well shown in his illustrations of 'Midsummer's Night's Dream.' Titania and Bottom, and the fairy-land of elves and enchantments, in which the poet of all the world conceived them, have not been represented with kindlier sympathy or quainter fancy; but though the feeling and

humour of the pictures are faultless, they fail signally in colour, and are better in the engravings than in the originals. It is, indeed, but just to say, with reference to these and scores of other marvellous engravings, that the genius of Thomas Landseer deserves to be mentioned along with that of Edwin. Once or twice the latter ventured into the region of allegorical painting, and his success renders it almost matter for regret that, probably from his own modesty, possibly because of the rudeness of critics, he did not oftener attempt such flights. His 'War' and 'Peace' are true poem-pictures. In 'War' all is narrowness, horror, fire-eyed gloom and pain,—a glimpse, through battle-smoke, into the mouth of hell. Horse and horseman lie crushed in ghastly ruin below the rampart-breach or battery, the fierce flame of cannon bursting out beside them. 'Peace' is all spaciousness and serenity; unfathomable blue of summer sky, broad cerulean mirror of summer-sea, swell of green sward and nibbling of lazy sheep. How magnificently this is contrasted with the walled-up darkness and murky rage of 'War!' The lamb crops the green blade that has grown in the throat of the rusty gun; there are glad children sporting in front; the gordian knot of the hour is the thread-puzzle on the child's hands, which needs no sword to cut it. This is sentimentalism, is it? and we are to have no conceptions of war and peace more gracious than Rubens helps us to, with his contrasts of tigers and fat women? Why so? Simplicity and intelligibility are no disparagement to power, and we shall take liberty to admire and to *feel* strong and sweet and expressive imagining, though there be nothing in it coarse or repulsive, nothing wire-drawn, far fetched, trivially conceited, or obscure. It is one of the affectations—more properly, perhaps, one of the stupidities—of our pretentious critics to sneer at popularity; but in no respect was Landseer truer to that English character which we claimed for him at the outset than in the brilliant fascination which made him, not only in England but throughout the civilized world, the most popular of modern painters. A clear, frank, ingenuous simplicity—a lucid freshness, as of morning air—has been an attribute of typical English genius. Shakespeare is, in proportion to his depth, beyond all comparison the most popular of authors. Pope and Dryden in poetry, Reynolds and Gainsborough in painting, have the same manly sweetness, the same unaffected and simple pleasantness.

Landseer's power, except in so far as it was born with him, rested upon direct and

constant study of nature. He was, first of all, as we said, a draughtsman; his eye was for form rather than colour. He would have been a consummate engraver; he was a good sculptor, and might, had he devoted himself to sculpture, have been one of the greatest of modern times. Of composition, except in one or two of its simplest and most important principles, he had little grasp. When his feeling was strong enough to call up his imagination in her power, he composed always with breadth, sometimes with grandeur; but when his imagination was but half-roused, as in a few such failures as the 'Flood in the Highlands' and the 'Swannery attacked by Eagles,' he overcrowded his materials and became flashy. He had no abstract, conscious system, his instinct generally keeping him right. Only one English painter has combined with perpetual, faithful, life-long study of nature a system of composition as abstract and imaginative in landscape, as the system of the great Venetian painters was in historical and sacred art. We of course allude to Turner. Landseer was not a supreme intellectual and imaginative painter like him who designed the 'Liber Studiorum;' but in his own walk of art he stands alone. No one ever painted the lion, or the dog, or the monkey, so well as he; no one ever approached him in painting the deer. He might have done more for the horse, which, indeed, still waits its painter, but no other English artist has done so much. He is a notable figure in the historic group of the Victorian age; one of the darlings of his time, with Dickens, Macaulay, Palmerston, and a few more, whom their countrymen felt and feel to be English of the English. He was not earnest beyond the earnestness of a prosperous, peaceable, highly-civilized man and generation, and if the sour critics will sneer at the time as sentimental, he must come in for his share in the sneer. A sentimental age, no doubt; so sentimental as to turn from the agonies of fighting-cocks and fighting-dogs, nay, to call street-dogs and oppressed horses, through the lips of Baroness Coutts, 'dumb fellow-citizens;' so sentimental as to feed and educate ragged homeless children instead of hanging them; so sentimental, though capable of Inker-mann and the suppression of a Bengal mutiny, as to despise the brute courage of the ring; a sentimental, gentle-mannered time, in which deep-drinking, and boisterous profane talk, and rude horse-play of practical jesting, have ceased to be fashionable; in which domestic purity is widely prevalent; in which graciousness of demeanour, and sincere pleasure in the happiness of others,

are diffused more widely through society than at any other period in the history of England. A thorough Englishman, Landseer painted what a clear, keen, unaffected eye, looking straight forward, saw in the creatures and scenes he loved. Of theory, of system, of long-winded fuss and affectation, he was conspicuously free, unmistakably impatient. He lived wholly in the concrete. Nelson's strategy,—to find the foe and sink him or take him in tow,—Wellington's sharp decisions and brief words,—is there not something akin to these in the bright, rapid energy of Landseer's painting? When he failed, he failed frankly; he never botched or bungled. Our painting may go on to better things or it may not; but never on the walls of the Royal Academy will be kindled a light more picturesque in its comeliness, more gentle in its power, than that which faded from them when the brush fell from the hand of Edwin Landseer.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TRAVELS.

The Philosophy of History in Europe. By ROBERT FLINT, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Political Economy, University of St. Andrews. Vol. I. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons.

Professor Flint's book is one of unusual ability and importance, and is likely to take a permanent place in our higher literature. It is critical, and not creative—but its criticism is conceived in a spirit of independence, and with a penetration and intellectual strength that are almost creative. Its purpose is to write the history of History; to trace its development from a mere chronicle of facts to a philosophy of human life and progress. This is achieved first by an elaborate introduction, expounding the true character and philosophy of history, and then by compressed analyses and criticisms of works which have contributed to it,—to indicate what light has been thrown on the course, laws, and significance of human development, by the progress of the sciences, and to notice the chief contributions which have been made to the discussion of the special problems of historical speculation.

It is only *pari passu* with general civilization and science that a philosophy of history becomes possible. Perhaps at no period of human existence have men been altogether indifferent about causes of things, but in periods of ignorance they have been contented with superstitious notions; and, in periods of selfishness and empiricism, they have easily adopted sectarian and false notions. Political economy, ethnology, and common human obli-

gation are clearly necessary to enable any true philosophy of history. Hence the philosophy of history, as we now recognise it—that is, the common human causes of things, and the moral obligations connected with them—is only of modern, almost contemporary realization. From Aristotle downwards the highest class of historians have instinctively attempted something of philosophy—but there is a wide distinction between philosophizing about history and a philosophy of history. Historians have been slow to recognize the true elements of history, as consisting in the social and moral life of the people, and not merely in the doings of its rulers and the battles of its armies. Patriotism again has often been a synonym for national selfishness, and for the aggression of might against right; ethnology has but slowly established the physiological fact of human brotherhood, and religion its moral facts and obligations. In addition to which, we have only just come to understand the true scientific method of history in dealing with evidence, with phenomena, and with causes. It will be easily seen, therefore, that an exposition of the true philosophy of history, like that of Professor Flint, is a great deal more than a scientific theory. It is a great moral teaching—and in manifold and striking ways set forth international and human relationships and obligations; while it throws great light on the progress and correlation of all branches of human knowledge—so that the science of historical philosophy is the true basis of a history of the sciences.

The introduction is the most original and philosophical part of the work. The historical account of the conscious and unconscious endeavours after a philosophy of history which follow necessarily resolves itself into an analysis of books. The introduction is a well-conceived account of the principles and conditions essential to such a philosophy—it traces the genesis and progress of the idea, through classical, mediæval, and modern times; its philosophical character is shown in the comprehensiveness of its grasp. Professor Flint does not think that one historian who recognises the great truths that are involved in human events can make a philosophy of history, any more than one swallow can make a summer—else Aristotle, to whom Professor Flint renders a high meed of praise, would have achieved it. A philosophy of history is conditioned on the entire philosophical development of the age, and is true and advanced, in proportion as each department of science is developed in its true philosophical character. The philosophy of history, indeed, is a true and complete account of the *modus vivendi* of human society. Hence Professor Flint concludes that although only imperfect yet, and capable of a much more full and true development, our own age is the first in which anything like a true philosophy of history has been possible. All past ages and developments have prepared for it. The fundamental principle is that there are great moral, social, and political laws, according to which the events of human history develop. From the very nature of the case these laws are incapable of definition, but they

are not the less real and dominant. There is a harmony of liberty and necessity in human history generally, as of individual life; and while the law of responsibility may not be disregarded, the law of necessity obtains. Human history develops according to the conditions of human beings; social instincts formulate nations, and create politics; and history is developed from the harmonious or antagonistic relations of the two, and from the conflict of differing national organizations. This, however, is but a vague statement of very complex conditions: manifold class interests, conceptions, preferences, ambitions, political parties and struggles, the traditions of the past, the development of new ideas and interests in their relations to them, and the analogous conditions of international relations, interests, and rivalries—all enter into the causation of history, and have to be considered in any account of its philosophy. It is easy to understand how the three great factors of human civilization—the philosophy and art of Greece, the law and unity of Rome, the religious brotherhood and catholicity of Christianity—have successively contributed to it. Thus the two great ideas have emerged to which Professor Flint gives special emphasis, viz., those of human progress and of human unity. Mankind, he contends, have with various degrees of rapidity, and amid manifold vicissitudes, never ceased to make progress. Instead of the human law having been one of deterioration, it has been one of constant advance in all departments and elements of civilization—moral and religious, as well as intellectual and material. The two great human experiences which have more especially developed the idea of human unity have been the Roman Empire and the Christian religion—the one contributing the idea of external organized law, the other that of internal brotherly sympathy. Professor Flint renders due praise to the mediæval services of the Romish Church, as the great antagonist of imperial tyranny and feudal oppression. This has been superseded by the sentiment of nationality, or patriotism, which has become the antagonist of Romish ecclesiasticism, but which can be saved from selfishness and domination only by the human sympathies of the religion of Christ; the question being whether these are developed best through the ecclesiasticism of Rome or through those of the Protestant churches.

We cannot follow Professor Flint through the historical substance of his volume to which this very able introduction conducts us. The present volume deals only with France and Germany, Italy and England being left for a subsequent volume. Every writer who can fairly claim to have contributed to the formation of a philosophy of history is adduced; and the character and value of his contribution is carefully estimated. The thing that will strike ordinary readers the most is the enormous reading which has been necessary, and the equally remarkable strength and independence of judgment which deals with it. Robert Hall's criticism on Dr. Kippis, that he had piled upon his brain so many books that it

could not move under them, is in no sense applicable to Professor Flint. In the sum total of the thinking of the past, he sits in calm, clear judgment upon what each man has written, and approves his contribution in its relation to the whole. It is in this mastery of his subject that the philosophical value of Professor Flint's criticism consists. Save Hallam, he has, we think, no English superior in his mastery of books; and his power of assigning to each its place in the cycle of thought which he has selected. A religious Presbyterian, not only accepting the Divine character of Christianity, but the substantial orthodox beliefs of Evangelical Presbyterianism, he is yet most catholic in his judgments, and most careful in giving to men from whom he differs the most—Voltaire, for instance—their due meed of praise. Whatever the school of the thinker he encounters no bigoted prejudice from Professor Flint. If Voltaire or Condorcet cannot be praised for direct contributions to the philosophy of history, he is praised for the vindication of liberties, which indirectly make it possible. We could have wished to have specified some of the author's judgments—his judicious and important criticism of Comte and Bunsen, for instance—but to be of value this would demand large space. The reader will find here important information concerning less known writers. Professor Flint has traversed the by-ways of his department of thought, as well as its high-ways. We commend to all students of literature this very erudite and masterly work. It is not only the first of its class in English literature; it is so able that it will not soon be superseded.

The Norman People and their Existing Descendants in the British Dominions and the United States of America. Henry S. King and Co.

The Pedigree of the English People. An Argument, Historical and Scientific, on the Formation and Growth of the Nation, &c. By THOMAS NICHOLAS, M.A. Fourth Edition. Longmans, Green, and Co.

The anonymous author of the former of these volumes seeks to rescue genealogy from the mere curiosity of the antiquary, and to apply it to ethnology. The conclusion that he reaches, is, that the Norman element contributed to the population of these islands at the Conquest, 'involved the addition of a numerous and mighty people, equalling, probably, a moiety of the conquered population; that the people thus introduced has continued to exist without merger or absorption in any other race; that as a race it is as distinguishable now as it was a thousand years since; and that at this hour its descendants may be counted by tens of millions in this country and in the United States of America.' In addition to this, 'the earlier Northmen or Danish immigrants had settled in England, a people scarcely inferior in number to the Anglo-Saxons (whoever, as Mr. Freeman would ask, they may be); and, in the absence of all evidence to the contrary, we infer, by a process of

analogical reasoning from the case of the Normans, that this Danish race also has continued to exist up to the present moment, increasing in like ratio with them and the Anglo-Saxons; and that it, consequently, now rivals each of them in point of numbers.' 'The genealogy of the Norman race leads up to its connection with the Danish and the Anglo-Saxon, which, with it, form the three great constituents of the English nation. To trace that connection it has been found necessary to enter on the relationship between the Gothic and Teutonic races, which, as far as the author is aware, has not yet been treated systematically by English writers.'

The points which the volume seeks to establish are, first, that the Norman conquerors who settled in the land were not merely an aristocracy but a people; which nobody, we suppose, would call in question, unless modern genealogical theories were held, that all Norman blood is aristocratic. How could the Normans have held the land had there not been a popular colonization? Next, that they numbered at least one-third of the population. Instead of the traditional 60,000 they came over in countless multitudes; an estimate which is open to grave question, inasmuch as, first, Normandy retained a large population; and next—the fact is indisputable—that the conquerors were soon assimilated by the conquered, and not the reverse. Had the dominant race been numerically so great, it is almost certain that Latin elements would have superseded English elements, Norman-French would have become the vernacular of the country, and we should have been allied in blood and speech to the Gallic, rather than to the Teutonic stock. Another point which the author seems to attempt is, that this Norman element, instead of contributing to the 'true born Englishman' of modern times, has remained distinct, 'without merger or absorption in any other race.' This is a more difficult faith still; certainly considerations of Norman or Danish race do not influence intermarriages in modern times, nor do they appear to have done so for long after the Conquest. It is to be remembered that the Northmen who conquered Englishmen were not Gauls but Scandinavians, and that they found, perhaps, 'a moiety' of Harold's subjects of their own nation and blood; a fact which, however unconsciously, would, no doubt, very powerfully influence the amalgamation of conquerors and conquered. At any rate, Norman-French had no very long existence among us, save in certain elements of speech, which it naturally contributed to the English vernacular.

The anonymous author founds his argument chiefly on Norman names, lists of which he takes from the London Post Office Directory and from official lists at Somerset House; the result of which is that in our peerage of 500 families about 400 are of Norman lineage, and of the common people, one-third. The author thinks that he proves this by family names, which we would venture to remind him is not a process of genealogy as he designates it, but

—which he does not attempt—a guess of philology. Nothing can be more arbitrary than his assumption about derivatives, or more precarious than his conclusions, even from those that are the most certain. It does not follow that the hereditary bearer of an unquestionable Norman name is of unmixed Norman blood, or of Norman blood at all. Nothing is more arbitrary than the use of surnames. The Christian name, Thomas, was for a long time distinguished by the appellation of mere occupation, or personal characteristic, or incidental experience. To affirm that Thomas the Smith is a Norman because Faber or Le Fevre are Latin and French designations of the same significance, that Taylor indicates Norman descent because there was in Normandy in 1180 a Rainold Tailor, that Fowler is Norman because there was in Normandy in 1198 a Rainerus Anceps, while a Gamel Anceps existed in York in 1158, that Shakespeare is Norman because the name Sacespæ or Sakespæ occurs several times in Norman records, 1180-1200; there derived from Saxby in Lincolnshire, or from Saxeby in Leicestershire—manors held by Norman nobles—is to turn both genealogy and philology into a game of guess work. As with many men who ride hobbies, the value of this writer's book lies in the curious materials that he has collected, and not in the argument which he has constructed out of them. It is full of curious learning.

Dr. Nicholas, a learned Welshman, whose book appears in a fourth edition, curiously arrives at diametrically opposite conclusions. He thinks that the Celtic element predominates in our race composition, and that our pedigree is largely derived from, if not the aboriginal inhabitants, yet the earliest inhabitants that we know, 'the ancient Britons. He thinks that the Norman Conquest contributed to the Celtic blood of England, inasmuch as the ancient inhabitants of Brittany were Celts, and the Normans were an admixture of Scandinavians and Celts, Rollo having 'kneaded into one, the Celtic inhabitants of Northern France and the Colonists he had introduced.'

The argument is that the inhabitants of Britain found by the Romans were Celts, of the various tribes of which the Cymry were the chief. The Romans, Anglo-Saxons, Danes, and Normans, contributed elements to the compound character of the British people. The statement of Gildas that when the Saxons arrived, the ancient Britons, having vainly invoked help from the Romans, were also slain or driven into Wales, is proved to be a fraud. It is shown that the Britons did not suffer relatively a diminution of numbers from war, that they amalgamated with the invaders, and maintained the predominance of Celtic blood. Dr. Nicholas appeals first to philology, and analyses the Celtic elements in the English language, and shows that 'it combines numerous portions of an ancient tongue nearly identical with modern Welsh.' He then adduces the evidence of topographical and personal names. He contends for the powerful influence of the ancient British race upon the

Anglo-Saxons in the development of early English Law; and then attempts to estimate the evidence supplied by the physical, mental, and moral qualities of the English. Dr. Nicholas also rides his hobby rather hard, and places undue stress upon 'doubtful evidence'; but his book is far more philosophical and cautious than that of the anonymous writer with which we have coupled it. His lists of Cymric and Celtic words especially will be valuable to the philologist.

Persia—Ancient and Modern. By JOHN PIGGOT, F.S.A., &c. Henry S. King and Co.

Mr. Piggot's book belongs to the order of literary compilations, and has avowedly been suggested by the interest excited by the Shah's visit to England. He does not appear ever to have visited the country. But it is one of the best books of its class. Mr. Piggot is, apparently, a fair Persian scholar, and has made a careful study of the best authorities both in general history and in modern Persian travel. While the Persians have a rich poetic literature, and in Firdousi the author of the epic poem *Shah Nameh*, a history of the Persian kings, in Saadi the didactic moralist, and in Hafiz the mystical love poet, may boast even transcendence over most oriental peoples, they have scarcely any historical records. Their early history is legendary, and, as Mr. Piggot tells us, they are ignorant of some of the glorious victories of their forefathers over the Romans. Sir John Malcolm's great history must always be the chief quarry of the modern historian of Persia.

Books of Persian travel, however, are both numerous and important, and of these Mr. Piggot has made good use. He gives a list of his authorities, which are all accessible to ordinary readers. He tells his story in a straightforward business kind of way, making no pretensions to paint either historical pictures or individual portraits; but he has thoroughly possessed himself of all information available, and has submitted all his materials to the processes of his own historical judgment. The early history is written succinctly, but with scarcely sufficient fulness; sixty pages sufficing to bring the narrative down to the close of the last century; twenty more pages for an account of the relations of Persia to Russia, England, and India, down to the recent visit of the Shah to London. Chapters are then given to Persian religion, literature, commerce, arts and sciences, education, language, travelling in Persia, sport, women, crown jewels, and coal-fields. Perhaps general readers will turn with greatest interest to the chapter on the crown jewels. The very conception of the Shah being that of a potentate, adorned with the richest jewels in the world. This is not a modern distinction. Mr. King, in his *Natural History of Precious Stones*, describes the ancient Persian treasury, and tells us of the king's 'pillow' of 5,000 talents—800,000 lbs. of coined gold—and of his 'footstool,' 3,000 talents of coined silver, and of a vine of gold above his couch, with bunches of grapes made out of the most precious gems. Nadir Shah,

however, contributed most to the crown jewels; he brought from Delhi the famous peacock throne, in which was the famous Orloff diamond that now adorns the Russian sceptre, which, on his assassination and the confusion that followed, was bought by Prince Orloff for £90,000, and presented to the Empress Catherine. The Deryal Noor is the gem of the whole collection; it is a stone of 186 carats and is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long, 1 inch broad, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch thick. It is not, however, very brilliant; it is the companion stone to our Koh-i-noor. Mr. Piggot differs, however, from Mr. Eastwick's account of the acquisition of the latter gem, by attributing to Nadir Shah the trick of exchanging turbans in token of amity, which really was done by Runjeet Sing with Shah Shah Soojah. It fell into our hands at the capture of Lahore. Other great diamonds are the Crown of the Moon, the Pitt diamond. None of these great historic diamonds were brought by the Shah to Europe. Mr. Eastwick estimates the value of his precious stones at six or seven millions, and gives a description of the treasure chamber, which almost realizes the wonders of Aladdin's lamp. The entire revenue of Persia does not, we believe, exceed two millions. Some day there will be a great loot, at any rate it is a terrible temptation to it. The Shah brought with him to Europe two hundred talismans. A five-pointed star makes conspirators instantly confess their crimes. A cube of amber, which the Shah wore round his neck, is reported to have fallen from heaven in the time of Mohammed, and renders its wearer invulnerable. A diamond set in a scimitar, and a dagger, render him invincible. On Baron Reuter's concession we cannot remark; a nation is not regenerated in a year. The Shah, on the one hand, and the ignorant and superstitious people on the other, are not very hopeful conditions of even commercial reform.

History of the Inquisition, from its Establishment in the Twelfth Century to its Extinction in the Nineteenth. By WILLIAM HARRIS RULE, D.D. Two Vols. Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

Isaac Taylor once projected a history of Religious Nosology—a subject of almost infinite sadness, but in such hands, one of very painful and suggestive instructiveness. He who would be an intelligent reformer must be a careful student of disorder and disease. It would, perhaps, be too much to say that the chief work of religious apostles in these days is the reform and reversal of the perversions and wrongs of the past; but there can be no doubt that these have entered so largely into the religious past, that they claim a very large share of attention in the present. No man can work wisely in the present who does not work in the light of the errors and perversions of the past. Dr. Rule has selected for special study one of the most terrific of these. The Inquisition of Rome is the only formal organization for persecution that the history of the Christian Church presents, although all sections of it have in turns been persecutors.

Only, in all other churches, it was a blind instinct, that shrunk from formal avowal and organization. Dr. Rule writes its history, not so much as an indictment, as an illustration of what perverted religious conscience is capable of. In religious persecution, all truth is extinguished. Conscience itself goes over to the side of wrong. 'He who killeth you will think that he doeth God service.' Happily this is a completed history. Revolution has overthrown the office of the Inquisition in Italy and in Spain, its last strongholds; and now, thank God, it no longer exists, and, as there is every reason to believe, it will never again be endured. Dr. Rule traces the history of the accursed 'office' from its first formal organization in France, the Spanish Netherlands, Portugal, and Italy, in the twelfth century, to its annihilation in the accession of Victor Emmanuel to the throne of Italy, and the deposition of Queen Isabella. He has carefully collected facts and discriminated characteristics, distinguishing the refined and statesmanlike Inquisition of Italy from the brutal and vengeful Inquisition of Spain and Portugal. Everywhere the Inquisition embodied the national character, and everywhere subtle influences were at work to modify the formal sternness and cruelty of the institution. The two great forces which overthrew the Inquisition were the spirit of nationality, which is essentially antagonistic to the claims of Papal Rome, and the spirit of freedom, which is antagonistic to its intolerance; these have wrought and spread in subtle ways—even where most dominated by Rome—and nothing has been more startling than the utter and passionate revolt from Rome of Italy and Spain, where its power seemed most absolute.

We cannot follow Dr. Rule in his detailed history of the vicissitudes of the 'Holy Office.' Perhaps the narrative of its establishment and fortunes in Spain, especially under their 'Most Catholic Majesties' Ferdinand and Isabella is the most deeply tragic. Nothing in human history is more terrible than the *Autos-de-fé* of Spain. From the time of Torquemada until the year 1809 341,021 persons came under the power of the Inquisition, of whom 81,912 were burnt alive. One description of an *Auto-de-fé* in Madrid, in celebration of the nuptials of Charles II., at which six score human beings were burnt, and the proceedings at which were a parody of those of the Day of Judgment, is simply horrible and blasphemous. The ashes were discovered in 1869.

Dr. Rule's book is a kind of appendix to Foxe's Book of Martyrs; and we confess that we are glad that, in these days of episcopal coquetting with Rome, and of Romish plausibility, as exemplified by Archbishop Manning's pseudo-liberalism, Rome should be exhibited as she really is—essentially and fundamentally arrogant, intolerant, and persecuting. Intolerance is the necessary concomitant of claims to infallibility and to exclusive prerogative. It is seen as much in the utterances of Anglican sacramentarianism, and in the arrogant appeals to Wesleyans, of men like the Bishop of Lincoln, as it is in the tortures of

Torquemada. In the interests of Protestant spirituality and liberty we very heartily welcome Dr. Rule's book. *Bonus nocet quisquis perpercerit malia.*

The Church and the Empire: Historical Periods. By HENRY WILLIAM WILBERFORCE. Preceded by a Memoir of the Author, by J. H. NEWMAN, D.D., of the Oratory. With a Portrait. Henry S. King and Co.

The history of William Wilberforce's family is suggestive of a good deal of moralizing. That so many of the sons of an ultra-Evangelical should have become, formally or virtually, Roman Catholics, would be very remarkable, if we did not bear in mind the law by which extremes are generated. Mr. Henry Wilberforce was the youngest son of the family, and, with his brother Robert, he formally seceded to Rome; while the late Bishop of Winchester was, in sentiment and other family connections, so closely allied to Rome, as to bring upon himself a good deal of unpleasant suspicion. In Mr. Henry Wilberforce there were no qualities that, apart from his family, would have directed towards him special attention. He was intelligent, amiable, and religious; but his intellectual power was of no very high order. At Oxford, Dr. Newman was his private tutor, which may account for the visionary ecclesiastical theories which led him astray, as they did also Dr. Newman. Dr. Newman, in his slight but very skilful and delicate sketch of him, describes his university career as that of an ordinary religious young man, who, except that he gained the Ellerton Theological Prize, did not otherwise distinguish himself. He was popular in the university, and took a great interest in the Union Debating Society, of which he was President. He made a sensation by asking, concerning a member who entered under the influence of wine, 'Has the noble lord no friends?' This is the only incident of his university course that Dr. Newman mentions, although he passes a higher eulogy upon his powers than his career justified. Perhaps his conversion to Rome, and a certain affectionate quietness of disposition, account for the practical shortcoming. Dr. Newman dissuaded him from the law and induced him to take orders, which, after his conversion, was a great embarrassment. He did not become a Roman Catholic priest, and was not exactly a layman. He held successively three parochial cures, and seems to have been an excellent clergyman. In 1850 he seceded to Rome. He became proprietor and editor of the *Catholic Standard*, and contributed to the *Dublin Review* articles, some of which are here collected. He visited Rome twice, and attributed his recovery from Roman fever to the blessing of the Pope. In April, 1878, after a visit to Jamaica, he died, aged 65. As a Romanist, he adopted strong ultramontane views, and there is every evidence of his perfect and self-sacrificing conscientiousness.

The essays here collected are chiefly descriptive accounts of historical works by Roman Catholic writers. They make no pretensions

to historical criticism. Written from an ultramontane point of view, they describe the relations of the Romish Church to the Roman Emperors and to Napoleon I. And yet there must have been an element of considerable liberality in him, unless, indeed, the desire to advance his views was inordinate, for he sent more than one contribution to this journal; and it is interesting to compare his review of *Champagny*, which appeared in the *British Quarterly* for July, 1871, with the second essay in this volume, which traverses nearly the same ground.

Bibliotheca Wiffeniana. Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries, from 1520; their Lives and Writings according to the late Benjamin B. Wiffen's plan, and with the use of his materials. Described by EDWARD BOEHMER, D.D., Ordinary Professor of the Romance Languages in the University of Strasburg. Vol. I., with B. B. Wiffen's Narrative of the Incidents attendant upon the Republication of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*, and with a Memoir of B. B. Wiffen by Isoline Wiffen. Trübner and Co.

It may be remembered that eight or nine years ago Mr. Wiffen published a life of Juan de Valdés, with a translation from the Italian, by John T. Betts, of his 'Hundred and Ten Considerations,' a book reviewed in this journal, April, 1866; and which excited a good deal of interest, as making known to the general English public the noble band of Spanish Reformers, of whom Juan de Valdés was the chief. Mr. Wiffen was a studious and pious Quaker, whose brother Jeremiah Holmes Wiffen published a translation of the '*Gerusalemme Liberata*.' He formed a friendship with a pious Christian Spanish scholar, C. E. Señor Don Luis, de Usoz y Rio, from whom he derived the inspiration which led him to the study of the works of the Spanish Reformers. He spared no pains in ransacking libraries to find copies of their works, many of which he transcribed with his own hand. One of the results was the publication in Spanish in concert with his friend Don Luis, of the '*Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*,' a somewhat extensive series of important, and many of them hitherto unknown works of Spanish Reformers, corresponding to our Parker Society's publications. These early Spanish Reformers were many of them accomplished scholars and divines; and their works have produced a very great effect in Spain, and will probably have an important influence upon her religious development. Don Luis died in 1865, and Mr. Wiffen in 1867. The present volume is the working up by Dr. Boehmer, of Strasburg, of materials collected by Mr. Wiffen. It consists of biographies and bibliographical notes concerning Spanish Reformers, containing a great deal of curious information about their works. It is a bibliographical account of the chief of the latter which will be very interesting to scholars, together with curious personal experiences in discovering and publishing them. The Reformers whose memoirs are given are the two Valdés—surely superflu-

ous after the large biography—Francisco and Jaime de Enzinas, and Juan Diaz. The book is ill-arranged, but it contains a great deal that is curious.

History of the English Revolution of 1688.

By CHARLES DUKE YONGE, Regius Professor of Modern History, Queen's College, Belfast, and author of 'The History of the British Navy,' &c. Henry S. King and Co.

The Revolution of 1688 may be regarded as the grand turning-point of our constitutional history. By it the tyranny and usurpation to which England was so long subjected were broken, and the principles of civil and religious liberty recognised and vindicated. Hence this epoch in the history of our country should be studied by every one who would rightly understand the privileges we enjoy, and the price at which they have been secured. By the extinction of the infatuated race of the Stuarts, and the elevation of the Prince of Orange to the throne, England was delivered from the malignant power of despotism and superstition, and led into the still advancing path of light and freedom. With this every Englishman should be familiarized. We therefore very cordially welcome and recommend Mr. Yonge's condensed but sufficiently full and lucid narrative of the revolutionary struggle of 1688. The whole story, with its difficulties, perils, sacrifices, sufferings, and mistakes, is admirably told, and will be found useful and satisfactory by those who have neither opportunity nor leisure for the perusal of larger histories. The estimate which is formed of characters and events is on the whole sound and dispassionate, and the tendency of the volume throughout is healthy and politically instructive. The author's exposure of the folly, incompetency, and tyrannical character and purposes of James is just and merited; and his sketch of William and his general policy will be accepted as fair, accurate, unbiassed, and full of interest. In some things we should not perhaps be disposed to concur in his statements; as, for example, in the vexed matter of Glencoe. We are inclined to think he over-estimates the extent of the mischief and cruelty inflicted. Moreover, in his reference to the Independents, we do not find his usual candour or honest appreciation. He either wilfully misrepresents or misunderstands them; nor is he, we think, altogether just and dispassionate in reference to Cromwell. As a whole, however, we know no better or more trustworthy volume on the great struggle of 1688.

Islam; its History, Character, and Relation to Christianity. By JOHN MUEHLERSEN ARNOLD, D.D., Honorary Secretary of the Moslem Mission Society, late Her British Majesty's Consular Chaplain, Batavia. Third Edition. Longmans, Green, and Co.

This is a new and somewhat modified edition of a volume which appeared under the title of 'Ishmael; or, the Bible and the Koran.' To a certain extent it supplies a desideratum in our language on the subject of Mohammed-

anism. For, notwithstanding the materials furnished by modern scholars, and the wide prevalence of Islamism, comparatively little has been done by English missionaries towards a full examination and discussion of its origin, tenets, and influence. Dr. Arnold has therefore done well to issue this modified, corrected, and somewhat enlarged edition of his book. Already it has been useful as a handbook among British, American, German, and Dutch missionaries, and, in its present form, it will doubtless prove still more useful. It is not, however, in all respects such a work as is demanded by the magnitude and importance of the subject, and the exigencies of missionaries who labour among Moslems. It is in some respects reactionary, and in others defective and inaccurate. His satanic theory is surely obsolete, or should be so; his philosophy is wanting in depth; and his views as to the absorption of early heresies, and their dormancy till the fall of the Kaliphate, are not perfectly accurate. Still the volume is valuable, and the result of much knowledge and painstaking. It contains a variety of useful facts, and hints and suggestions of considerable practical value to missionaries among Moslems. It is, moreover, satisfactory to find, that, probably through the influence of Dr. Arnold, Cambridge has undertaken to lend literary co-operation in the controversy between Islam and Christianity. This volume, then, may not only be useful in itself, but may lead the way to more important works.

The Life of Napoleon III. Derived from State Records, from Unpublished Family Correspondence, and from Personal Testimony. By BLANCHARD JERROLD. With Family Portraits in the possession of the Imperial Family, and Facsimiles of Letters of Napoleon I., Napoleon III., Queen Hortense, &c. In Four Volumes. Vol. I. Longmans, Green, and Co.

A biography of Napoleon III. was inevitable, and the difficulties of its task for some years were almost insuperable. It is not in human nature to write the memoir of a man whose life entered so largely into great national interests, and excited such convulsive political passions, and on so large a scale, with anything like the judicial impartiality of history. Scarcely yet has it become possible so to write the history of the First Napoleon. Von Sybel and Lanfrey have perhaps approached the most nearly to the final verdict of history; and, yet without attaching any weight to the passionate protests of Bonapartists, it may be admitted that their judgments, that of Lanfrey especially, are not quite discharged of animus. Hitherto the First Napoleon has been given up to panegyrists like Bourienne and Thiers. After the panegyrists come the reactionists—the pendulum vibrates to the opposite extreme, or, if this would render hopeless any speedy attainment of equilibrium, its diminished violence largely exceeds the space within which normal judgment is possible. Napoleon III. has found a biographer sooner than might have been anticipated.

and of course he is a panegyrist—only he is English and not French. He avoids the fulsome adulation of a Bourienne, but he has no reprehension for his hero; his judgment is uniformly favourable. He is throughout an advocate engaged for the defence—every word is a vindication from unfavourable popular judgment.

- This first volume will probably prove the most interesting and valuable of the four. It concludes with the Strasburg enterprise, when Napoleon was twenty-eight years of age. It comprises, therefore, the period of his childhood and early manhood, when his life was almost entirely domestic—the Strasburg incident being Napoleon's first public movement in the political affairs of France; so that nearly all the materials for this portion of the biography are found in the domestic archives of his family, and have been placed at Mr. Jerrold's disposal. It will be very different when materials for judgment are to be obtained only from national records and State papers. First, Mr. Jerrold will hardly be able to obtain such measure of access to these as an historical judgment to be of any value demands, and next his animus in dealing with the materials that he does obtain may be inferred from his judgments of Louis Philippe and his government in connection with the Strasburg affair. We are no great admirer of the Citizen King—his character was mediocre, and his policy mean and selfish. We are not sure that we should seriously demur to any one of Mr. Jerrold's own formal judgments of it, but he rates him and his ministers like a scolding woman, and keeps up a running fire of disparagement. Dr. Kenealy, in his notorious speech in the Tichborne case, did not more uniformly show his brief, or vituperate the prosecution. No allowance is made for the political difficulties of Louis Philippe's position—no credit is given him for the really kindly feeling which he displayed, first when Hortense passed through Paris on her way to England; next, when Louis Napoleon's political treason had exploded at Strasburg, and afterwards at Boulogne. What would Mr. Jerrold have had him do, explode his own throne by openly embracing Hortense and her cause? It may be easy to criticize adversely the policy actually pursued in a very difficult position. Mr. Jerrold would have given resistless point to his criticism if he had suggested another policy to the test of which it might be brought. It is by comparative wisdom or folly, magnanimity or meanness, that in circumstances like those of France under Louis Philippe a policy is to be judged.

The avowed relation of the biographer to the Emperor's family, while it places at his disposal indispensable materials for so much of the biography as is included in this volume, necessarily imposes conditions which are fatal to independence; these materials, once the property of the public, it will be for the historian of the future to estimate judicially the subject of them in the light which they supply. In justice to Mr. Jerrold, however, it

must be said that his judgments are manifestly honest. He is clearly incapable of anything like toadyism. Everything is told that there is to be told. He simply forms judgments both of the character and the abilities of the late Emperor higher than those which have generally been formed, and this general judgment influences his estimate of individual incidents, and prompts the extenuations which are characteristic of the work. Nay, we will say further, that we rise from the perusal of the volume with kindlier feelings towards the man whom the world has judged as the selfish and unscrupulous ruler of France, than we had before. But then only his early, and as yet uncorrupted life is before us; and it exhibits a youth and early manhood somewhat sombre and morbid, but affectionate to his mother and his friends; studious, brooding, and uncommunicative, but yet with a vein of imaginative sympathy which found delight in poetry, of which Mr. Jerrold tells us he committed to memory a great deal. He was very tender-hearted and charitable, and Mr. Jerrold narrates several instances of almost Quixotic generosity. He was fairly educated. He could construe with ease the Latin authors who furnished material for his life of Cæsar. He pondered political problems, and showed great aptitude for military science. His works on the military organization of Switzerland and on the ideas of his uncle, show a degree of intellectual capacity which makes it difficult to understand his utter failure as a commander-in-chief, and his surprising blunders as an Emperor.

The work opens with an account of the marriage of Louis Napoleon's brother with Hortense, the daughter of Josephine by her first marriage. It was a marriage of political expediency, and from first to last brought only misery. Hortense, a clever, and somewhat brilliant woman of society, daring and volatile, had nothing in common with the reclusive, morose, and jealous nature of Louis. Napoleon had a good deal of affection for Hortense, but domination became in him such a habit, that no one pertaining to him might love save as he commanded. He willed the marriage, and that was enough, just as he willed Louis to the throne of Holland. Our sympathies are with the husband rather than with the wife, Prince Louis Napoleon's affection for his mother notwithstanding. King Louis evinced a capability of being won to affection for his wife; Hortense never could have loved her husband—her cold, politic temperament was incapable of any deep affection. Their alienation was increased when he as King of Holland refused to rule as the mere creature of his brother, and really strove to rule for the benefit of his people, while Hortense, an ardent admirer of her step-father, avowedly put herself at the head of the French party at the Hague. Sooner than sacrifice his subjects to the imperial policy of his brother, King Louis abdicated; and from that time we hear but little of him, save that he claimed by French law, and obtained possession from Hortense, of his eldest son, Napo-

leon Louis (a still older son, Napoleon Louis Charles, had died a child in 1807), who went to reside with his father in Italy, where he died in 1831, just in the crisis of the failure of the Italian Insurrection, in which the two princes had taken part. His death, followed by that of the Duke of Reichstadt, left Louis Napoleon the head of the Bonaparte house. After the events of 1815 the family of Bonaparte was banished from France, and Hortense and her son, the future Emperor, who remained with her, took up their abode at Arenenberg, near Constance, which Hortense purchased in 1817, and which was the home of Prince Louis Napoleon until the Strasburg attempt of 1836. After her death the chateau was sold, but it was re-purchased by the Emperor, and is still the possession of his family. There the most interesting of the souvenirs of the family are preserved, although some perished in the partial destruction of the Tuileries. At Arenenberg the prince was educated, although it appears that his chief education was the result of his resolute self-culture after tutors had done with him. He was a good horseman and passionately addicted to military studies. He assiduously trained himself with the Swiss artillery at Thun, and won from his commanding officer genuine commendations for his assiduity and proficiency. He was greatly excited by the Revolution of July, 1830, which placed Louis Philippe on the French throne, and, with his elder brother, joined the Italian patriots. The power of Austria was too great for them, and Hortense had to escape with her surviving son through France to England. Few narratives are more romantic than the narrative of their escape in disguise, and with her son ill of the measles. In our judgment Louis Philippe treated Hortense with as much sympathy and considerateness as were possible under the circumstances. He granted her an interview, and was disposed to let her remain in Paris, but he sat upon a suppressed volcano; and Bonaparte's name, especially after his Italian escapade, might have been the one element causing its eruption. Mother and son found a generous and even popular reception in London; but they soon returned to Switzerland, where Louis Napoleon was made a bourgeois of the Canton Thurgau, and a captain of Swiss artillery in Berne. He came into contact with Chateaubriand, Dumas, and other literary men, and seems to have produced upon them a favourable impression. The former, although a staunch royalist, speaks of him with great respect. Here he wrote his first treatises.

The attempt at revolution at Strasburg was not so extravagant as has been generally supposed. The probabilities of success were many, and most of them had been accurately calculated by the prince. Several officers of rank and influence were implicated in it. It failed, and the prince was captured, and, without trial, sent off to the United States. His companions were tried and acquitted, and the volume closes with an account of their trial. Again we think Mr. Jerrold unjust to Louis

Philippe, who seems throughout to have treated the prince with great generosity. His attempt was a grave one, and its ordinary penalty is death. As it failed it was treason, and the king was bound to protect his throne from such attempts. He was ill requited for his generosity in simply sending his prisoner to Virginia, and there giving him unrestricted liberty—placing a sum of money at his disposal—for Louis Napoleon made another attempt to overthrow the monarch, who had treated him with a good deal more of consideration than he had any right to expect.

Mr. Jerrold's narrative abounds in illustrative traits and anecdotes. It becomes tedious occasionally through its over-minuteness, but it is an interesting volume, which most readers will peruse with avidity.

The Life of James Dixon, D.D., Wesleyan Minister. Written by his Son RICHARD WATSON DIXON, M.A. Wesleyan Conference Office.

The type of man of which Dr. Dixon was an eminent example is distinctively the product of Nonconformity. He is an instance of the self-developed strength of natural vigour upon whom the greatest and most solemn responsibilities of human service are thrown—a young man of uncultured abilities, under the strong impulsion of conscience and piety, called upon to preach Christ's Gospel of Salvation, and to minister to the religious life of his fellow men. No circumstances are conceivable under which all that is possible to a man is so powerfully constrained, nor in which his individuality develops more strongly. Generally, early education does much for men who are afterwards to be ministers; but it necessarily diminishes the almost painful sense of insufficiency, and produces a more conventional type of man. It would be easy both from the history of Methodism, and of other churches of English Nonconformity, to adduce a long list of men who in this way have developed into strong individuality and power, and who, man by man, have been stronger and more influential than ministers receiving from childhood a liberal education; and this simply in virtue of the conscious need of more strenuous self-help. In the records of Methodism a score of names at once occur of men who developed thus into something like preaching and debating genius, and sometimes into high unconventional scholarship. A few months ago the memoir of the venerable Thomas Jackson afforded us a striking example of this. Dr. Dixon is another; his actual powers indeed were greater than those of Thomas Jackson—he was a man of profound thought and broader philosophy. As a preacher he belonged to the thoughtful and introspective, rather than to the rhetorical school of pulpit orators. His sermons were often profound treatises, redeemed from intolerableness as oratory by the practical necessity of a Wesleyan preacher to make what is preached intelligible and telling. The present writer remembers vividly the only sermon he heard Dr. Dixon preach, and yet it was

preached nearly forty years ago, was of great length, and was a philosophic disquisition on popular education. It took hold of his mind in virtue of the simple strength and breadth and inspiration of its thought. Next to Richard Watson, whose son-in-law he was, perhaps Dr. Dixon was the strongest thinker of the Wesleyan pulpit; and readers of the memoir will see how beautifully a tender conscience, a profound piety, and a godly simplicity, blended with his thoughtfulness. Dr. Dixon, like Thomas Jackson, was one of the Tories of Methodism, but he was kept by a broader nature from the intolerance which we had to reprobate in Mr. Jackson. Methodism almost up to the present time has stopped short of the liberalism of other Nonconforming churches, and by its traditional clinging to the Established Church has been a kind of outlying nursery for the Church of England. We wish that some one would move in Conference for a return of the number of the sons of Wesleyan ministers who have become clergymen. Like Mr. Jackson's, Dr. Dixon's son, his biographer, is a clergyman, a minor canon of Carlisle Cathedral. He is somewhat careful to tell us this, to fold tightly round him his surplice, lest it should be contaminated by his father's church, and once or twice with peculiar vehemence to shake off the dust of his feet against the reprehensible, not to say contemptible, Congregationalist. If it pleases him, it will hurt neither the Wesleyans nor ourselves; although we must confess to an impatience which is very like contempt for men who can sneer at the church of their fathers, by which alone they themselves have secured their education and their position. But probably Mr. Dixon would himself have been a Wesleyan minister had he been capable of a just recognition of the true spiritual service and greatness of the church which his father served. For the rest, the memoir is well written, and lovingly pourtrays the life of a great and good and gracious man, one of whom Methodism may well be proud.

Recollections of a Tour made in Scotland A.D. 1803. By DOROTHY WORDSWORTH. Edited by J. C. SHAIRP, LL.D., Principal of the United College of St. Salvador and St. Leonard, St. Andrew's. Edmonston and Douglas.

Wordsworth's debt to his sister, Dorothy, has been amply acknowledged. The poet himself recorded his gratitude to her, both in prose and verse; and in his biography the Bishop of Lincoln gave many extracts from her journals, showing the influence she had on the poet's development. In every respect she was a most remarkable woman. With a nature sensitive to every fine influence, and a capacity to utter in fitting form the flitting experiences and phantasies that visited her, she was yet content to merge her identity so completely in that of her brother, that her genius may be said to have, in one sense, been wasted. And not only so; before and for some time after William's marriage she was nothing but a kind of drudge (for the

Wordsworths for long kept no servant). She read for her brother, copied his poems, and walked with him; but she cooked, and scrubbed, and dusted also, with no notion, as it would appear, that she might have been more profitably employed. She impressed men like Coleridge and De Quincey with a sense of uncommon power; and yet she never once sought independent expression for it. If she ever did write—as in the case of this journal—it seems to have been more with the idea of preserving impressions and facts for her brother than anything else. Of course, we cannot help a momentary feeling arising now and then that the offering, though worthily made at such a shrine, might have been more valuable for us still had it been kept back to be offered at another altar—for doubtless there are some who, as Principal Shairp says, will prefer the sister's prose to the brother's verse. Her touch is always delicate, and her insight of the finest. The Scottish tour not only abounds in clear, graceful, picturesque writing, sown with gleams of poetic fancy, but it shows broad human sympathy, patience, power of taking the position of others, and finding enjoyment in very awkward and unaccustomed circumstances. Only once in the whole tour does she feel annoyed, and that is, when a shrewish niggardly woman—an innkeeper—refuses to give them fire on a cold wet night. But generally, it would seem that what in Wordsworth's poems show broader sympathy and clearer dramatic grasp, the impulse for them was derived from her journal as much as from the original impression. There is a description of the interior of a cottage near Loch Lomond at pp. 104-105, than which we have never read anything finer. Coleridge went as far as the Trossachs with sister and brother, but left them there in the dumps, presumably worried to death with the untoward circumstances, from which Miss Wordsworth drew only pleasure. The sketch of Scott, before he was the famous Sir Walter, and as yet only the author of a few poems, is admirably done, and the whole account of the visit to him interesting. The book throughout is full of gems, and abounds in unfailling interest for the literary student. Principal Shairp has done his part with rare taste, tact, and discrimination, limiting himself—in face of a strong temptation to do otherwise—to the statement of such facts as are needful to be known, that the diary may be read with real understanding and interest. We thank him for the journal and for his own preface, which has afforded us real delight.

Swiss Allmends, and a walk to see them; being a second month in Switzerland. By F. BARHAM ZINCKE. Smith, Elder, and Co.

We fear that success in books of travel is having a deleterious effect upon Mr. Zincke, and that he is taking to that worst of all literary vices, superficial bookmaking. In this book he sees a little, ascertains a little,—often very inaccurately from chance conversation, as well as from more formal information,—

and spins a great deal out of his own consciousness. Little things sometimes indicate the character of a man's mind or the value of his work; if so, in this case Mr. Zincke's book is worth very little. On the back of the cover is portrayed an impossible flower, found neither in Switzerland nor anywhere else; on the side of the cover is a sketch intended for the Matterhorn, which is never approached by the author, nor once mentioned in his book; and reaching from the top of it to the bottom an irrelevant boy is waving his hat on the top of a stick. In the very first sentence the author tells us that Bretzswyl is twenty miles to the south of Bâle; afterwards that it is a dozen miles from the station at Liesthal; it is less than twelve miles from the former place, and eight from the latter. Later on he accounts for the smoke from the chalets in the higher Alps by telling us that 'it is too cold to make cheese without some artificial heat.'—We should hardly like to live in a place where artificial heat can be dispensed with in making cheese. This, we are sorry to say, is only one of many instances, more or less important, where Mr. Zincke delivers authoritative dogmas about matters concerning which he is clearly ignorant. Another, is the somewhat flippant account that he gives us of Nicholas von der Flüe, as a man who attained a reputation for sanctity by living in a cave. Now, be the reputation of the saint historic or legendary in its basis, it really rests on great benevolent services rendered to his fellow men, and not on his anchorite's life. He speaks of the Schweizer Hof at Berne as a large, new hotel, which it is not, although the Berner Hof is. He gives us an account of the lack of intelligence of Amsteg in the guise of an imaginary gossip of its inhabitants, which shows that he really knows nothing about either its education or its means of knowledge. The conversation with the Italian physician at Faido is an illustration of the avidity with which he sought information, and of the superficial character of that from which he draws his inferences. Our own experience would furnish a generalization equally well grounded. During a seven weeks' sojourn in Switzerland this year, we have had in succession seven almost cloudless Mondays; we have noted the climatological fact for our next book on Switzerland, that it is always fine on Mondays. Mr. Zincke tells us that the maximum state salary of the St. Gothard Diligence conductors is 8,000 francs, besides *bonne-maine*. They will be very glad to hear it. At present, we fear, they will pronounce it an absurd exaggeration.

Mr. Zincke attributes the badness of the culture on the eastern side of Interlaken to its being common land. A little more inquiry—perhaps we should say a little inquiry—would have informed him that its cause is altogether different. His reference to the portraits of the old Landammans, in the Sarnen Hôtel de Ville, is a matter of taste; but it is characteristic of the entire book, that Mr. Zincke sees only through the spectacles on his nose. One would have thought that he could hardly have

avoided some historic reference to some of the great warriors and courtiers of Switzerland, who are represented here. It is in the same unhistoric spirit that, although almost in the heart of his month's exploration, he never mentions Rütli, nor is any historic association called up for a passing word of homage; while page after page is filled with conversations so silly and slight, as to be unworthy, as an intelligent Swiss remarked to the writer, of the delicious paper and print of an English book; and with long drawn dissertations *de omnibus*, from primitive humanity to the sacerdotalism of Einsiedeln (which, by the way, the writer does not spell accurately) and English ritualism. We have only to add, in confirmation of this evidence of untrustworthy carelessness and superficiality, that the style is slovenly in the extreme; not only are sentences clumsily put together, and allusions and metaphors repeated, but some of the sentences never got finished at all; or, like the Staubbach, they shoot forth a good solid body, but dissolve into mere spray before touching the ground.

We are sorry to have read Mr. Zincke's book; it disturbs our confidence in the accuracy of his previous works on Egypt and America, which we have less means of testing, and which, hitherto, we have valued as well as enjoyed. Mr. Zincke's present work is of the most commonplace and superficial character. He carries us over ground which many hundreds even of English tourists traverse every year, and he tells us only what any stay-at-home reader might easily acquaint himself with. Mr. Zincke can both describe well, and has the faculty of posting himself up with extemporized information; but clearly the latter, to be of value, must be derived by more extensive research and from more trustworthy sources than chance conversations with hotel landlords, or even learned professors, whose information, even when most reliable, the author was hardly qualified to appreciate.

A book on the Allmends, or common-land system of Switzerland, and the changes which are passing over it, would be both interesting and instructive; but to be such it demands far more research and painstaking than Mr. Zincke has bestowed. Our censure has been provoked by the rashness which has led him to write with only a rapid tourist's information. The one chapter which he formally devotes to the subject contains, as the consequence, the most meagre information; the greater part of it consists of Mr. Zincke's own reasonings, some of which are sensible enough. But he has a most dangerous tendency to sermonize; the slightest suggestion suffices to start a dissertation on the fitness of things, or a moralizing on their quality, and no topic comes amiss to him. If Mr. Zincke will turn to an old work on 'Eastern Switzerland,' by Mr. Cox, written nearly a century ago, he will find a scholarly model of such a work as he essays to write. We have given due praise to Mr. Zincke's former books. We would fain deter him from the ruinous tendency to superficial bookmaking which he evinces in this.

Sketches in Italy and Greece. By JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS. Smith, Elder, and Co.

Mr. Symonds combines in an unusual degree the requisite qualities of a describer of classical lands; an accomplished scholar, he is equally a picturesque and imaginative writer, while his studies of the Greek poets evince his appreciation of poetic literature. The result is a descriptive volume, that has rarely been surpassed in its scholarly beauty and sterling interest. With the eye of an artist, the pen of a poet, and the lore of a scholar, Mr. Symonds describes scenes that, in their nomenclature and associations, are the most familiar in Europe to any educated man; that is, he not only describes with accuracy what is to be seen, but his classical and poetic imagination suffuses what he sees with just that glow of ideal beauty which is the characteristic of true art. Equally skilful is he in blending allusions to ancient life with his descriptions of modern life. He does not merge the human interest in the picturesque beauty nor the interests of modern life in the romance of dead history. And when we say that, beginning with the Cornice, he carries us through central Italy—Ajaccio, Siena, Perugia, Orvieto, to Sicily, Palermo, Syracuse, Etna; then to Greece; back again to Italy—Rimini, Ravenna, Parma, &c.; papers on the popular songs of Tuscany, the sonnets of Petrarch, the love of the Alps, &c., being interspersed—it will be seen how rich and fruitful, for a scholar like Mr. Symonds, these well-traversed fields are. We have rarely met with a book that will have such a charm for scholars and popular readers alike. We should add that in his translations Mr. Symonds renders the love songs of Tuscany with much feeling and beauty. The following is a suggestion of Tennyson's charming ballad:—

'O swallow, flying over hill and plain,
If thou shouldst find my love, oh bid him come,
And tell him, on these mountains I remain
Even as a lamb who cannot find her home:
And tell him I am left all, all alone,
Even as a tree whose flowers are overblown:
And tell him I am left without a mate
Even as a tree whose boughs are desolate:
And tell him I am left uncomfortable
Even as the grass upon the meadows dead.'

My Time, and What I've Done With it. An Autobiography. By F. C. BURNAUD. Macmillan and Co.

This is an uncommonly clever piece of work, sparkling with jokes, puns, and every conceivable kind of literary pyrotechnics. Cecil Colvin, son of Sir John Colvin, Bart., of a very old crusading family, but degenerated into a member of a respectable stock-broking firm, gives us the benefit of his experiences on his way through the world. It is a lighter edition of 'Philip on his way through the World,' written by a man of wit and knowledge, but without the satirical severity and artistic concentration of the great master. It has at all events one very striking point of resemblance to that great work. We are quite sure that

certain of the portraits here are not mere vague creations; but were suggested by, and come very near to, real persons, and will be recognized by not a few as being such. Dr. Courtley, who speaks with his 'mothr rethpectable' lisp, may be identified, the Comberwoods, the Verneys, and several others may be guessed at, and certainly there is a deal about Cowbridge that is but slightly disguised. Cowbridge, 'the time at which,' we are told, 'was for the most part a thoughtless, happy, idle, selfish time, spent in a Paradise without resident Eves, and where one went peaceably to sleep within the shadow of the ancient Tree of Knowledge. There stood the Tree; the industrious climbed it and plucked its fruit, the lazy remained beneath, and instead of plucking, were themselves plucked.' There is hardly any plot in 'My Time,' but some of the characters are sketched with a clearness which is evident in spite of the caricature, and the above is a fair specimen of the style. There is little room even for aim at what we are accustomed to regard as the higher qualities of art, when the writer sacrifices almost everything for the sake of sorry puns and smartnesses, which would be better in place for a newspaper. So far, indeed, is this carried, that when we came on what we fancied were misprints, we had to check ourselves, and beat our brains to make sure that a pun was intended, and notably so in the case of collision for 'collusion' at one place. This is a smart touch: 'The Rev. Matthias Keddy was a lanky, disjointed looking person, with a clerical white neckerchief, so untidily twisted as to give its wearer the appearance of having been suddenly cut down in a stupid attempt at hanging himself; an idea which his way of holding his head very much on one side, and his nervous, confused manner generally, tended strongly to confirm.' The book is undoubtedly clever and amusing, and it is perhaps ungraceful even to seem to find fault with its not being what the author never intended it to be. But we may be excused in some remarks we have made, because Mr. Burnaud shows so clearly that he could do creative work of a higher kind.

Through Normandy. By KATHERINE S. MACQUOID. Illustrated by THOMAS R. MACQUOID. William Isbister and Co.

There have recently been several books about Normandy—and one of the most readable was that of Mr. Musgrave, which, notwithstanding a certain discursiveness and egotism, was really very admirable. In spite of some hobbies about points of agriculture and breeds of cows; it was right pleasant to jog along at his side, and listen to his talk, always dashed as it was with a light *souppon* of easy humour. But it was clear he preferred the country to the town, and thereby his book suffers a certain loss. Mrs. Macquoid has not fallen into this error. She loves the quaint bits of old architecture that are now so often seen through gracious gaps and breaks still left in the extending range of modern improvement; she delights to catch glimpses of quaint character

and picturesque costume, as though with the tail of the eye, as she passes along, and she sets them down most suggestively. She never forgets the old legend or anecdote, or the historical associations which cluster so richly round the old Norman towns; while she brings to nature a quick eye, alike for detail and general effect, and varies her account of her adventures with pictures of scenery, so fresh and bright and unconventional that they never weary us as the ordinary guide-book descriptions so often do. Indeed, if fault can be found with the work, it is that Mrs. Macquoid inclines too much to force the picturesque, or to affect it; but she brings special qualities of another order, just sufficient to qualify this, and keep it from being injurious. 'Through Normandy' is thus something more than a guide-book, though it may well answer that purpose, conveying, as it does, by means of an 'Index for Travellers,' all needful information for the tourist, most compactly arranged. But there is, perhaps, a shade too much of sustained individual adventure for its being so useful as it might have been, though this is compensated for, as we have hinted, by the light literary touch which carries us on from point to point. Evidently she has a dash of the true traveller in her composition, for her good spirits and enthusiasm never flag. If the scenery, or the town, or the lodging is disappointing, she always finds something to compensate in the people, whether these be the market-women of Rouen, or the fisher-folk of Havre or Etrétat, or the peasants of Calvados. And, clearly, she has kept so much in reserve, that in other departments of work we may yet get trace of the special studies she has undergone for this work. But we are surprised to find her quoting one or two legends which are clearly the invention of the hack-guide—notably that respecting the windows of St. Ouen at Rouen, which is clearly an adaptation of the 'Prentice-pillar story of Roslin Chapel. The illustrations we should say are clear, characteristic, delicate, wonderfully enlivening the text; a few, either owing to cutting or printing, are grey, and lack colour; but, among so many, scarce aught could be expected but that one or two should fail. This is one of the few books which can afford to be read as a piece of literature, whilst at the same time it will be found handy and serviceable in the knapsack, enabling the traveller in Normandy to dispense with the aid of any other. We can cordially recommend it in both respects.

The Ancient Nation: A Sign and a Wonder. By the Author of 'The Knights of the Frozen Sea.' With Seventy-One Illustrations. (Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.) A somewhat careful and elaborate history of the Jewish people thrown into the form of family conversations; thereby securing the freedom and discursiveness which seem necessary to interest young people. The work is very fairly done, and should, we think, be a favourite in the nursery and schoolroom. We should have

liked it better, however, had it been free from the carnal and unscriptural imaginations of a literal restoration of the Jewish nation to political power in Palestine.—*David Livingstone: the Weaner Boy who became a Missionary.* By H. G. ADAMS. New and Enlarged Edition. (Hodder and Stoughton.) The fifth edition of this interesting story of Livingstone's heroic life. The author has added a chapter completing his history, giving an account of his death and his burial in Westminster Abbey. Mr. Adams' book has vindicated its claim to be the popular biography of the great traveller.—*The Hero of Elstow; or, the Story of the Pilgrimage of John Bunyan.* By JAMES COPNER, M.A., Vicar of the Parish of Elstow. (Hodder and Stoughton.) It is surely one of the most extraordinary of time's revenges, that a eulogistic memoir of Bunyan should be written by the Vicar of Elstow, and published simultaneously with the inauguration of his statue at Bedford. It is greatly to Mr. Copner's credit that he has done his work in a spirit so catholic; only he mars it by the incongruous suggestion that 'the old parish church at Elstow should be restored as a monument of Bunyan.' This would be something like rebuilding the Bastille as a monument of the National Convention, or the Office of the Inquisition as a monument of the Protestant martyrs. Could not Mr. Copner have found some Baptist Church that needs rebuilding, and generously have proffered to help in that? No doubt it would be a great magnanimity to so far forget what Bunyan suffered at the hands of the Church which Elstow parish church represents; but it is not quite magnanimous for men like Mr. Copner to be always asking such magnanimity of Nonconformists. It would be refreshing to see a little of it on the other side, where the claim upon it is certainly greater and more natural. It is really time that 'we cleared our minds of cant,' as Johnson used to say. We rejoice as much as men can do at the growth of catholic feeling, but it will work all the mischief of falsehood if it run only into these false ways. When men like Mr. Copner will give generous helps to the building of Baptist churches—and why not?—we shall have a little more faith in it. Mr. Copner has added nothing to what Mr. Offor's researches have discovered, but he has told the story in a simple and amiable way.—*The Book of the Bunyan Festival.* A Complete Record of the Proceedings of the Unveiling of the Statue given by His Grace the Duke of Bedford. Revised and Published by Authority. With an Historical Sketch by the Rev. J. BROWN, B.A., of Bunyan Meeting, Bedford. (James Clarke and Co.) A very interesting record of a commemoration which has gathered more than ordinary significance from the singular reversal of judgment and feeling towards its subject. That a statue to a Nonconformist tinker, the gift of the Duke of Bedford, should be erected in the county town where he resided and was imprisoned for his Nonconformity; that in its inauguration an Episcopal dean should pronounce one of the eulogistic orations; that simultaneously an admiring memoir

should be published by the Vicar of Elstow; these constitute one of 'time's revenges,' so complete and dramatic that it may well become historical. At any rate it indicates a new social life, and we Nonconformists, who still feel the grievances of religious inequality, choose to regard it as the harbinger of a better time coming. This little volume includes a full account of the statue and its inauguration, and a revised report of the addresses. It will be an interesting memorial of a very significant event.—*The Thirty Years' Civil War, 1618-1648*. By SAMUEL ROWSON GARDINER (Epochs of History). (Longmans and Co.) Mr. Gardiner has felt even more than his predecessors the difficulty of defining and maintaining an intelligent unity in the historical epoch which he has undertaken to describe. The Thirty Years' War not only sprung from many causes, of which the conflict between the old Faith and the new was but one, although, perhaps, the chief, but it was an issue to which a complex series of events in almost every national history in Europe led up. It may indeed be said to be a focus into which the European history of the preceding two centuries gathered. Its clear comprehension, therefore, demands a preliminary historical knowledge not likely to be possessed by the class of students for which the series is intended. Mr. Gardiner has done most admirably, perhaps, as much as could be done to supply the necessary information. He does not pretend to originality of research, but he has availed himself of the rapidly augmenting literature on the subject which Germany is supplying, under the impulse of a clearer perception of the vast importance of the period. Mr. Motley has come to the threshold of it. It will be a study to test all his powers. Mr. Gardiner helps us to understand two failures—first, the failure of Germany to attain political union, and next, the failure of Protestantism to maintain its ascendancy over Rome. The end of the war, which drew into its vortex nearly the whole of Europe, was to establish the ascendancy of France. But we cannot touch any point of the complex evolution of it, we can only commend Mr. Gardiner's exposition of it as a clear and well-written narrative.—*Cook's Tourist's Handbooks*. I. *To Switzerland, vid Paris*; II. *Holland, Belgium, and the Rhine*. THOMAS COOK AND SONS. (Hodder and Stoughton.) The first volumes of a series of half-crown handbooks, intended by Messrs. Cook to illustrate their own tours. For this purpose they are amply sufficient, and the hundreds of tourists who make up their excursionist parties need not cumber themselves with the more general and expensive handbooks to different countries generally. The new books are not equal either in literature or completeness to Murray's series, or to Baedeker's guides. There is occasionally fine writing, and sometimes feeble common-place that might be dispensed with; but in addition to information about places, there is a good deal of practical information about material necessities which travellers will value. The arrangement of routes, and the facilities given

by Messrs. Cook's coupons are admirable. In a long Continental tour it is no small benefit to be saved the trouble of getting tickets at railway stations.

POLITICS, SCIENCE, AND ART.

Essays—Political, Social and Religious. By RICHARD CONGREVE. Longmans and Co.,

This book is a curious study in amiable fanaticism. It shows that the malady is by no means confined to religious men; although when its attacks politicians and philosophers it is very apt to pass into religious forms. It did so with Comte, whose religious maunderings, in his closing years, are a sad perplexity to his disciples. The worship of humanity is a poor idolatry for elevated souls, for it limits at any rate the inspirations of the best. It does so with Mr. Congreve, the apostle and representative in England of Auguste Comte. For Mr. Congreve is a preacher of the Comtist religion of humanity; only, having released himself from the troublesome notion of a future state, and from all ideas of supernatural revelation, he has only politics and social morality and human heroism to preach. Christianity, we suppose, from the degradation of its ideas, is to him the symbol of all that is superstitious and rotten. America is denied any high place among the nations, and clearly cannot be a leader in the world of the future, because the influence of the religious ideas of the past is so much greater there than in Europe. 'Emancipation from those ideas is incomparably more advanced in Europe.' 'Therefore, in relation to all the more general and higher conceptions of man, whether scientific, philosophical, or religious, America can claim, and, speaking broadly, does claim no initiative.' She is 'the offspring of an inferior nation, and of a period of negation and dissolution.' The primacy of the nations is claimed for France. 'Since the fall of the Roman empire, the initiative has ever lain in France,' and with characteristic perversity and dogmatism the author affirms that 'our intellectual acquiescence in this priority of France cannot be refused.' 'They are the most advanced portion of the human race—the vanguard of civilization'—and that because they have thrown off belief in supernatural Christianity, and produced M. Comte. The volume consists of reprints of pamphlets and articles, the earliest of which was published in 1856, the last in 1878. These are nearly all political disquisitions, and are presumably the religious teachings of the religion of humanity; and a melancholy satire they are upon all that men usually call religion.

We restrict ourselves, however, to their political principles and vaticinations. And, generally, we may say they are characterized by that lofty and vague kind of generalizing which is so often the substitute for exact ideas, which seems very learned and grand, but which practical statesmen must simply laugh at, notwithstanding the solemn pomposity with which

their dicta are delivered. Mr. Congreve's passion is somewhat more subdued than that of the Pope, but his *ex cathedra* infallibility is equally imperative; and for disbelievers he has judgments equally intolerant, and words almost as hard. Not only all intellectual qualities of good sense, but all moral quantities of candour and truth-seeking are imperatively denied them. Mr. Congreve does not hesitate to characterize Mr. Huxley as uncandid and ignorant. Throughout he assumes the attitude and tone of a man who has discovered absolute truth, which only idiots and rascals can hesitate to receive. Only the Pope's allocutions can surpass the arrogance with which, to both politicians and philosophers, Mr. Congreve addresses his injunctions to believe. Unfortunately no vaticinations of late years, have been so signally falsified by events. It speaks a great deal more for Mr. Congreve's courage than for his wisdom, that he has in 1874 republished his pamphlets of 1856 and the years immediately following. Unfortunately, in his first pamphlet on 'Gibraltar and the Foreign Policy of England,' he has committed himself to a political survey and estimate of Europe. It would be difficult to find anywhere a series of judgments and prognostications more utterly contradicted by the events that have occurred since.

A fundamental article of Mr. Congreve's faith is, that almost every principle of the policy of England is unworthy and false, and almost every record of her history is a crime. He calls upon her to abandon her sense of self-importance, inasmuch as she is only a secondary power; to disband her army, as an acknowledgment of her dependence upon the magnanimity of France, and as an expression of her own; although, singularly enough, in 1870, it is her crime that she did not send this army to the aid of France against Prussia. He demands of her the restoration to Spain of Gibraltar; the abandonment of India to self-government; the surrender of Ireland to home rule, and simple federal relations. In an address to the Japanese ambassadors, he accuses England of high crimes and misdemeanours, and exhorts Japan to keep up a strong army for her chastisement,—apostle of peace as he is; while the Alabama arbitration, which might be thought in harmony with his behests, was only a craven and sordid submission to a powerful nation, and a good customer. In short, a more wayward, blind, illogical, and arrogant series of judgments on European politics and English affairs has rarely, if ever, come under our notice. Mr. Congreve's perversity of inimical judgments is almost incredible. It has not before fallen to our lot to read any of his publications; but, from his reputation, we anticipated from this volume acute reasoning, plausible views, and some political philosophy. We reserved it as a *bonne bouche*, and promised ourselves from it much intellectual pleasure. We have been utterly disappointed. It has simply provoked intellectual impatience and moral indignation. With an appearance of wide historical reading it combines the most fantastic historical judgments. With the solemn enunciation of principles with which most rational and moral men

would agree, there is the most perverse and unrighteous application of them. Clearly, patriotism is not an article of the Comtist creed, nor is just judgment one of Mr. Congreve's qualifications. To make any progress, positivism must have a stronger apostleship than this. If it is through the teachings of history to make the world wise, it must really understand history; and if by moral exhortation it is to make the world good, it must, at any rate, be consistent and just in the principles that it inculcates. No wonder that with ill-concealed disappointment and bitterness Mr. Congreve is forced to say, concerning himself and his 'religion of humanity,' 'We move slowly.'

Campaign of 1870-1871. Operations of the First Bavarian Army Corps under General Von der Tann. Compiled from the Bavarian Official Records. By Captain HUGO HELVIG, of the Royal Bavarian General Staff. Translated by Captain GEORGE SALIS SCHWABE. With Five Large Maps. Two Vols.

The German Artillery in the Battles near Metz. Compiled from the Official Reports of the Artillery. By E. HOFFBAUER, Captain in the Prussian Artillery. Translated by Captain HOLLIST, R.A. With Maps and Plans. Henry S. King and Co.

We can only record the publication of these new volumes of the admirable series of military reports prepared under the direction of the Prussian Government. Criticism of a general kind is simply impossible, and technical criticism would need to be far more minute than is here practicable, to be of any value.

It is sufficient to remind our readers that the operations of each section of the German army are thus minutely detailed in a separate volume, and that with admirable simplicity and fidelity. The report is as severe as that of a drillmaster; there is no attempt either to exaggerate achievements, or to extenuate mistakes. The purpose of the Government is practical, and the writers submit the different movements which they describe to severe scientific analysis. At the same time the volumes are continuous narratives, they are full of interest to the general reader, and will be invaluable to the historian.

Their scientific value to the professional soldier, whatever his nation, is simply inestimable. The first of these works gives an account of the battles of Wörth, Beaumont, Sedan, Artenay, Orleans, Beaugency, &c., the second of the battles of Bourg, Mars la Tour, and Gravelotte. The maps are on a large scale and most admirable. The enterprise of the English publishers and translators is as wise and patriotic as that of the German authorities. Every military library ought to possess these volumes. So far as know, they are unique in military history.

Cavalry Field Duty. By Major General VON MIRUS. Translated from the German by Captain F. S. RUSSELL, 14th King's Hussars. Henry S. King and Co.

From amongst the shoals of German translations with which we have been deluged since

the Franco-German war, this little work may be selected as one likely to lead to some good result. Since the introduction of arms of precision, the duties of the cavalry soldier have become materially modified. Heavy masses of steel-clad cavaliers no longer range the battlefield, formidable and triumphant, nor, as at Borodino, decide the fate of a hotly contested engagement by the impetuosity of their onslaught. Cavalry, at the present time, though quite as indispensable as formerly to the well-being of an army, must rest content with humbler duties. It can no longer approach a line of infantry which is armed with the terrible breech-loader. To act as outposts, gain information regarding the enemy, keep up the contact with his advanced posts, and form an impenetrable screen, behind which the main body performs its evolutions; such are the duties of cavalry in modern warfare. To assist our own horsemen in the fulfilment of these duties, this little book has been translated from the German, and we commend it to those interested in the subject.

Having said thus much, we must demur to the author's dictum (p. 1): that 'war, whatever may be its cause, is waged for the good of the soldier's native land.' The definition, also on the same page, of the object of war, viz., to compel the enemy to withdraw his 'unjust pretensions,' is an *ex parte* statement worthy of Prince Bismarck himself.

In a work not meant for absolute children, it strikes us as hardly necessary to adduce the following rather elementary facts (p. 8): 'If a man stands with his face to the north, the east is to his right, the south to his rear, and the west to his left;' and, further down, 'Streams always flow down hill;' as if the laws of gravitation and the practical deductions from them were but imperfectly understood in Germany. But the book is a good and useful one, and these rather ludicrous truisms cannot in any way interfere with its practical utility.

The Volunteer, the Militiaman, and the Regular Soldier. By a PUBLIC SCHOOLBOY. Henry S. King and Co.

This is a little book on military organization. Some of the author's suggestions possess considerable value, but they are seldom sufficiently elaborated to be of practical utility. For instance, he proposes to change the unit of infantry from the battalion to the company, but fails to show in what essential particulars his plan is to differ from the present organization. The case might have been well illustrated by reference to the working of the batteries of a brigade of artillery under the control of one commandant.

In Chapter II. we think the author's ardour in the defence of auxiliary forces leads him a little beyond the regions of sound logic. We had thought that the campaigns of Paladines and Chanzy on the Loire had for ever laid the vexed question of the respective value of trained regulars and hasty levies. The author thinks otherwise. He is of opinion that the extended order employed in modern battles favours the

latter (p. 8). This is a dangerous error. The looser the order adopted, the more perfect ought the training and discipline of the troops to be. He thinks (p. 9) volunteers preferable to half-trained mercenary boys. (Why mercenary?) He asks (p. 11) 'was not Napoleon able to continue his victories, though his ranks were filled by conscripts?' (Why not call them mercenary boys?) But history teaches us the rather that Napoleon's downfall dated from the loss of his splendid armies of veterans amid the snows of Russia, and that the indecisive victories of Lutzen, Bautzen, and Dresden, won by armies of conscripts, and which his stupendous military genius alone enabled him to wring from the veteran armies opposed to him, were hailed by his enemies as the first symptoms of the ebb of that tide of conquest which had inundated Europe.

To those who wish to get an insight into the interior economy of the army of their country, this little work will be found both interesting and useful.

The Spectroscope and its Applications. By J. NORMAN LOCKYER, F.R.S. With Coloured Plates and Illustrations. Macmillan and Co.

A new volume of the *Nature* Series, which will be as popular from its romantic interest, as instructive in making known the immense additions to our astronomical and chemical knowledge, made by the greatest discovery in physics of modern times, electricity itself not excepted. Not even Newton's great discovery of the laws of gravitation has revealed to us more of the constitution of the universe than the spectroscope is likely to do. Already Mr. Lockyer, Dr. Huggins, and others, have applied its tests to Coggia's comet, and have told the world concerning its chemical composition. Mr. Lockyer's little book consists of four lectures delivered at the Society of Arts. They constitute an elementary exposition of the nature of the spectroscope, and of the history of its discovery and achievements. The book is an introduction, therefore, to Professor Roscoe's more advanced and superb work on Spectrum Analysis, some of the illustrations of which are here reproduced.

The Development of Creation on the Earth. By THOMAS LUMSDEN STRANGE, late a Judge of the High Court of Madras. Trübner and Co.

In the first part of this volume the author describes the processes of creation as he conceives them, and in the second gives an array of proof for the antiquity of the earth and of man. Accepting Dr. Bastian's experiments as conclusive, he argues for the spontaneous generation of the higher forms of life as well as of the lower; and believing in regularly recurring glacial periods, when all life is swept away, he considers that the earth has been spontaneously re-peopled many times over. From the oblong zodiac of Dendera and other relics, he is disposed to infer the existence of civilized nations some 20,000 years ago; and from geological phenomena and cave-remains to carry back the antiquity of the race something like

3,000,000 of years. The author's geology and astronomy are so theoretical that they will probably be disputed by scientific men, and we cannot give space here to their discussion. Two points mainly interest us in the book:—The first is, that while we have here another writer contending for creation by 'law' or by natural processes, he is utterly opposed to Mr. Darwin's view of species originating by natural selection. The second is, that the book is written in a reverential spirit, and the author argues earnestly for God and immortality. He considers that as matter and 'law' would not give the *concerted* action apparent in nature, there must be some unseen, unerring power, beyond all we know of physical nature, effecting everything (p. 35). There is, he contends, a central governance for every member of the physical creation, for the orbs launched in space, and for the animated forms of which we are conscious on our globe; and so it would not be reasonable to suppose that the influences which pervade the universe are represented by so many independent laws without an intelligence over all to direct these laws to their appropriate ends (p. 38). The combination of the emotional element deepens the testimony which is presented by the perceptive and reflective powers exercised on what surrounds us; and this source affords even a truer sense, to those who profit by it, of the proper aims of our being, than can be attained by the mere contemplation of the visible creation (pp. 38, 39). No one can exercise himself in this latter field without having the consciousness of a being beyond him—one above and outside himself, and yet intimately and inseparably associated with him (pp. 39, 40). The contemplation, then, of the moral field, equally with that of the physical, leads to the conclusion that the processes of creation are under the control of a central power, directing all things in wisdom (p. 40).

English Psychology. Translated from the French of TH. RIBOT. London: Henry S. King and Co.

It may be true, as some assert, that the sceptre of psychology had never departed from England, and therefore could never have returned with the more recent cultivation of the science. One thing, however, is undeniable, that up to a very recent period English psychology met with little attention in France, and even at the present moment meets with anything but a flattering reception in Germany. While Taine and Ribot speak in flattering terms of English psychology, some of the best known German psychologists are almost totally unacquainted with the writings of Mr. Spencer, and pay little heed to the contributions of Professor Bain. In Germany, pure psychology has taken a course of its own, and enters upon a pathway that seldom brings it into contact with the product of English thought.

M. Ribot confines his work to a survey of the foremost writers of the associational school. His object is the simple exposition of the views of these psychologists. His reason for selecting this school is the celebrity of its represent-

atives, its harmony with the tendencies of the age, and, above all, the fact that French thinkers are comparatively ignorant of the merits of the best philosophical writers produced by England in the present day. This last reason is a rebuke to his countrymen, and the volume before us, which is the result of careful reading and laborious research, is eminently adapted for remedying this state of things. He makes the great merit of this school to consist in abandoning metaphysical speculations regarding the spiritual substance and the faculties of the mind, and in confining itself to the phenomena of mental life and the laws of their development. While the author admits on the one hand the necessity of separating psychological from purely metaphysical inquiries, and freely acknowledges the services of the associational philosophers in having constituted psychology into an independent science, yet, on the other, he stoutly maintains the importance of ontological speculations, suggests that English psychologists have made scarcely any use of comparative philology as an exposition of human thought and feeling, and affirms that this school is much less skilful in explaining the emotions than in dealing with the sensations and intellect. He is, moreover, careful to inform us that he is fully aware of the existence and importance of another tendency of English thought represented by Hamilton, Mansel, Whewell, and Ferrier.

M. Ribot begins his treatment of the subject with Hartley and James Mill, as the founders of this school; he dwells chiefly, however, on the doctrines of J. S. Mill, Herbert Spencer, A. Bain, and G. H. Lewes; after which a few pages are devoted to the views of Samuel Bailey. It is almost needless to say that the work is not free from mistakes. All these, however, arise from misapprehension, and not from unfairness.

The most obvious objection to this work is the manifest impossibility of an adequate treatment and a satisfactory comprehension of associational psychology, apart from the study of the doctrines of their opponents. Another defect is the omission to discuss the adequacy or inadequacy of the associational philosophy to deal with all the facts of the mind. Many will cheerfully acknowledge the invaluable contributions of Mill, Bain, and Spencer, who will not admit that their method is capable of accomplishing all that is to be done. They hold that there are fundamental facts which it cannot explain, and that this is a crucial test of the inadequacy of the method. This important question is left untouched by M. Ribot. A third blemish is the author's notion of metaphysics. The division of philosophy into ontology and psychology is now generally admitted; but M. Ribot's notion of metaphysics, as a work of art rather than of science—a kind of cosmogonic poem—is much inferior to his conception of science in general, and of psychology in particular. In the latter he skilfully shows that psychological facts must be studied from the outside as well as the inside, that the subjective and objective methods complete each other, and that the

most complete method is the result of both. Many of our readers will also demur to the author's including in one school psychologists who exhibit such diversity of opinions. It is clear that the term school must be here used in a very wide sense to class Mr. Spencer, who admits the Hamiltonian doctrine of immediate consciousness to be valid as regards the reality of external objects, with the associational psychologists, who attempt to account for the belief in external existence by means of an intellectual process. M. Ribot does not seem to be aware of this distinction, for in his concluding summary of the views of the two schools, he lays it down as generally held by this school that, 'outside of us, and independently of our perceptions, there exists a material world, which condemns idealism' (page 325). There are other minor blemishes that might be mentioned, e.g., he speaks of Hume as *not* a Scotch philosopher, and so far misapprehends the tendency of Dugald Stewart as to conclude that, if now alive, he would have been another Bain. Admitting Mr. G. H. Lewes' claim to be classed among the most eminent English psychologists, we are certainly surprised at the space assigned to him in this work, and at the long extracts from his 'History of Philosophy from the Sophists Downwards.' The writer whom M. Ribot most admires is evidently Herbert Spencer, and of his views he gives a full and adequate account. He writes of him with genuine sympathy and fond enthusiasm, and rightly, we think, places him at the head of modern English philosophers.

In the work before us the labours of the leading English psychologists are fully appreciated and fairly estimated; but the student of philosophy must not expect in it much original thought. Its chief merit consists in its being a clear and easy digest of a few of the principal works upon the subject. The author has not the critical insight and comprehensiveness of many of the French writers, such as Janet and Ravaisson, but he has something of their nervous force and aptness of expression. The translation is neither better nor worse than the majority of such performances. Its greatest fault is the inexact rendering of philosophic and scientific terms, of which there are innumerable examples. This fact, together with the retranslation of M. Ribot's translation of passages from such a well-known work as 'Mill's Examination of Hamilton,' leads us to suspect that the translator, though familiar with the language, is but imperfectly acquainted with the subject. Both are requisite in order to produce a reliable translation.

The Place of the Physician. Being an Introductory Lecture at Guy's Hospital, October, 1878. With other Essays. By JAMES HINTON, Aural Surgeon to the Hospital. Henry S. King and Co.

Mr. Hinton's enthusiasm sometimes betrays him into stilted or gushing rhetoric, as, for example, in the passage on sham knowledge, on page 4. But his claim for the physician is a just and a noble one. He is a student of mental and moral, as well as of physical pathology;

and thus there is possible to him a ministry, second only, if even second, to that of the religious teacher and comforter; nay, often he may be, and should be, this also. The student of medicine is a student of human nature in its entirety, and in its entirety he may directly, or indirectly, minister to it. The lecture is a very eloquent one, and full of noble feeling. The other two papers deal in like manner, the one with the rule that in human life Progress depends upon Correcting the Premises, the other upon the Connection between the Organic and Inorganic Worlds.

The Expanse of Heaven: A Series of Essays on the Wonders of the Firmament. By R. A. PROCTOR, B.A. Henry S. King and Co.

It is not often that the scientific investigator is also a popular expositor. More commonly, he who works in the mine of truth has to entrust his ore to another, who mints it. Mr. Proctor is an accomplished and fascinating writer, as well as a learned astronomer. In this book he tells us all that astronomical science has discovered about the solar system and the starry firmament. We could have dispensed with the introduction, which is an imaginary dream, amounting simply to the relations and movements of an orrery. Mr. Proctor's public scarcely needs so elementary an exposition as this; if it does, he would have given the exposition more effectively in another form. Chapters are devoted severally to the sun, moon, and planets; to gravitation, comets, aerolites. The most romantic chapter, perhaps, is that concerning Biela's comet—'the lost comet'—which has in some way or other come to grief, inasmuch as it has thrice traversed its orbit, or should have done so, and has eluded the observation of the keenest searchers. Either it has been destroyed as a comet by collision, or it has dissipated so as to become invisible. Mr. Proctor calculates that some of the comets that enter the solar system may have been 8,000,000 of years on their journey. Another speculation is, how far a comet composed in the main of hydrogen may mix with the oxygen of our atmosphere until the proportion in which these gases are present in water is reached; an explosion followed by a deluge, and an atmosphere of pure nitrogen would be the result. The comfort is that if hydrogen comets were common this would probably have happened long ago; and yet Mr. Proctor thinks that the earth may at intervals have suffered from cometic matter in her journey through meteoric showers. Than the romance of astronomy, nothing is so exciting.

Essays and Addresses. By Professors and Lecturers of the Owens' College, Manchester. Published in Commemoration of the Opening of the New College Buildings, October 7th, 1873. Macmillan and Co.

Owens' College bids fair to be one of the most important of the academical institutions of the country. It is evoking from our wealthy and large-hearted Manchester merchants a liberality vying with that which pours affluence upon

American collegiate institutions. In 1851, Mr. John Owens, a Manchester merchant, put in trust a sum of money producing an annual income of nearly £4000, for founding a college, in which instruction should be given in all branches of knowledge included in university education. He precluded the trustees from expending any portion of the money in building purposes. A friend of Mr. Owens provided temporary accommodation. The success of the enterprise was so great that steps were taken for the erection of buildings; a grant from the Government was obtained, and new buildings, costing £100,000, have just been completed; and in other ways the foundation is attracting to itself the benefactions of the wealthy. Restrictions of a class kind, or of a religious character, are strictly prohibited; and the very highest education is aimed at. Professors have been obtained whose scientific acquirements and position are scarcely inferior to those of any in the kingdom. The names of the professors are authorities of the first class in their respective sciences. We predict a great future for Owens' College, not merely because of the wealth that will flow to it, but because of the laudable ambition for the highest and most advanced scholarship which so notably distinguishes the men of Lancashire. These essays are a noble manifesto of the professors. Clearly, they are put forth as specimens of their quality, and as a pledge of the breadth and fulness of their academic teaching. We are somewhat at a loss to know how to deal with them. We cannot, without invidiousness, single out one for special commendation or criticism; and a passing characterization of each, which is really the only practicable thing, is not of much value; especially as the papers are greatly diversified in character, and are perfectly independent in treatment. Passing over the general introductory address of the Duke of Devonshire, the President of the Institution, Principal Greenwood appropriately treats of 'Some Relations of Culture to Practical Life;' Professor Roscoe on 'Original Research as a Means of Education,' a happy conception very ably treated. Education, through the discoveries of others, is one thing—the only thing practicable to most men; but education carried beyond this, to further discoveries, is another and a higher thing. Professor Balfour Stewart treats of 'Solar Physics,' and Professor T. H. Core of the 'Distance of the Sun from the Earth,' the two contributing to tell us all that science knows about our great primary; and spectrum analysis has given them a great deal to tell that is comparatively new. Professor Boyd Dawkins sums up what geology can tell us about the history and constitution of the earth. Professor Osborne Reynolds preaches the great doctrine of steam, its achievements and possible applications. Professor Williamson brings the evidence supplied by primeval vegetation to bear upon theories of natural selection and evolution. He thinks that vegetable types have been much more persistent than animal ones, and reverently concludes that between the knowable and the unknowable there is a definite boundary line which men may ever seek to

pass, but will seek in vain. Professor Gamgee gives us an interesting dissertation on the relations of scientific discovery to practical medicine. Professor A. S. Wilkins applies philology to history; and, under its guidance, inquires what may be surmised concerning the prehistoric history of man. Professor Theodores gives us an interesting and curious account of the Talmud. Professor Breymann tells us about Provençal Poetry in Old and Modern Times. Professor Bryce expounds the Judicature Act of 1873; Professor Jevons treats of the Railways and the State; and takes up the attitude of protest against their assumption by the State assumed by this Review a couple of years ago; while Professor Wood discourses on means and expedients for preserving the peace of Europe. Theology is left to theological colleges, as it should be; but surely a place should have been found in the volume for metaphysical and moral philosophy, as also for the science of political economy, as distinguished from any special topic of it.

We do not pretend to the multifarious knowledge necessary to pronounce critical judgments upon these various topics; we may, however, safely say, concerning the essays as a whole, that they compass at a very high level a wide range of scholarship. Manifestly, unless aptness to teach is in inverse proportion to learning, if the students of Owens' College are a whit behind those of the national universities, the fault is not with the professors. We wish the highest success to this noble institution.

The Structure and Distribution of Coral Reefs.
By CHARLES DARWIN, M.A., F.R.S. With Three Plates. Second Edition. Revised. Smith, Elder, and Co.

The first edition of this work appeared thirty-two years ago, and Dr. Darwin finds but little to revise. He admits the force of some slight criticisms of Professor Dana, for instance, that in determining the distribution of coral reefs he had not laid sufficient weight on the mean temperature of the sea. Other criticisms of Professor Dana he traverses, and maintains against them the positions taken in his first edition. He does not, for instance, admit the degree in which volcanic action prevents the growth of coral reefs, which Professor Dana asserts, nor that volcanoes in a state of action are found within the areas of subsidence, but only within those of elevation. On the other hand, the late Professor Jukes, in speaking of the great barrier reefs of Australia, fully accepts Dr. Darwin's theory of their formation; while, against Professors Semper and Chamisso, he maintains that atolls or lagoon islands and barrier reefs were formed during a period of subsidence, wherein rocks sunk sufficiently low beneath the level of the ocean to become the foundation of coral structures.

The volume is a beautiful example of facts carefully collected, and of scientific conclusions cautiously reached. After minute descriptions of various coral formations, in which the atoll or lagoon reef, the barrier reef, and the fringing reef are discriminated, it is shown that the reef-constructing polypifers cannot live either

above the water or at a very great depth beneath its surface; the atoll and barrier reefs, therefore, from which enormous depths have been fathomed as from a perpendicular wall, must have some foundation of rock. The real difficulty is to account for this, the apparent necessity being that the coral formations all rest on mountain summits; which, although rising near the surface of the sea, in no one instance rise above it. Dr. Darwin maintains that there is but one theory possible, namely, the prolonged subsidence of the rocky foundations. On this theory, he thinks every difficulty vanishes. With fringing reefs, or reefs adhering to the land, there is no difficulty, as uprisings and subsidences of parts of the crust of the earth must be admitted. Our only difficulty in accepting Dr. Darwin's theory is the nearly uniform level of the rock foundations, and the wonderful balance of formation and waste that is preserved. He frankly says that direct proofs of subsidence are, from the nature of the case, impossible; as frankly, we admit, that we can urge no scientific objections to his theory. We commend his very charming book to all lovers of science.

Technical Training. By THOMAS TWINING (one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society of Arts). Being a Suggestive Sketch of a National System of Industrial Instruction, founded on a General Diffusion of Practical Science among the People. Macmillan and Co.

Mr. Twining has done an important public service. He has supplied a handbook for the technical education of our working classes. He assumes, or rather adduces evidence to prove, what can scarcely be gainsaid, that as a nation we are far behind some Continental nations—France and Germany especially—not only in the technical knowledge of our artisans, but even in the sense of its importance. The blind foolish feeling of ignorant patriotism, that our industrial supremacy was established, and could not be shaken, was stolidly invulnerable—the Society of Arts, preachers of art like Ruskin, Tyndall, and others, and testimony concerning the technical institutions of other countries notwithstanding—until 1867, when the reports of the workmen deputed by the Society of Arts to visit the French Universal Exhibition, at length made an impression, and shook ignorant confidence in our superiority. Since then anxious inquiries have been made, abundant evidence has been forthcoming, and the conviction has at length forced itself upon the minds of our artisans that unless our workmen qualify themselves by technical culture to stand on the level of Continental workmen, our commercial supremacy must very soon cease. Mr. Twining's book assumes this conviction, and proposes to instruct it, by bringing together whatever of valuable suggestion, books and pamphlets, and twenty-five years' special attention to the intellectual conditions of the working classes have furnished. In 1871 his counsel was sought respecting the establishment of a 'National University for Industrial and Technical Training,' and he acted as 'honorary re-

feree to a committee of gentlemen associated for that object.' This has not yet been realised, but the chief suggestions connected with it are embodied in this volume. Mr. Twining has also, by personal examination, acquainted himself with the chief technical institutions of the continent. He has been a member of the 'Labourers' Friend Society' and of the Council of the Society of Arts, and has published a great number of pamphlets and appeals on the subject. Thus qualified, he stands forth as an apostle of technical education, proposing plans, and making suggestions for imparting it. And all will admit that there is nothing that more vitally affects our material interests as a nation. He first demonstrates the necessity for a Central Technical University. Next he sketches the leading features of its organisation and functions. Then he adduces certain facts as its ground-work, and proceeds to detail the system of instruction to be imparted in it; concluding with an analysis of the educational requirements of our various industries, and with a recapitulation of requirements and suggestions.

We cannot follow him through this course of argument and advocacy. We most heartily agree with him, not only in his estimate of the importance of technical education, but in his general idea of a technical university, which might give impulse, and supply means of such education throughout the land. If institutions like those in Jermyn-street and Kensington are of national importance, by affording information and impulse, as well as supplying means for a more extended elementary knowledge of science and art, how much more such an institution as Mr. Twining recommends for the elementary instruction of workmen themselves. Ignorance of the laws of Nature is not only the disqualification of the skilled artisan, but also of the daily life of the working classes. Who can conceive the waste and misery that might be avoided if elementary science were taught even as elementary reading or arithmetic is? This indeed has been strongly recommended by Her Majesty's Commissioners on Scientific Instruction. They urge that the rudiments of physical science shall be included in the new educational code.

Mr. Twining next deals with the conditions of artisan apprenticeship, and urges educational provisions and tests. He proposes, under the leadership of the *Central Technical University*, certain supervision of apprenticeship, also examinations, certificates, and diplomas for matured apprentices and for journeymen. The proposed central university should include various branches of industry, such as mining and metallurgy, agriculture, maritime pursuits, pharmacy, building, &c.; and any existing institutions might, it is hoped, be induced to co-operate. Mr. Twining adduces, in support of his proposal, a large array of facts, conclusions, and suggestions, derived from his own extensive knowledge; which, however, are matters of detail as well as of feasibility. His suggestion is worthy of the greatest and most practical considerations. Such projects cannot anticipate public opinion; but we imagine that

public opinion has been formed, and that public feeling would hail with eagerness any practical proposal, either by Government or associated public men, to take immediate steps for realizing what is a palpable necessity.

POETRY, FICTION, AND BELLES LETTRES.

Livingstone in Africa. By the Hon. RODEN NOEL. Sampson Low, Marston and Co.

A prize has already been offered by one of the learned societies in Paris for the best poem on the career of Livingstone. Whether the suggestion was made by the appearance of this volume we do not know, but at all events Mr. Noel is quite exonerated from the slightest obligation to explain or vindicate his choice of theme. There is a grand romance about the lion-hearted traveller's life which gives an almost superhuman majesty to his great mission. Only a few of the world's heroes have received, in the reverence paid to their declining years or to their lifeless remains, the kind of honour which the after verdict of centuries affirms. Livingstone for several years has been a great name and power in the world, whenever men needed a synonym for what was self-sacrificing and courageous, or charged with what Goethe called 'demonic' force of character. The news of his supposed murder passed like a shadow of eclipse over the civilized world, expeditions were formed at vast expense to solve the mystery of his whereabouts or disprove the fact of his death. Great nations almost quarrelled as to whom the honour belonged of succouring him in his self-chosen career of explorer. The undying flame of hatred that he kindled against one form of the traffic in human flesh has led to treaties and arrangements likely to curb, if not to extinguish, the hideous curse. He died at his post, and then commenced a funeral ceremonial and procession, the grandest, or at least the longest, and perhaps *quâ* funeral, the most noteworthy of many centuries. Who can wonder that a poet of such tender human sympathies as Mr. Noel, possessing such admirable preparation from African and Oriental travel, endowed with such strong and passionate enthusiasm, to set the evil of the world right, and stamp the wrong with the true name it ought to bear, as he has displayed in the 'Red Flag' and other poems, should have chosen Livingstone as the theme of a lyrical epic? It is a grand conception to make Livingstone himself the chief, if not the only, interlocutor of the poem. The difficulty of the work was increased by such a daring attempt, but it disappears in the hands of Mr. Noel. He has seen Africa through the eyes of the great traveller, has made him tell the story of his own life in a sustained monologue, and interweave into the glittering narrative the most famous events, discoveries, incidents, and predictions that are associated with his name. He does ample justice to Livingstone's missionary zeal and Christian faith, to his scientific insight, to his domestic affection,

to the awe and love with which he was treated by the natives, to the fortitude with which he suffered, and the resistless force of will with which he battled with numberless foes at tremendous odds. But there is a lofty spring in the style and an elaboration in the music of these cantos which ought to give the poem a high place in modern poetry. It is perfectly lucid, except where a certain familiarity with African geography, or with the fauna and flora of the continent, is assumed, which sometimes leaves the ordinary reader in the jungle. However, Mr. Noel has boundless authority for a similar treatment of a great theme. We should gladly extract large portions of the first canto, which could only have been written by one whose own eyes could lend the colour of remembrance to his conception:—

'At thy most holy source, primeval Nile!
The Greek drank wisdom; yea, in solemn halls
Of Memphis, in columnar stone forests
Of mighty Karnac, rich with hieroglyph
And pictured symbol and weird shapes of gods.'

He describes the visitors of Egypt, from Moses to Plato, and down through the ages till—

'Here too the holiest child of mortal race
Rested in humblest guise with a pure mother.'

He touches on the Sphinx and—

'That colossal Memnon, while the Nile
Poured like another morning all around
Sweet life-engendering waters musical,—

And yet does not let us forget that it is through Livingstone's eyes rather than his own that he is gazing—

'Yea in thy fiery deserts, in the pomp
Of lurid evenings, crimson, warm, like blood
Thou dost devour thine own dark children
crouched
About thy cruel knees, dark Africa.'

Many a terrible proof is given of the horror of great darkness, the cruelty of African superstition, the bewildering strangeness and uniqueness of the woes and weakness which Livingstone set himself to bring to light and bring to nought, while as he says—

'Now in my far enchanted solitude
My long life moves before me like a dream.'

The lyric effusion with which Livingstone speaks of the death of his wife is noble, and grandly conceived:

'Upon a gentle, green acclivity,
Under a venerable Mowana tree,
Garlanded with odorous flowers,
Tranquil in the sunny hours,
She sleeps in glory!

'Orchards of mango basking in the south,
Northward fair palm, and many a noble growth
Of Oriental forest tree,
Where silvern Liambayee
Wanders in glory.

'On his fair bosom many a sunny isle,
Calm as herself within the heavenly smile;
Upon the marble of her grave
Mowana shadows gently wave.
Waver in glory.

'Pearly light clouds about his purple foam
High in the azure deep, and wide and warm
Mount Morambala soareth high,
Serene in mountain majesty,
Dreaming in glory.'

'Gleam forth, O marble, from the wilding
gloom!
Shine, O white cross, upon the martyr's tomb!
Faithful toil, long-suffering care,
Radiate over dark and fair,
Burst into glory!'

The line italicized reveals to us a touch of true genius and deep feeling, and the whole stanza is exquisitely musical.

One of the finest portions of the poem is the suggestion of the fellowship which Livingstone found in the hut they built him in which to die:—

'Behold a dim procession slowly moves
Athwart the gloom! phantasmal hero-forms,
Scarred as with thunder; marr'd, yet glorious;
Their pale brows aureoled with martyr-flame;
Lovers of men, sublime in suffering;
Patriots of all races and all time;
Christian confessors whom the world admires;
And some, whom none regarded, saving Heaven.
They are come to claim their brother; and the
First
Seems like unto the lowly Son of God.'

The Ballads and Songs of Scotland, in View of their Influence upon the Character of the People. By J. CLARK MURRAY, LL.D. Macmillan and Co.

Scottish Song: a Selection of the Choicest Lyrics of Scotland. Compiled and Arranged with Brief Notes. By MARY CARLYLE AITKEN. Macmillan and Co.

Dr. Murray's essay is very superior to the productions ordinarily published as prize essays; it is a scholarly and philosophical treatment of the Scottish ballad. Concerning the influence of the ballad in Scotland and upon Scottish life and character there can be no doubt; and its distinctive place in Scotland, as contrasted with almost any other European country, is a curious question. That the ballad is the product of the national character which it helps to mould is also true. Dr. Murray does not theorize too much. He leaves the undefined influence of the ballad to be inferred and felt from his critical and historical inquiry concerning its literature. This is in every way ably done.

Miss Aitken's volume is simply a selection, with a good glossary for the use of Southrons. Her arrangement is analogous to Dr. Murray's. Part I., 'Serious Love Songs;' or 'Songs of the Affections.' Part II., 'Social and Drinking Songs.' Part III., 'Amatory Songs,' into which a jovial or comic element enters. Part IV., 'Jacobite and War Songs.' She evidently has a thorough knowledge of the literature from which she selects, and a high appreciation of some of its less known beauties, for which she makes room in her small volume, by omitting some of the less eminent songs of Cunningham and Burns. Here, however, are more than a couple of hundred of the finest

songs in any language. It is significant that Burns, the latest of Scotland's great song writers, should be the most affluent and transcendent. As Carlyle says, 'We know not where to find one worthy of being second to him.'

Little Seal-skin, and other Poems. By E. KERRAY. G. Bell and Sons.

Surely there is a dearth of good original poetry by women just now. Christina Rossetti's, however, is good; so is this. There is a rare perfume, all its own, about the modest, unpretending little volume. It contains very genuine poetry; which, not being the song of an artificial bird, however costly and ingenious, nor a mere clever echo of some master-singer (of these two kinds of verse we have enough, and to spare), but a very fresh true-ringing woodland note, we could ill afford to lose—even though the sweet voice be not of the fullest, most varied, and most powerful. As might be expected from the gifted authoress of 'Wanderlin' and the 'Heroes of Asgard,' books children love, her most remarkable poems are fairy poems. 'Little Seal-skin,' 'Thora,' 'Asdisa,' in their naive wonder and fresh bloom of wayward innocent strangeness, might have floated to us one still day over the calm summer water from Scandinavia. And 'Snowbell' is something unique in its prismatic fancies of frailest delicacy, of gossamer grace; impalpable as a soap-bubble, yet withal very lovely. We have here the little rain-song, wind-song, sun-song, water-song, song of the mist—rain

'Sliding swift to the tips of the leaves,
Peering about with bright round eyes.'

'Christina Rossetti,' equally charming, is more definite than this; this reminds more of 'The Story Without an End.' The bird-song is deliciously described—supposed to be all about Snowbell.

'Snowbell, Snowbell!
Is she gone? Hush! Did you see her go?
No, but the robin did, or the thrush.
I? oh! no, no, no.
Snowbell, can nobody tell
Which way in the broad day?
Well, well, well!
So snatching the half notes
Out of each other's throats,
Before the sound can flow,
(Clamouring and stammering they go,
Just in the fashion of their dawn twilight chatter.'

We can hardly bring ourselves to find fault here; yet the dream, perhaps, is almost too void of coherence, exquisite though it be—and there are one or two false notes, like 'In July when the year has eaten deep into the breast of the summer.' Indeed, all through the volume we feel the wish that the authoress had a little more conscious and deliberate art—because she is original and whimsical; and at times she does not present to us her poetic diamond, so as to set it off before us to perfect advantage. She does not always take the pains to disentangle the skein of her thoughts and feel-

ings. Frequently, therefore, her metre sounds as if it were no measure at all—with no tune in it whatever. This, one feels, is probably deliberately peculiar; but the peculiarity is only occasionally successful. Occasionally, indeed, it is no doubt charming in its fine instinctive artlessness. Thus in the poem 'Days,' one little bit (Feb. 14th) is very happy and fresh, but for fancy and measure. But the most laboured and longest poem in the volume, 'A Correspondence,' we care for least, because there seems not to be enough art in the expression. It required a very high degree of perfection in the phrasing to make the argument (a very weighty one) clear and impressive; whereas it labours for adequate words, we think, as unsuccessfully as Mr. Browning in his most difficult pieces; we seldom like the rhythm of this poem.

Yet there is another class of poems which are, after all, perhaps quite as successful as the fairy ones. They are short pieces, full of profound and exquisite human feeling—often perfectly successful; poetry to be cherished and remembered. We hardly know a more touching and tuneful lyric than 'A Farewell.' 'Death' is really a noble piece.

'In some deep night, when all the world is still,
He will come in, come in through that low door,

Fearful and beautiful, and crowned and pale,
Asrael, God's Angel. He shall stand before
Me face to face, and say "Thou'rt mine, thou'rt mine!"

My sleeping nurse will start at the new sound
Of my rejoicing—see what I have found—
Thine for one moment, Messenger Divine,
Asrael, archangel, and that sudden thrill
Of triumph shall my troubled life fulfil.'

'Theodora' is most touching—would, however, there were more verbal music in it!

There is profound pathos in the fine lines 'Disenchanted;' and the 'Mill Stream' brings tears into one's eyes, like some of Buchanan's poetry, while the religious faith of 'Homeless' and 'Incomplete' is pure, and expressed with fine telling simplicity.

We hope the poetess will give us more of the same genuine moving strains; more also of her charming fancies.

Ninety-Three. By VICTOR HUGO. Translated by FRANK LEE BENEDICT and J. HAIN FRISWELL. Three Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

Only Victor Hugo could supply the epithets and similes necessary for a descriptive criticism of one of his works. It has the rush of a tempest, the shock of an earthquake, the intensity of a fire, the brilliancy of Coggia's comet. In its daring imagination, its elaborate antitheses, its clear cut epigram, its glittering magnificence, its superb rhodomontade, it as far transcends ordinary French writers as they transcend prosaic Englishmen. Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Dumas père, are sober in their rhetoric compared with Victor Hugo. We are projected from sentence to sentence as from a series of catapults. We are dazzled by perpetual Roman candles, and awed by the very daring of an imagination that apparently would not hesitate

to decorate a sentence, to point an epigram, or to intensify an antithesis, by collecting in a prism rays of glory from the eternal throne. Nothing is too high for Victor Hugo to aspire after; nothing is too sacred for him to touch. He has no sense of exaggeration. Every word is a superlative, every thought winged with fire. If we could only feel that it was merely a surprising exhibition of fireworks, or a grand transformation scene—if we could only be always in the enthusiasm of spectators of a magnificent procession, throwing up our caps, or feeling the thrilling sensation of the moment, we should do. But if we are compelled to test these delineations and descriptions by men and things, as they really are, we are perpetually perplexed or angered. We weary of being carried through the air, and long to stand on the solid earth. Our eyes ache with the magnifiers through which we look; we wish to gaze upon an honest, commonplace human face; we feel that truth and nature are outraged—that it is not honest sunshine that produces the brilliancy, but Bengal lights. Every character is either a caricature or a Colossus, every event is melodramatic, every sentiment is an exaggeration, so that penetrating and even profound truths become pestiferous or monstrous errors.

It would be easy, from almost every character, conversation, or description in this novel, to justify this criticism. There is scarcely a character in the book—even those which extort our admiration the most, Michelle Fléchard, Georgette, Gauvain, the Marquis de Lanthenac, Cimourdan—which is not thus distorted beyond all possibilities of nature. Victor Hugo is not ashamed to adduce a forged letter from Prigent, Pitt's agent in Vendée—'I beg you to spare no money. We hope that the assassinations will be committed with prudence; disguised priests and women are the persons most fit for this duty'—as a genuine representation of Pitt's policy; which is simply a worse assassination on Victor Hugo's part; for he knows, as well as any one, that it was apocryphal, read in the Convention by Barère for a purpose. It is simply impossible to trust a single estimate or assertion of the author, so as to take a measure of either character or opinion from it. The great genius of the work notwithstanding, this uniform sacrifice of truth, both of fact and of nature, to sensation, is to be deprecated and denounced by all who are jealous for the true mission of literature, whatever its forms. As specimens of the sheer rant into which the author's descriptions are lashed, we may mention the descriptions of the Convention at the opening of the second volume, and that of the gun broken loose in a storm on the corvette *Claymore*, at the beginning of the first. It is as impossible to furnish a specimen as to supply one of a London fog or an Alpine thunderstorm; but here is a sentence or two:

'We approach the grand summit. Behold the Convention!

'The gaze grows steady in presence of this height. Never has a more lofty spectacle appeared on the horizon of mankind.

* There is one Himalaya, and there is one Convention.

'The Convention is, perhaps, the culminating point of history.

'During its lifetime—for it lived—men did not quite understand what it was. It was precisely the grandeur which escaped its contemporaries; they were too much scared to be dazzled. . . . It was measured by the purblind—it, which needed to be looked at by eagles.

'To-day we see it in perspective, and it throws across the deep and distant heavens, against a background at once serene and tragic—the immense profile of the French Revolution.

'The 14th of July had delivered.

'The 10th of August had thundered.

'The 21st of September founded.

'The 21st of September was the equinox—was equilibrium.

'*Libra*—the balance. It was, according to the remark of Rousseau, that under this sign of equality and justice the Republic was proclaimed. A constellation heralded it.

'The Convention is the first avatar of the peoples.'

To which a sober Englishman, remembering not merely the free assemblies of Greece, and Rome, and Italy, and Switzerland, but those of his own Saxou forefathers, can simply say 'fudge!' The tumid description is as false in fact as it is in taste. It is the Convention painted by a Frenchman for the Surrey Gardens. It is an utter desecration of literary function and genius to fill page after page with such fustian. Does Victor Hugo himself believe it to be anything approaching historic truth?

The conversation of Marat, Danton, and Robespierre in the café is another instance; only more pardonable, inasmuch as the purpose is to condense into one scene the policy and feelings of these three representative leaders; but they talk in Hugoistic epigrams, and declare their sentiments in Napoleonic proclamations. So, again, with the long conversation in the dungeon between Lantenac and Gauvain. We are beginning to believe that Louis Napoleon was a philosopher, and that his Boulogne eagle was really the most politic way of appealing to Frenchmen—at any rate, to one side of their nature; for we would not forget their illustrious thinkers and philosophers in every department of literature and science. What must a man like Guizot have thought of such bombast? It is, we maintain, as false to the canons of dramatic fiction as to those of historical romance.

This, however, is only one aspect of Victor Hugo's work. We gladly recognise the genius that gleams in every page—sometimes in penetrating glimpses and wise maxims full of great and compressed thought; sometimes in descriptive touches possible only to the discerning eye and regal faculty of the true poet; sometimes in portraiture that gives the author rank with great masters of the drama; sometimes in passages of tenderness that draw tears; only, even in the latter—for example, in the opening scene in the forest, where the

soldiers discover the mother and her three children—and in the scene in the tower of La Tourgue, where the children are asleep, both of which are described with exquisite pathos—there is the melodramatic pose, which seems inseparable from French genius. Let us think how much more naturally not only Shakespeare, but Walter Scott, or Thackeray, or George Eliot, or even Bulwer Lytton would have drawn it.

The story is subordinate to the descriptive purpose of the work. It is a delineation, in selected scenes and characters, of the revolutionary passions and movements of Ninety-Three, chiefly of the war in Vendée; a thread of fictitious story runs through it, but is quite subordinate to it. It is done with wonderful power. The fiery whirlwind that swept over France is painted in colours vivid and lurid as itself, and with an imagination that would be imperial if its balance and self-control were equal to its intensity and daring. Up to the line of extravagance it excites our utmost admiration, and entrances us, as true genius always does; but the 'touch too much' spoils it, the exaggeration destroys the charm of truth, the glitter the charm of colour. The power of vivifying nature, and making it the embodiment of human passions and sympathies is sometimes wonderful—as, for instance, in the descriptions of the Breton forests, and of their influence in determining the character and warfare of a people (vol ii. book iv.), more especially in the contrast, p. 120, *et seq.* between the inspiration of the plains and the inspiration of the mountains.

The three great characters of the work—the Marquis de Lantenac, Gauvain, Cimourdain—are elaborately and powerfully drawn, and their relations to one another well imagined for the tragic incidents which are to be developed; the *dénouement* especially, which again is terrific in its melodramatic intensity. The curtain falls as in a tragedy. The head of Gauvain falling beneath the axe of the guillotine; Cimourdain, who has sentenced him, at the same moment shooting himself through the heart with a pistol.

The book could have been written only by a man of very great genius. It will be enjoyed by Frenchmen more than by Englishmen; but for those who can surrender themselves to a great sensation, and hold all critical considerations of truth and probability in abeyance, it will be a great treat.

Waldfried. By BERTHOLD AUERBACH. Translated from the German. Three Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

The announcement of a new novel by Auerbach, embodying a dramatic presentation of the wars of 1866 and 1870, excited a good deal of expectation. The fine poetic imagination of the author, and the dramatic grandeur and transcendent importance of the events to be delineated, not unnaturally led to the expectation of a great German classic as the result. This hope has not been fulfilled. The feeling is pure and refined, the sentiment noble, and the glow of patriotic enthusiasm is

that of a fine idealizing mind, but the work lacks strength and vivacity. It cannot be compared in vivid intensity with the analogous novels of MM. Erckmann-Chatrian. Herr Waldfried is a patriotic Austrian, coeval with the century, whose patrimonial estate is somewhere on the borders of Alsace, within sound of the cannon of Strasburg. His yearnings for German unity struggle against his fidelity to Austria, and his dislike of Prussia. He has several children—Ludwig, who is in America, Richard, who is a professor, and Ernst, the youngest, who, refusing to fight in the fratricidal war of 1866, deserts to France. There are daughters and daughters-in-law, as well as sons-in-law besides, in somewhat bewildering genealogy; and a sufficient variety of characters are introduced to represent the manifold views and passions which have agitated German social life during the last decade. Waldfried is a deputy first at Frankfort, in 1865, and afterwards at Berlin, in 1871, and on the whole is favourable to the Prussian unification of Germany. The sorrow and humiliation of the war of 1866 are swallowed up in the common German patriotism of that of 1870, and this transformation is exhibited with considerable skill. An interesting vein runs through the book in the American ideas and feelings of Ludwig. Its defect is lack of dramatic vividness; it only touches where it should portray, and portrays only in faint colours. It is suffused with somewhat of mist, although some of the characters are well conceived and etched, especially those of Martella and Annette. It is not equal to its theme, but it is a fine ideal representation of the new birth of Germany, in which all that is best in European feeling has hearty joy. Herr Auerbach may be assured that England has no feeling but that of rejoicing in the development of German unity, and that Prussia, which in common with all Europe, it does not very heartily like, seems to be softening down under the influence of prosperity.

Young Brown; or, the Law of Inheritance.

By the Author of 'The Member for Paris,' 'Men of the Second Empire.' Three Vols. Smith, Elder, and Co.

There is in 'Young Brown' a great deal of cleverness, but it is somewhat hard and wayward. It is not so much a vein of sarcasm that runs through it, as it is an atmosphere of sarcasm that suffuses it. The purpose of the writer is to expose the iniquities that may be committed by a duke, and the impunity given first to his profligacies by his rank, and next to his extravagance by the law of inheritance. Almost every part of the story is framed to exhibit these, and they are pursued relentlessly, almost savagely, from beginning to end. The plot of the story is moreover intolerably intricate, and we have failed to discover how it illustrates the law of inheritance. The author has written an elaborate preface to justify himself, first in presuming so to delineate the character of a duke, and next to make his story turn upon an act of thoughtless profligacy. To the world generally the preface is

superfluous. It has more than once seen just retribution fall even upon spendthrift and profligate dukes, not without a sorrow for their dishonour, but with a righteous satisfaction in which upright men of all classes have shared. The execration which, in the last generation, even a profligate monarch provoked, may well assure any writer of approbation in an honest denunciation of profligacy, nor need the author justify his treatment of such a theme by an appeal to Balzac and Fielding; if his argument means any thing, it is that genius justifies immoral writings. The most prudish moralist would have no wish to ignore so fruitful a source of misery and wrong as is here treated. All depends upon the purpose and sympathy and treatment of the writer. The present writer needs no apology so far. He has castigated vice in high places with a stern, bold hand, and has thereby done service to good morals, while his delineation of Lord Kinsgear and Lord Punjab may well redeem him from the reproach of class denunciation or prejudice. There is an air of wild improbability about the story, but this is not so much in its separate incidents as in their convenient concatenations. But how would novels get written if it were not for an unusual concurrence of fortunate coincidences? Perhaps the chief improbability is in the development and social elevation of 'Young Brown,' his belongings and opportunities being taken into account. There is, however, nothing in this very violent, or that transgresses the novelist's licence. The book is not very pleasant to read, but it is thoroughly wholesome, and we can only hope that a satire on the vices and anomalies of aristocratic life, and on official corruption generally, so clever and severe, and we must add, not even yet untimely, may do the moral service which the author desires.

Sylvia's Choice. By GEORGIANA M. CRAIK. Two Vols. Hurst and Blackett.

Sylvia is the daughter of an affluent banker, whose cold, selfish wife has married him for his wealth. He is suddenly reduced to poverty by the failure of the bank, and his wife and her father and mother combine to get rid of him by inducing him to emigrate to Queensland; his wife and their child Sylvia, a little girl of five years old, taking up their abode with Sir William Falkland, the father of the former. After a year or two the banished husband is heard of no more, and it is assumed that he is dead. Meanwhile Sylvia grows up to womanhood, and is sought in marriage by a heavy wealthy cousin, thirteen years older than herself. The heavy pressure of the hard and heartless worldliness of her family causes her to distrust her own judgment and instinct, and she accepts him. Accidentally she hears of her father, who is getting his living as a watchmaker in Brompton. She discovers him, to the dismay of her family and her lover, and at length makes her choice between him and them, by taking up her abode with him. Ultimately she accepts a kind of Bohemian literary man, a friend of her father, and apparently all communication with her mother's family ceases. This

is 'Sylvia's choice,' and it is justified by the skilful delineation of the hard worldliness of the one side, and the noble affections of the other. It is a well-written story, and, although in somewhat violent ways, it inculcates the much-needed lesson that

'Kind hearts are more than coronets,
And simple faith than Norman blood.'

Under Seal of Confession. By AVERIL BEAUMONT, Author of 'Thornicroft's Model.' Sampson Low and Co.

There is a distinct individuality in this novel, and a well-defined back-ground of North-East Northumbrian scenery, which show artistic conception and care. Philip Brereton, the son and heir of the great family of the locality, falls in love with Stella Vane, a poor clergyman's daughter. All would have gone right, the disparity of circumstances notwithstanding, but for the fussy folly of Stella's mother—who so schools her daughter about the desirableness of so good a match, and of the way to secure it, that she makes it impossible for Stella's delicate honour to accept him. She refuses him, and all the complications of the story come thereof:—Philip's self-deluded fancy for Alice Etheridge, and his engagement to her; and Rose's constancy to her secret love, John Westcourt's noble worship notwithstanding. The knot is cut by the tragic death of Alice, who falls from a ledge of a cliff into the sea, although a rejected lover, Richardson, might have saved her. This, his crime, he tells Stella's brother, a Roman Catholic priest, who, under seal of confession, is bound to respect it; afterwards he repeats his confession, when walking with him, and in spite of Father Vane's warning; whereupon the latter denounces him, and he is arrested, on the charge of murder, but is acquitted of the formal crime, although he bears the burden of the moral responsibility. The story is well told, and some of the characters are conceived with considerable originality; Dr. Etheridge, for example, the enthusiastic antiquary. The veins of shrewd worldly sense and of high religious sentiment, which are inwrought in the archæological texture of his character, are both artistic and true. The death of Alice is a little too melodramatic—especially when it is so manifestly convenient. The novel is written with a good deal of shrewd discrimination, and inlaid with sagacious remarks; but we are at a loss to understand how the hero, as yet unmarried, could lose his election on account of Mr. Gladstone's ecclesiastical measures five years ago, and attain to the honours of grandfatherhood, in the closing summary of the story.

Rough Hewn. By MRS. DAY, author of 'From Birth to Bridal.' Hurst and Blackett.

The psychological conception of Edmund Barton's development indicates close and shrewd study of human nature. A frank energetic nature, with strong muscular propensities, he is altogether out of place in the office of his uncle, the brewer; and begins to get among a loose set, led by Gilbert Drake, a veterinary surgeon—the mild and aimless rascal of the piece. He gambles a little, drinks a little, and flirts with

a little too much of serious purpose with a pretty housemaid. His acquaintance with Rose Lester reveals himself to himself. He forms a sudden resolution, and emigrates to Australia, where he meets a fine specimen of a Scotchman, keeps cattle, goes to the diggings, has a mild love attack, makes money, and shows that, although rough hewn, his character is close-grained, and can take a fine polish. He develops into a noble fellow, comes home to see his father before he dies, renews his acquaintance with Rose Lester, gets into an aristocratic circle, is the hero of a fire, carries all before him by his personal qualities, accepts the post of manager to a large timber business belonging to Rose's aunt—one of those eccentric, strong-willed, benevolent old aunts of whom we had a specimen in 'B: an Autobiography,' and who are rather in the ascendant just now—marries Rose, and becomes, first partner, then proprietor of the business.

The novel is strong, clever, and wholesome, and suggests the lesson that we need not despair of a fine nature. It is carefully written; its characters are well studied and discriminate. Altogether it may be recommended to novel readers, as likely both to interest them and to give a right impulse to moral feeling.

One Only. By E. C. P. Two Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

This story is written in a straightforward common sense way, with neither pretence nor false sentiment. It is a story of two generations; twenty-five years elapse, and the drama shifts from the first actors to their children. The heroine Rose, the daughter of a Major Camden, residing in a country town, captivates first John Atherley, the young banker, a strong, generous, and noble nature; next, Charles Fenwick, his friend, a man older in years, and in his way good and generous, but in habits and qualities almost opposite to those of John; thirdly, Henry Dupuis, of whom we see and hear nothing save that he comes to Aldenham fishing, and is studying for the Church at Oxford. She refuses John Atherley, tacitly accepts the wealthy Charles Fenwick, and then elopes with the penniless Henry Dupuis. She is a psychological puzzle; we cannot understand why she should go so far with Fenwick, when clearly she intended to marry Dupuis. We think, too, that flirt as she was, it is false in psychology to represent her as meanly borrowing money of the former to enable her elopement with the latter. For the rest the delineations of Fenwick's good, generous, faithful, prosy old fogeyness, and of his mother and brother are admirable; the portrait-painting, indeed, indicates keen observation of character and a skilful-pencil in its delineation. Dupuis becomes a poor soured parson. Twenty-five years after, Rose is again introduced to us—a washed out, disappointed woman, but greatly improved in character—adversity has sobered and sweetened her; she is the mother of three sons, one of whom, Harry, is a fine, generous, self-reliant lad, who goes to Aldenham to ask employment of John Atherley. He is received with that softening of forgive-

ness which years bring, does his duty as a bank clerk, makes the acquaintance of valetudinarian Charles Fenwick, who cherishes even yet the memory of his mother, wins his confidence and affection, and falls in love with Meg, John Atherley's daughter. His mother dies. All Charles Fenwick's relatives are dead; and when he himself dies, it is found that he has made his lost Rose's son heir to all his property—some £18,000 a year. The story is well written, and is good and wholesome.

Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, and other Essays.

By DAVID MASSON, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in the University of Edinburgh. Macmillan and Co.

Though there is generally much that is worthy of note in Professor Masson's writing, we are not quite sure that he has done wisely in republishing his early essay on Wordsworth, which dates from 1850. The simplest of poets in respect of his themes, Wordsworth was, perhaps unconsciously, one of the subtlest of poets in his mode of treating them; and, in spite of appearances, he is one of the hardest of poets to criticise, simply because there is no approach to him save by the access of full sympathy. It was here that Jeffrey, and the critics whom he represents, so entirely failed; and though Professor Masson cannot be classed with them, his mode of approach is, after all, philosophic and not sympathetic. He lays down laws about poetry; he rather inclines to demonstrate closely, though seldom dryly, what it *ought* to be, and we find ourselves continually asking whether, after all, the very *raison d'être* of the true poet is that he does not acknowledge these critical dicta, or have any regard to them in his working. But nothing could be better than the slight biographical sketches of the men which are thrown into these essays. Mr. Masson—and it is the highest praise we could give—is bright and interesting and graceful always, when he comes to deal with character, and he arranges his facts with wonderful illustrative tact. Especially is this so in the case of the article on Keats, which, besides, has a touch of the enthusiasm we rather desiderate in the first essay, laboured as it is. The essay on Shelley, too, has some hint of this; but we cannot regard Professor Masson's distinction between 'objective' and 'subjective' poets as final, when he says that the one 'preaches when he sings,' and the other does not. The essay, 'Theories of Poetry,' is written with power and knowledge, and we have read it with a certain unsatisfactory pleasure. In our view, perhaps naturally, the best part of the volume is the article with which it closes, on 'Prose and Verse,' based on the works of Thomas De Quincey, on whom we have some morsels of most incisive and intelligent criticism. Mr. Masson somehow rises up more naturally to the level of Mr. De Quincey's imaginative prose than he does to the level of Wordsworth's wonderfully reserved yet often really impassioned verse. Some elements contributed to English literature by Scotland Mr. Masson has missed; but these we cannot now pause to signalise. This volume has much in it that is instructive, elevating,

and enjoyable—more than can be said of most books of reprinted essays; and when we have said this, do we not say what most writers, after all, crave to have said of their writings?

History of French Literature adapted from the French of M. Demogeot. By CHRISTIANA BRIDGE. Rivingtons.

This volume, which is one of a series embracing a variety of subjects, historical and literary, will doubtless prove welcome to many English readers. In a clear, condensed, and yet comprehensive form, it treats of French literature from the earliest times down to the present. Commencing with the sixth century and glancing at the Middle Ages, the period of the Renaissance, and the succeeding periods, it closes with the Revolution of 1880. Throughout, the development and the varying phases of the literature of France are presented with all the fulness and detail compatible with the character and design of a handbook. Early Gaulish culture, Druidical legends and theology, monasticism, the rise of the language of romance, the troubadours, the influence of Italy on French taste, and the effect of Roman jurisprudence, philosophy, and oratory, are all dealt with in a manner that will be found satisfactory. Nor less interesting will the reader find the numerous notices of the distinguished orators, philosophers, poets, and literary men contained in the volume. As is intimated on the title-page, the volume is adapted from the French of M. Demogeot, but the rendering is in all respects worthy of the original. It is clear, idiomatic, and flowing, possessing all the characteristics of good English composition. Its perusal will furnish abundant evidence of the richness and variety of French literature, of which it is a good and sufficient handbook.

Philosophers and Fools. By JULIA DUHRING. Trübner and Co.

In the preface of this work the authoress says that it was written with the object of inducing others to enter upon the study of man, believing, as she does, that this is one of the noblest of human pursuits. Accordingly, the book consists of nine chapters, each of which is a study of some ethical, philosophical, or social question. The first chapter, the heading of which furnishes the title of the book, may be taken as a sample of the rest. Commencing with a satirical quotation from Douglas Jerrold on modern social life, it proceeds to lay down the canon that all men may be broadly classed either as philosophers or fools, according to the ends and modes of their lives; and then goes on to consider how we ourselves may become worthy to be classed as true philosophers. After this there follows a chapter entitled, 'Finding our Level,' which treats of how men may find that field for their energy which suits their special characters and capacities. These two and the remaining seven chapters are written from a standpoint of high morality and pure reason; they breathe throughout a spirit of pure stoicism. There is, however, a lack of human sympathy, which renders the dissertations chilling, while the enormous influence of religion on our social life, although not actu-

ally excluded, is yet hardly adverted to. The authoress is fond of quoting passages from great writers and thinkers relating to the subject in hand, which lends an extraneous interest, and gives the work the character of a collection of lay sermons on texts taken from standard authors. Whatever Americans may be capable of in the way of hard reading, few English readers will, we fancy, be found to read and thoroughly digest this volume, as the want of concreteness, and the uniform flow of abstruse and somewhat vague thought renders it essentially stiff reading; though, at the same time, a careful perusal will discover passages of fine sentiment and real thought.

Under the Limes. By the Author of 'Christina North.' Two Vols. Macmillan and Co.

The author of 'Christina North' has again furnished us with a study of domestic life. 'Still Life' would be a more accurate phrase. There is scarcely a vestige of action (beyond one game of croquet) in this quiet drama, and though a confused mention of certain consanguinities occurs, there are no true relationships. A household consists of a tranquil nothingly old lady, who is a lay figure in the story, and a group of her great grandchildren. The father and mother of these children are in India; who their four grand-parents were does not appear. Their aunt, Rose Anstie, is the sister of the said absent father, and is taking care of the children. A Mrs. Carey is a third element of the story, who is the daughter of the old lady and the aunt of Rose. She has lost her husband, and has brought home with her a step-son, Sir Lawrence Carey, about Rose's age, who, for the greater part of the volumes, loiters and lolls 'Under the Limes' in the most exquisite *inaction*, apparently without the power of doing or designing anything. Then the father and mother of Etta Laugel seem to sustain no genuine relationship either to each other or to her. Sebastian Viner, the artist who first wins Rose Anstie's heart, and then almost breaks it by nearly winning Etta's hand, is an isolated being, who realizes at last, after the demolition of his first ideal, that there is much more real joy to be found with the home-spun self-sacrificing goodness of Rose than with the pretty face and shallow nature of Etta. Still the characters of the lazy, listless, good-natured Lawrence, whom it is a great pity to kill just when he begins to develop; the passionate worship rendered by Viner to his own ideal before he was disenchanted; the analysis of Rose's self-communing, apparently placid nature; the dear silly chatty old maids, who trot in and out, with one silk dress and one idea between them; Mrs. Carey's fussiness, and Mrs. Laugel's officious vulgarity, are all admirably drawn, and reveal much self-repression on the part of the authoress. There is an inevitable parson of the hard-working ritualistic type, who is vehement in his raid against poverty, and who preaches a fair, though rapid, collection sermon, and to the astonishment of everybody obtains one hundred pounds for his poor parishioners. We will not now discuss whether

the self-hiding faculty which in the storm and swoop of passion appears awfully calm and provokingly unembarrassed, which can look you full in the face and give no sign of other than self-composure when all the deep is broken up within, is, after all, the paragon of excellence and truth; whether the shallower nature which cannot conceal its lack of sympathy and discernment has not a virtue of truth which is perverted in the higher personality. Perhaps the author of 'Under the Limes' has meant to suggest the inquiry. At all events, she has written a quiet, pleasant story.

Dare to Do Right. Three Tales. By JULIA A. MATHEWS, Author of 'The Golden Ladder Series,' 'Drayton Hall Stories,' &c. (James Nisbet and Co.) The tone and principles of the three stories contained in this volume are admirable. In the first the moulding and elevating power of trust is shown; in the second the influence of evil companionship and the result of a penitent confession of wrong-doing are very happily illustrated; and in the third the remarkable effect on life and character produced by a little child is strikingly wrought out.—*Heart's-Ease in the Family.* By EMMA JANE WORBOISE, Author of 'Husbands and Wives,' 'Nobly Born,' &c. (James Clarke and Co.) This is one of the best stories of this prolific writer. It well illustrates the defectiveness of education without religion, and the marvellous effects of Christianity, as exhibited in the case of a child, leading to the transformation of a whole family.—*Emilia's Inheritance.* By EMMA JANE WORBOISE, Author of 'Husbands and Wives,' 'The House of Bondage,' &c. (James Clarke and Co.) Like all the stories of this author, 'Emilia's Inheritance' merits perusal. It is perhaps a little wire-drawn and tedious, but it conveys useful lessons.—*Drucie's Own Story.* By AGNES GIBBERNE, Author of 'The Curate's Home,' 'Not Forsaken,' &c. (Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.) The subject of this story tells her own tale, and does it well and beautifully. The development of her character and the influence it exerts on those with whom she associates are charmingly told; nor less admirably is the duty of personal effort and outspokenness on the subject of religion presented.—*Bessie Gordon's Story.* By MAGGIE SYMINGTON, Author of 'The Snow Queen,' 'Nessie's Hero,' &c. (James Clarke and Co.) Miss Symington always writes well. Her former stories evinced taste, discrimination, and descriptive power, and in this there is no falling off. The plot of the story is well conceived, and the delineation of character evinces keenness and accuracy of insight.—*Recollections of the Life of Countess Matilda von der Roethe Volmerslein.* By her DAUGHTER. Translated from the German. With an Introduction by the Bishop of Bath and Wells. (Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.) This is certainly one of the most remarkable biographies we have ever met with. It exhibits a devotedness and zeal in the cause of Christian beneficence, com-

bined with a modesty and self-denial, rarely seen. It illustrates the power of Christianity in a manner that cannot fail to call forth very great admiration. It is not the impulse of enthusiasm, but the manifestation of calm, uniform, heaven-descended principle.—*Leaves from Elin.* By MARIANNE FARNINGHAM. (James Clarke and Co.) The author has done well to collect these sweet and graceful effusions. They are far above the run of ordinary attempts at verse. They are not only flowing and musical in structure, but are vital with the spirit of exquisite sentiment. To many readers they will be welcome, not only on sunny summer days, but by the fireside on the gloomy days of winter.—*Soul Echoes; or, Reflected Influence.* By SARBON, Author of 'Blind Olive; or, Dr. Grenvill's Infatuation.' (S. W. Partridge.) The story is very well told, and the design is of a high character. Perhaps the ideal of the more prominent persons introduced is too brightly coloured, and the style a little strained.—*The Works of Alfred Tennyson: English Idylls and other Poems.* (Henry S. King and Co.) The second volume of Messrs. King's elegant and very convenient cabinet edition of Tennyson's Poems, for the pocket or portmanteau; about which all that needs be said is, that it is for its purpose the best edition of the laureate's works.—*The Shakespeare Argosy*; containing most of the wealth of Shakespeare's wisdom and wit, alphabetically arranged and classified. By Captain A. F. P. HARCOURT. (Henry S. King and Co.) Shakespeare can be presented in no form that is not welcome. Under alphabetical headings Captain Harcourt arranges a good-sized volume of illustrative quotations, forming a kind of common-place book of the great dramatist. Everything, of course, depends upon the judgment displayed. Captain Harcourt has been judicious, avoiding triviality on the one hand, and giving easy reference to important sentiments on the other. As always, a fresh suggestion is made of Shakespeare's inexhaustible wealth and profound wisdom.—*Hymns for all Seasons.* By HENRY T. HEYWOOD, B.A. (Hodder and Stoughton.) Our commendation of Mr. Heywood's hymns must be negative. They violate no proprieties of composition and offend no delicacies of religious feeling. They are smooth, devotional, and orthodox, but they are commonplace. No special felicities of thought or expression elevate the rhyming into poetry, the devotional musing into song. They do not penetrate deeply, or surprise to enjoyment, or touch to deep feeling. Luther set the decalogue to music, but we suspect the result was hardly poetry, and yet it might be sung. We have lighted upon no hymn that we should either refuse or much care to sing.—*Hymns and Sacred Lyrics.* By GODFREY THRING, B.A. (Henry S. King and Co.) The place which many of Mr. Thring's hymns has won in the principal hymnals of the day, not in those of his own church only, but also in those of the Free Churches, is a sufficient attestation of their merit. It is not easy to define a good hymn. Many lyrics, exquisite in their poetry,

are defective as hymns; while many whose poetical quality is only moderate have been eagerly accepted as precious expressions for devotional feeling. Mr. Thring's hymns are smooth in their poetical form, and have that instinctive touch which liberates religious feeling, as well as tenderness of sympathy and beauty of expression for the embodiment of it. They fall short of the sublime conceptions, the heavenward impulses, and the strong, reverent passion, which place Watts and Wesley incomparably above all our hymn writers, and which make David's psalms so transcendent; but many of the hymns are very sweet and will live. Perhaps the most popular and the best is 'Saviour, blessed Saviour.' It is really a fine hymn, with the true lyrical and devotional feeling, and with a fine development of idea. The Church Consecration Hymn also, although echoing a little too much Dr. Bonar's fine litany, is nobly conceived.—*Hymns and other Verses.* By WILLIAM BRIGHT, D.D. Second Edition. Enlarged. (Rivingtons.) The new edition of Dr. Bright's hymns contains twenty additional compositions. One recoils from an argument to prove the eternity of suffering, in the shape of a hymn. Nor do we like to see Antichrist abused in verse. Themes like these demand grave and exact arguments. Dr. Bright rises much higher when noble aspirations and sympathies find expression; of course, the sacramental hymns are full of transubstantiation. We wish that Dr. Bright had indicated the hymns that are translations, and their authorship. Some of his compositions are sweet and devotional, and deserve a place in the hymnals of the Church.—*Hymns and Verses.* Original and Translated. By HENRY DOWNTON, M.A. (Henry S. King and Co.) Mr. Downton has gathered together hymns, translations, sonnets, &c., which have appeared in various periodicals, and won favour therein. Among them appear several translations from the French of Vinet, Oberlin, Adolphe Monod, D'Aubigné, and others. Like hosts of others, Mr. Downton writes hymns with which no fault can be found, and which can be sung with edification; but which do not live in the memory and heart through any distinctive qualities.—*Home Songs for Quiet Hours.* Edited by the Rev. R. H. BAYNES, M.A. (Henry S. King and Co.) Mr. Baynes has added another to the four or five anthologies of English verse which he has culled. He has drawn the contents of this elegant little volume of devotional poetry from diversified sources. Many of them are new to us; one or two by Sarah Doudney, and one or two of the editor's, are very sweet. It is a very choice little volume.—*Wayside Wells; or, Thoughts from Deepdale.* By ALEXANDER LAMONT. (Hodder and Stoughton.) There is a great charm of simple beauty and tender dainty thought about these papers. They are the musings of a recluse about all sorts of things—books, twilights, sunsets, faded leaves, &c., with a considerable degree of intellectual strength and freshness. They combine a refinement and beauty of expression that could come only from a beautiful soul—meditative,

imaginative, and pure—filtering all rough and coarse things through a sympathetic and idealizing feeling. The *Old Lieutenant's Story* is full of beautiful pathos, tenderly conceived, and artistically expressed. It is a very choice little volume.—*Flood, Field, and Forest*. By GEORGE ROOPER. Fourth Edition. (W. Isbister and Co.) A book about natural history and field sports that will be very popular with boys. In the autobiographies of a salmon and a fox we are told about their habits, experiences, and perils. Another chapter tells us about birds' nesting, rat catching, badger hunting, fen shooting, &c., to which is appended an amusing account of a run after a bagfox. It is a book worthy of Harry Hieover.—*Little Folks: a Magazine for the Young*. Vol. VII. (Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.) Little things play the greatest part in life, and, chief of all, the little things that minister to little folk. Nothing can be more important than the character for wisdom and goodness of the literature of the nursery, which gives the first mould and tone to the intellect and heart. Of all the affluent provision for this, no magazine excels 'Little Folks' in its wise simplicity, its gracious geniality, and the skilful variety and excellence of matter and illustration, grave and gay, with which it interests its readers. No magazine of the month is anticipated more eagerly, or read with more avidity.—*W. Wallbridge's Miscellanies*. A New Edition. (Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.) A collection of short papers, essays, tales, sketches, &c., published in different volumes some thirty years ago, then collected into a single volume in 1851, of which the present is a revised edition. No clue to the author is given. It is a book of pleasant trifles; perhaps the best things in it are some of the definitions of the 'Council of Four, e.g., Marriage—Love in a Prison; Bachelor—Adam with a choice of Eves; Metaphysics—Feeling for a Science in the Dark; Paper—A Poor Flat Much Put Upon; Monk—A Man who Commits Himself to Prison for being Religious; Sleep—Easy Lessons in Death; Wine—Bottled Fever; Music—A Soul Seeking a Body.—*Seven Years of a Life*. (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.) The great merit of this little story is the quiet truth, and, we must add, the pure English with which it is written. It is the history of a Scotch family at Glencraig, and of the vicissitudes which death and the tender passion bring. The characters are drawn with a good deal of subtle and delicate truth, as, for example, that of Guy, in which the partial defects of a true and noble heart, and the degree of unfaithfulness possible to it, are skilfully delineated. According to what seems to be the matrimonial canon of modern novels, the heroine, Annie, eventually marries a man some fifteen or twenty years older than herself. She is a true womanly woman, of whom, perhaps, Guy was hardly worthy, but whose ultimate choice, Edward St. John, does not interest us much. Misanthropy may have the kind of development represented, but we are not sure. At any rate, we should like a canon to be laid down in the Court of Love,

that in no novel shall a greater disparity between husband and wife than, say ten years, be admissible.

THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, AND PHILOLOGY.

Forgiveness and Law, grounded in Principles interpreted by Human Analogies. By HERACE BUSHNELL, D.D. Hodder and Stoughton.

We must first protest with the utmost resentment against the barbarous style in which Dr. Bushnell has written this volume. Save for the vitality which he has put into it, it would be utterly unreadable. Uncouth verbalizations, abominable idioms—rightly or wrongly attributed by Englishmen partly to the unconventional daring of American democratic ideas in literature, partly to defective literary discipline, and partly to a defective sense of both rhythm and reverence—are here exaggerated into harsh, rugged sentences, arbitrary in construction, and consisting of the most outrageous words, enough to break one's teeth. We scarcely remember a more difficult and ex-cruciating literary task than the perusal of this volume has been. Such phrases as 'a good square paying-in of 'pains,' 'the hard-pan basis of justice,' 'the overhang of his will,' and scores of other colloquialisms, vulgarities, and outrageous adjectives—as bad or worse—which we meet with in the perusal of the volume, are an offence against literature, and utterly unnecessary for either lucidity or force. Hooker, Bacon, Bishop Butler, and others, have had as severe a metaphysical thesis to expound as Dr. Bushnell imagines to have fallen to his lot; but they did not think it necessary to torture language and coin expletives and adjectives as he has done. Only interest in the theme that he discusses and respect for Dr. Bushnell's thorough honesty and independence as a thinker, and for his heart of genuine love and fealty to Christ, could have carried us through the volume. We put emphasis upon this, not only in the interests of literature, but of Dr. Bushnell himself; for he thereby places his argument at a great disadvantage.

The book is a revision, if not a recantation, and Dr. Bushnell withdraws Parts III. and IV. of his volume—on 'The Vicarious Sacrifice'—with a view, at a future time, of recasting and remoulding the residuary portion with this new section. The portion thus substituted is that which treats of the question or dogma of the Atonement. Dr. Bushnell says that he has been constrained to this revision by 'the unexpected arrival of fresh light;' and, with admirable candour, that 'there is no reason personal to myself why I should be fastened to my own small measures when larger measures are given me.' 'I do not pretend to say that I have these amendments by any private revelation; I only know that I have them as being found by them, and not as having found them myself. Perhaps our new seeing in such matters is, at times, but our mood; and yet, perhaps,

our mood may be our gift of seeing.' 'It has to me the nature of an occurrence rather than of a discovery; for how can that be called a discovery which the Master's words have been plainly teaching for eighteen hundred years, and which we, His disciples, have, by some unaccountable dulness, missed, *even down to a particular day of accident, within the last six months.*' All most admirable, only these ingenuous acknowledgments of progressive light should, we think, have softened some of Dr. Bushnell's expressions towards those who, in other moods, perhaps like his own earlier ones, see the work of Christ differently. Unless Dr. Bushnell claims to be God's special, not to say infallible, prophet to the theologians of the entire Christian Church until 'within the last six months,' his new teaching should surely be propounded diffidently, and with the consciousness that his mood and vision are not necessarily the truer because they are the later. There is always a *primâ facie* presumption against a new prophet, whose teachings are out of the line of normal development, and amount to a reversal of the teachings of those who have preceded him. All true advance must be in the lines of former progress. And when a man professes to have made a discovery in a cardinal doctrine of Christianity, which all the earnest and gifted thinkers of the Church have altogether missed, they will not be irreverent worldlings only who class him with the ingenious fanatics of all sciences and of all ages, who think it their mission to 'make all things new.' That in every age theological science does advance is necessarily true. It would not only be an anomaly, it would be the absolute condemnation of theology if it did not. There has scarcely been a generation in which some modification of the forms of great fundamental dogmas has not been witnessed; the substance remaining the same, but the accidental modes of holding it changing. This has especially been the case with the Atonement. While, in its great fundamental idea of expiation or sacrifice for sins, it has been one of the most immutable and fundamental beliefs of Christian theology and life, the scientific conception of it has undergone constant changes, from the simple historic apprehensions of the early Church to the forensic '*satisfactio*' of Anselm; and thence through various modifications of the latter—Lutheran, Calvinistic, Tridentine, Arminian, &c.—to the broader moral conceptions of our own day. Most theologians of upwards of fifty years of age must be conscious of the change which has passed upon the scientific conceptions of their own student life. And yet, through all these changes, which all schools of thought have alike experienced, the great fundamental principle upon which practical dependence for acceptance with God has rested has been vitally held; it has been science only, not religious life, which has experienced the change. Those who, like Dr. Bushnell, Dr. Young, the late Mr. Maurice, and some Unitarian divines, have held the 'moral view,' have hitherto been a minority of scientific theologians, so small as not to affect this general characterization.

The discovery which has modified Dr. Bushnell's moral theory of the Atonement, and led to the reconstruction of this part of his former book is, that the essential condition of true forgiveness, on the part of the forgiver, is, that he must incur cost and endure pain in order to 'new temper and liquefy the reluctant nature. And this making cost will be his propitiation of himself.' The phrase is somewhat ambiguous. It seems to mean that such cost and endurance will have a propitiating effect upon the forgiver's own feeling, and will make his volition and word of forgiveness a deep, thorough, and tender sympathy. 'Our moral pathologies and those of God make faithful answer to each other, and He is brought so close to us that almost anything that occurs in the workings or exigencies of our moral instincts may even be expected in His.' The only other possible meaning is the ordinary moral theory, that what God does or suffers in order to save men propitiates them, and exercises upon them a constraining, subduing, moral influence.

Both theories are inversions of the ordinary idea of propitiation. In the latter, God does something that propitiates man, in the former God first propitiates Himself, produces in Himself by cost and suffering a genuine and thorough forgiving sympathy, which, when produced, becomes the effective moral influence which propitiates men. The latter is Dr. Bushnell's new discovery, which he argues out at length. 'True forgiveness,' he tells us, in characteristic phraseology, 'that which forgives as God in Christ hath forgiven, is no such letting up simply of revenge against the wrong-doer as was first described, no shove of dismissal, no dumb turning of the back. Neither is it any mere setting of the will to do a deed of love, as we often discover in really good men—no drumming of the hard sentiments and revulsions and moral condemnations to sleep. Perhaps they were not meant to go to sleep, but to stay by rather in such welcome as the new cast of a right propitiation will suffer.'

Two things are necessary; 'first, such a sympathy with the wrong-doing party as virtually takes his nature; and, secondly, a making cost in that nature by suffering, or expense, or painstaking sacrifice, or labour.' 'When this is done thoroughly enough to configure and new-tone the forgiving party as well as the forgiven, he is so far become himself a reconciled or propitiated man, as truly as the other is become a forgiven or restored man.'

This state of 'tenderly appreciative sympathy' Dr. Bushnell represents God as attaining by overcoming in His own feeling natural and necessary disgusts with sin and sinners. 'The propitiation itself proceeds from His love, and is only designed to work on other *unreducible sentiments that hinder His love in forgiveness it might otherwise bestow.* Our own love, as we saw, might be sufficient if it were not hindered by certain collateral obstructive sentiments, and God is in this moral analogy with us. He is put in arms against wrong-doers, just as we are by His moral disgusts, displeasures, abhorrences, indignations, and, what is more than

all, by His offended holiness ; and, by force of these partly recalcitrant sentiments, He is so far shut back in the sympathies of His love that He can nerve Himself to the severities of government so long as such severities are wanted.' Again, 'the propitiation only takes away out of range certain subordinate and partly casual sentiments that wait on God's absolute principles and purposes, to act as displeasures and revulsions may in the toning of His legal discipline, and act no longer when their dominating force may properly cease.'

The incarnation and death of Christ are but one instance or manifestation of this. 'The transactional matter of Christ's life and death is a specimen chapter, so to speak, of the infinite book that records the eternal going on of God's blessed nature within. Being made in His image, we are able to see His moral disposition—always forging their forgivenesses under the reactions of endurance and sacrifice—as we do ours. And this is the eternal story of which Christ shows us but a single leaf.' So that all the purpose, significance, and efficacy of Christ's mediatorial work consist in the more vivid manifestation of these self-propitiating processes in the eternal nature of God. 'The everlasting God, in a particular year of the calendar—viz., the year of Christ's death, was gained *representatively* to new dispositions, and became, in some new sense a Saviour. . . . The great salvation was not, in this view, wrought by the new composure of God in that particular year, but it was set forth as an everlasting new composure (*sic*) so to speak, made evident in that year's doings.' Holding that propitiation and expiation are morally incompatible ideas (another discovery which will be new to theologians), Dr. Bushnell holds that one or other 'must go down,' and there is, he says, no room left to doubt which it must be.

Against all theories of expiation or propitiation, of either personal feeling in God or of principles of eternal right in His law, Dr. Bushnell maintains these two theses—first, that the only means of salvation, necessary or provided, is a moral influence operating upon the dispositions of the sinner ; and next, that this moral influence is constituted by a process of self-propitiation which goes on in the feelings of the Divine nature ; and he labors hard, and we must say very desperately, to bring into conformity with these notions both the sacrificial language of Scripture, the great principles of right and wrong, and the analogies of human experience. We do not here reargue the theory of the Atonement ; it is, of course, far too vast a theme for the present notice, and in the affirmation of it the true and the false are so subtly blended that summary judgments are open to no end of exceptions. The great principles involved in the theory, as antagonistic to that of expiatory atonement, have been abundantly discussed since the publication of Dr. Bushnell's book on 'The Vicarious Sacrifice,' and clearly the radical objections to the moral theory have been felt by him to have so much of cogency that he has found it necessary to discover some extenuation of them ; we do not think very successfully. His new

theory is burdened with the insuperable objections of the old, and with additional anthropomorphic assumptions that are equally inadmissible ; and that in the name of the best elements of human nature, identify to a perilous extent the perfect nature of God, with the weaknesses, hesitations, and mutabilities of our own imperfect nature. While, in our humble judgment, they are a simple travesty of the teachings of Scripture on this vital subject as well as a contradiction to the deepest instincts of humanity in every age, in its most enlightened and holy yearnings. The exegesis of Scripture is meagre, superficial, and wayward in the extreme. Dr. Bushnell has great penetration and force as a thinker, but he has equal waywardness ; and it is not often that the meanings of Scripture are so glaringly made to bend to a preconceived theory.

We do not, for the reason already stated, argue either part of this composite theory. With nine-tenths of what Dr. Bushnell says about the moral influences of God's forgiveness and of Christ's death we perfectly agree. We join issue with him only upon the tenth point—the inferential argument from the whole—viz., that because of this great moral constraining power, Christ's death has no expiatory character, whereas, in our judgment, it is the expiatory element which is the extreme moral power. We accept all his affirmations of the one, we repudiate only his denial of the other ; while, concerning the propitiatory process, which he describes as going on in the Divine nature, we must reject it as fanciful and exaggerated. If we could conceive it as possible in absolute perfection, we might fairly ask why, if certain moral coercions exercised upon himself have a propitiating influence upon his feelings, the idea of a like propitiating influence of the self-sacrifice of Christ should be so impossible ?

In its thinking Dr. Bushnell's book is strong, fearless, acute, and suggestive ; in spirit, it is reverent, sympathetic, and devoutly Christian. Few men command our Christian respect and affection in a higher degree ; but we are compelled to reject his fundamental position, because, as it seems to us, it is opposed to the revelation which God has given to us in Scripture—the highest external authority that we possess ; and equally opposed to our highest internal authority—the intuitive conscience or moral sense—which universally affirms the necessity and supremacy of immutable righteousness ; and which, therefore, almost as universally has demanded expiation in order to the righteous forgiveness of sins.

The Gospel its own Witness. The Hulsean Lecture for 1873. By the Rev. STANLEY LEATHES, M.A. Henry S. King and Co.

Mr. Leathes has wisely restricted himself to the elementary phenomena of the New Testament, and out of these he has constructed with great ability and ingenuity what must ever be the most conclusive argument for the truth and supernatural character of Christianity.

An introductory lecture describes and discriminates with conciseness and justness the present characteristics of the Established Church of England. Perhaps it is more natural than philosophical that the author should ignore the entire Christian thought and life of Great Britain outside the Established Church. To us who are without, this ostrich-like unconsciousness is simply amazing—all the more in a man of Mr. Stanley Leathes' unquestionable liberality of sympathy. It would, however, be too much to expect from a Hulsean lecturer that he should treat as co-ordinate facts and powers the Christian thought and life of the English Nonconforming and the Scottish Presbyterian Churches. It needs a Dr. Döllinger fairly to place them in their relative positions, although his book, 'The Church and the Churches,' might have awakened, even in those within the charmed circle of the Establishment, some suspicion of what exists without it.

Accepting, however, Mr. Leathes' survey within the established Episcopalian sphere to which he has restricted it, and which he designates 'The Church,' we very gladly commend it. He justly deprecates its schismatical condition, and points out the excellencies and defects of the three parties into which it is hopelessly split up.

Insisting upon the general truth that Christianity has its foundation and power in *facts*, he points out with considerable eloquence and power of earnest sarcasm how each of these parties has subordinated these facts to its own dogmatic theory of them. He describes the narrow dogmas of salvation which the Evangelical party have built upon the great fact of Christ's death, the sacramentarian dogmas into which the High Church party have perverted it, and the attenuated ethical and subjective theories of the Broad Church party; together with the changes in each party itself, which within the last forty years have produced this rigidity and obstinacy of narrow dogma. 'The facts which were the keystone of apostolic teaching have become diluted into, and identified with a set of congealed and crystallized notions about the facts. The person of the dying and the living Lord has disappeared in some theory as to what He did. A stereotyped impression of certain consequences has usurped the place of the original and energizing cause.' Mr. Leathes thinks that there is good in each party. 'There is the warmth of a genial humanity in the one, the strength of a Divine faith in another, and the practical wisdom of common sense in a third; and with an eclectic sympathy he urges that they should all be united, although *how* Evangelicalism is to be united to sacramentarianism, or either to rationalistic Broad Churchism, he does not even suggest.

Coming to the formal theme of his lectures, Mr. Leathes selects the Gospel of Mark as expressing 'in primitive gospel,' and indicates its statements about Jesus as an answer to the question, 'What is the 'Gospel'?' In the Apostolic Church we have a distinct embodiment of the corresponding beliefs about Christ, which existed immediately after His death.

In New Testament literature, especially in Paul's epistles, we have these beliefs formally articulated, unequivocally setting forth the three fundamental facts of the Incarnation, the Death, and the Resurrection of Christ, as also the moral effect of these beliefs upon those who held them, first in the ideal of goodness which, for example, the Epistle to the Ephesians embodies; and next in the practical lives of Christian men. Whatever the origin or the inspiration of this literature, it sets forth this grand and original theory of Christ and His mission, and it attains to this sudden and transcendent moral elevation; so that the New Testament has proved itself historically to be the greatest moral force that the world has known. This in a series of succinct and earnest paragraphs, Mr. Leathes admirably presents, showing the character, first, of the literature that the New Testament has called into existence and is continuously creating—the purest and most cogent literature of the world; next, of the personal character which it produces, both in its purity and in its moral strength, as well in heroic doing as in heroic suffering; and, lastly, the noble, national character that it creates, wherever it is received, and just in proportion as it is received. This argument is unanswerable, and Mr. Leathes has put it well.

Characteristics of Christian Morality. Bampton Lectures for 1873. By the Rev. I. GREGORY SMITH, M.A., Vicar of Malvern. James Parker and Co.

Mr. Smith's treatment of his subject is somewhat too superficial for a Bampton Lecture. It is not without intellectual vigour: it indicates considerable reading; and occasionally it deals acutely and conclusively with separate points of the argument; but it lacks depth of philosophic penetration and breadth of philosophic grasp. It partakes of the character of a sermon rather than of that of a philosophic disquisition. The separate lectures are too brief for their specific topics; they touch rather than grasp them.

The first lecture seeks to establish the fact that there is a valid and acknowledged standard of moral right and wrong. The author appeals first to the universal moral sense of men—'the normal conscience of civilization.' This respects both the 'relations of man to man and his relations to a power above himself.' Christian morality is 'the standard of morality generally accepted among Christians.' This, of course, is purely empirical; but perhaps the author is justified in contenting himself with this, inasmuch as it enables the comparative estimate of Christian morality, which is his thesis; only we could have desired a more profound and vigorous treatment of the foundations of moral obligation which he proposed to examine.

His second lecture is equally unsatisfactory from a philosophical point of view. It is an attempt to show, 'mainly on psychological grounds, that the vital principle of moral excellence in its every phase is unselfish love,

the principle of vice selfishness; in which, after having distinguished the proper self from mere faculty, the author makes the entire virtue of the volitions which direct their exercise consist in selfish or unselfish feeling and motive; which is doubtless substantially true, although many questions concerning the proper claims and feelings of self suggest themselves, which, in his general and too summary classification, the lecturer does not mention. Indeed, his method is too like that of the preacher whose broad assertions cannot be gainsaid. He would fare badly in a Socratic discussion unless far more amply furnished with argument than his discourses indicate.

Subsequent lectures deal with specific points of Christian morality, and with specific objections which have been brought against it by Mr. J. S. Mill, Mr. F. W. Newman, and others; chiefly Mr. Newman, whose essay 'On the Defective Morality of the New Testament' is dealt with almost point by point, and generally with much acuteness and success. Mr. Smith is far more keen as a critic than he is profound as a philosopher. We can heartily commend this part of his work. His answers often expose the sophistry, and very rarely fail to show the untenableness of the objections with which he deals. So far as they go, indeed, his lectures are admirable throughout; they are well-informed, acute, and vigorous, but they can be regarded only as a partial treatment of a great theme, which happily is just now attracting special attention.

History of Christian Theology in the Apostolic Age. By EDWARD REUSS. Translated by ANNIE HARWOOD from the Third Edition. With a Preface and Notes by R. W. DALE, M.A. Vol. II. Hodder and Stoughton.

We are glad to receive the completing volume of Reuss' great work, which, from a purely historical point of view, sets forth the Christian ideas of the Apostolic age. This second volume contains the exposition of the theology of Paul and of John, and a comparison of the two; also a section treating of the Epistles to the Hebrews, and those of Peter, Barnabas, and Clement, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Gospels of the Synoptists. The most important section is the exposition of the Pauline theology, which, both in the general grasp of it, and in the treatment of its separate ideas—righteousness, sin, law, the gospel, the person and work of Christ, faith, regeneration, redemption, justification, the Church, &c.—is remarkably able. Dr. Reuss is an Augustinian, if not a Calvinist, and he labours hard at the problem of Pauline predestination. We can only say that in the solution of this problem all logic fails, and that Paul is no exception to those who attempt to solve it. Hence, except in the Epistle to the Romans, 'he steadily keeps at a distance from this dangerous coast.' Still, as the only New Testament writer who 'frankly faces the question, if he cannot answer it successfully, so far from reproach-

ing him with his failure, we venture to say that by so doing he shows himself to be the only true theologian among his contemporaries. True knowledge alone is able to recognise the limits imposed upon it.'

Not less able is the treatment of the theology of John, whose 'hazy figure, without any sharpness of outline,' is contrasted with the 'strongly marked and perfectly distinct individuality of Paul.' This is illustrated in several particulars from John's personal portraiture, his faint history, and the heterogeneous character of his different writings, as well as from the mystical habit of his thinking. Dr. Reuss holds by the conviction which modern science has not yet been able to shake, that all the writings of the New Testament now ascribed to the Apostle John do really belong to the apostolic age, and to the sphere of the first disciples. He recognises the contrast, in form at least, of the theological ideas of the Gospel and of the Apocalypse, and thinks that while it is impossible that they could have 'existed simultaneously in the same individual,' 'one and the same man might have successively occupied both stand-points, but it must have been at two widely-separated periods of his life, or by a sudden and radical revulsion of thought.' He thinks the Apocalypse was one of the documents produced by Judean Christianity in its most marked and unmodified form, while the Gospel is of all the books of the New Testament that which goes farthest beyond the scope of Judaism; beyond this he does not pursue the question of authorship. The first epistle he thinks criticism unequivocally shows to proceed from the same author as the Gospel; the other two epistles, as altogether unimportant theologically, he does not touch.

We cannot go into any of the points of the Johannine theology. We can only say that they are treated with great penetration and strong scientific grasp. We know not where students could find a more thorough and reverent treatment of the phenomena of John's Gospel. The book is a great and valuable contribution to the History of Theology, it occupies a place of its own, and will be almost indispensable to both the scientific student and the preacher. It is fearlessly yet reverently written. It does not shirk difficulties, nor insist upon timid doggedness in the maintenance of untenable positions. A wholesome spirit of fairness, reverence for historical truth, and moderateness of conclusion, characterizes it throughout. We very earnestly commend it.

The History of the Creeds. By J. RAWSON LUMBY, B.D. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co.

Mr. Lumby has done useful service by his very careful and scholarly little book. Restricting himself to the history of the documents that he treats, he does not discuss their contents, save as these constitute historical evidence.

Creeds are not made, they grow; and Mr. Lumby points out that the germs of the

Church Creeds are found in formulæ of baptism, which are chiefly paraphrases of our Lord's own words.

The first creed to which a date can be assigned is one of the primitive creeds given by Irenæus. Subsequently, creeds were developed out of controversies, and became embodiments of the views of victorious theologians. Thus the history of the *filioque* controversy is traced, from the first accidental insertion of the word at the Council of Toledo, A.D. 589, until the time of Charlemagne, when, as Mr. Lumby thinks, 'the filioque clause was put forward and supported for the purpose of producing a breach between the East and the West.' Ultimately Pope Nicholas I. formally accepted the disputed word as part of the creed.

The origin of the Apostles' Creed is unknown. Its articles were substantially formulated as early as A.D. 180, when it is found in various confessions. Rufinus, of Aquileia, is the first who formally adduces it, nearly in its present form, although it first appears exactly as we now have it in the 'Scarapsus' of Bishop Pirminius, in the eighth century.

The recent controversies about the origin of the Athanasian Creed will have put readers interested in such matters in possession of what is really known about it. Mr. Lumby submits the evidence to a careful examination, and inclines to the conclusion that it is of composite and late origin. We earnestly recommend to all theological and ecclesiastical students Mr. Lumby's very valuable monograph.

The Holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints. A Discourse delivered at Brunswick Chapel, Newcastle, June 29, 1878, in connection with the assembling of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference; being the Fourth Lecture on the Foundation of the late John Fernly, Esq. By the Rev. BENJAMIN GREGORY. Wesleyan Conference Office.

Churches, the Many and the One. A New and Revised Edition of 'The Constitution of a Christian Church.' By WILLIAM ABBISS GARRATT, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. Edited with some Additional Notes by his Son, SAMUEL GARRATT, M.A., Vicar of St. Margaret's, Ipswich. Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.

Where, and what is the Church? A Tract for the Times. By a Free Church Layman. Glasgow: James Maclehose.

To Rome and Back. By the Rev. J. M. CAPES, M.A. Smith, Elder, and Co.

These volumes are only specimens of the essays and disquisitions about the Church with which the press teems, both in the form of volumes and of articles in periodicals. They suggest matters for voluminous criticism, and, of course, cannot be dealt with in a short notice. It is suggestive, however, that this question, 'What is the Church?' cannot get itself settled. The problem seems to be a very difficult one; nor will it be settled so long as men will engraft upon the simple teaching and the spiritual liberties of Scripture such large assumptions of ecclesiastical prescription and priestly function. We have no wish to see any

diminution of the controversy until the latter is utterly disallowed and discredited. Few wrongs to Christianity have been done so great as those which have been done in the name of the Church.

We have only words of hearty recommendation for Mr. Gregory's book. It is an affirmation of the spiritual liberties which the New Testament accords to the social organizations of Christian men; and, of course, although chiefly by implication, a disallowance of all theories of churches by Divine and exclusive right. Just as the theology of the New Testament has to be reached, by the removal of a large superincumbent mass of human philosophizing and theorizing, so its idea of Church societies can be reached only by 'clearing away arbitrary theories, which have long overlain the yet perfect outline of the Temple of God,' with due spiritual discernment and uncompromising Scriptural fidelity. Mr. Gregory insists upon the Church liberties which the New Testament leaves us. He sees that the Church exists for Christian life, not Christian life for the Church, and he justly and scripturally places the Church upon a purely utilitarian basis. Its organized forms may differ according to the circumstances or the preferences of men. Wherever devout men associate themselves together for Christian worship, edification, and service, there is the Church; whether it assume Congregational, Episcopalian, or Presbyterian forms. Of course, Mr. Gregory repudiates, with the scorn of a simple New Testament scholar, and with the indignation of a free and intelligent man, all priestly and ecclesiastical assumptions of exclusive authority and virtue, such as the Bishop of Lincoln, with an arrogance that would be an insult if it were not an infatuation, has just presented to our Wesleyan brethren. He could not have adopted a more effective way of giving articulation and emphasis to the spiritual principles of their nonconformity. On some minor points we should not perhaps agree with Mr. Gregory, but these are so insignificant in comparison with the great principles which he affirms, and which are identical with our own, that, as with Whately's 'Kingdom of Christ' and Dr. Jacob's 'Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament,' we could be well contented for his book to be in the hands of all our own ministers. It is another indication of the essential unity of evangelical Nonconformists, that, although they may vary in the embodiment of their principles, they are substantially one in their maintenance.

The truth of what we have said above concerning the conflict of Church principles, is confirmed by Mr. Garratt in his preface to this new edition of his father's book, first published twenty-five years ago. 'While men were satisfied with such phrases as that, for instance, of Hooker, that episcopacy is essential to the well-being, but not to the being, of a Church, there was no difficulty; but when once the question is shifted to a higher ground, and episcopacy is placed on the footing of a Divine institution, and membership in Christ's body made dependent on communion with a Church under the

government of bishops, deriving their orders in an unbroken line of imposition of hands from the Apostles, the conflict of principles inevitably commences. Such a principle may be held intelligently and intelligibly, if the facts will bear it out; but it is at the expense of unchurching every Protestant Church except our own. The truth is that, in the long run, either Apostolical succession or Protestant Anglicanism must give way. Both cannot exist together. . . . Our position as English Churchmen entirely depends upon our acceptance or rejection of this dogma. If we reject it, there is nothing to prevent our union with all other Protestant Christians all the world over. If we accept it, it is some higher principle than logic which keeps us from submission to the apostasy of Rome. The question goes to the very bottom of the controversy, and is of the utmost moment.' The volume is written from the point of one who rejects it. The author shows that the doctrine cannot be proved from Scripture, and that the fact cannot be proved from history. 'Whereas Apostolical succession must stand upon each of these two legs, and cannot stand without both, he shows that it has neither to rest upon; that Scripture does not teach the doctrine, and that history contradicts the fact.' The conclusions of the writer as to the historical facts are in close approximation to those of Canon Lightfoot, in his 'Dissertation on the Christian Ministry,' and of Mr. Mossman, in his 'History of the Early Christian Church.' The book is written in a liberal but cautious spirit, and is valuable as a repertory of both evidence and argument.

The author of the third of the books before us arrives at substantially the same conclusion. The unity of the Church is not unity of organization or even of doctrine, but unity of spirit, of trust, of love; its one distinguishing characteristic is love of the truth. Those who do not love the truth, but reject all evidence of the truth for the sake of maintaining assumptions of their own, thereby evince themselves not to be of Christ's true Church. The one Church is the religious and spiritual oneness of all who love the truth and submit themselves to it.

Mr. Capes' book is an autobiographical record, in a fictitious form, of his own convictions and mental and religious processes, first, in leaving the Church of England for the Church of Rome, and then in tracing his way back again. He tells the story under fictitious names, and by means of imaginary conversations and discussions at evangelical tea parties and clerical meetings, from the beginning of his student life at Oxford; describing the impressions made upon him there, and the state of opinion and feeling in the university which impressed him. We have no means of knowing how far the portraiture of the volume is true, nor how far the arguments are weakened or strengthened by the bias of the writer. It is almost impossible for any man to construct a case in such a form without bias. But, taking Mr. Capes at his own showing, we have simply to say—it may be personal idiosyncra-

sy or it may be our robust Nonconformist training—that how any man should have been induced to enter the Church of Rome by such fantastic theories and washy sentiment about churches and ritual and religious perfection, is to us simply unthinkable; or, being in it, how he should by similar processes be induced to leave it. Mr. Capes adduces as discoveries what have been commonplaces of the controversy with Rome from the time of the reformation. How any man turning his thoughts to theology at all could be unfamiliar with them is simply astounding. There is a good deal of interest and pathos in Mr. Capes' account of his struggles. He is intelligent, cultured, and ingenious; but his book indicates a lack of intellectual strength and logical faculty, which must make him an easy prey to the last plausible sophist. We should not be surprised to find him ere long at the very antipodes of Romanism.

The Gospel of the Resurrection: Thoughts on its Relation to Reason and History. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Third Edition. Macmillan and Co.

With the solicitous earnestness and modesty of a devout theologian and a true scholar, Dr. Westcott has laboured to perfect his argument. He has welcomed and sought, from friends and critics, every suggestion that might strengthen its weak places, or fill up its *lacuna*. In the light of these suggestions he has carefully considered the entire argument. The present edition includes some additional sections, indicated by asterisks, which add to its completeness. The result is an estimate of 'The Resurrection in the Light of Human Reason,' and of its yearnings and necessities, as illustrated by history; which not only vindicates the Scriptural testimony and doctrine, but which bases our belief in it on profound psychological and philosophic principles. In reading Dr. Westcott's book we feel that in receiving the great teaching of the New Testament, concerning the resurrection of the body as assured by the resurrection of our Lord, we 'believe no cunningly devised fable,' but rest our hope upon the most rational and assured presumptions. The resurrection is not only a certified fact of Scriptural teaching; it is in profoundest moral harmony with all that we know of the nature, the necessities, and the yearnings of man. It is the nexus of the objective and subjective elements of religion. We would commend to the notice of readers especially Dr. Westcott's cogent remarks (p. 9), on the impotence of a religion drawn merely from the subjective thoughts and consciousness of men, and on the absolute necessity of a religion, based as Christianity is, upon objective facts, of which the Resurrection of our Lord is one of the chief; as throughout the volume every sentence is weighty with compressed thought, and lucid through simple artistic expression.

Dr. Westcott lays the foundation of his argument in a carefully thought-out chapter on the ideas of God, nature, and miracles, which may well be commended to the flippant or pas-

sionate dogmatists of modern materialism. He then, in a chapter on 'The Resurrection and History,' traces the development of human ideas, and their culmination in Christianity, and in the great doctrine of the resurrection—the conclusive Scriptural evidence for which he states. Another chapter on 'The Resurrection and Man,' deals with the psychology of the question, personality, personal relations to God, and personal relations to the world. The third chapter discusses 'The Resurrection and the Church,' and deals largely with the conditions of unity, as realized by the Church, and to be finally consummated in the resurrection life. Dr. Westcott lays hold of the fundamental idea of Christianity as a principle of life in individual man, and shows that the essential unity of the spiritual Church of Christ is altogether independent of external unity, or of any kind of external organization. We startle somewhat, however, at his claims for national churches generally, and for the Established Church of England in particular. The faith is very great that, in the light of its past history and present condition, can say 'I cannot doubt what the Church of England may do, within whose reach are placed the three great springs of power which have been separately given to other churches, the simplicity of a pure creed, the strength of a continuous organization, the freedom of personal faith.'

Dr. Westcott has not yet completed his half-promised chapter on 'The Resurrection and the World,' but in an appendix he has given us a very valuable essay on certain 'Aspects of Positivism, in Relation to Christianity,' which he tells us presents what appear to him to be the chief points for consideration under this head. The 'Positive Religion' of M. Comte hardly deserves so much serious consideration—like a bad dream, it is already rapidly passing into contempt, which is worse than oblivion—but there are certain great principles common to materialistic thinking which have still to be contested, and in relation to these Dr. Westcott's essay is valuable.

We scarcely share Dr. Westcott's apprehensions that 'we are again approaching a great crisis in the history of human society and human thought.' Liberty to speak doubts and rejections of Christianity there undoubtedly is in a greater degree than has ever been known; but this is part of advancing toleration. The battle between Christianity and infidelity is hardly more severe than it was in the eighteenth century: and we venture to think that the hold of the former upon the religious hearts of men is a thousand times broader and stronger. However this may be, Dr. Westcott's book is one which, by the breadth of its thought, the strength of its argument, and the fulness of its faith, is a rich and fruitful contribution to the Christian argument.

Lectures on Preaching. By the Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER. Delivered to the Students of Yale Theological College during the Spring Session of 1874. Third Series. James Clarke and Co.

This third series of Mr. Beecher's lectures
VOL. LX.

deals with the Substance of Preaching—the Bible and its Contents—the True Method of Presenting God—the Manifestation of God through Christ—Sins and Sinfulness—the Growth of the Christian Life—Christian Manhood—Life and Immortality, &c. A marked characteristic of Mr. Beecher comes out in his treatment of theological doctrine, viz., the wise and reverent conservatism that lies beneath his free and often audacious criticism. Indeed, his criticism is audacious only because he discerns how much of human conventionalism and accretion has grown up around the revealed idea of God, as the Bible contains it; and when he touches this, as with rough and dislocating hand he often does, men who have received it traditionally tremble and cry out as if the truth itself were imperilled. We are amazed at the fertility, freedom, and strength which the lecturer displays. Here, as everywhere, he is the preacher of the Plymouth church, the rich spontaneous spiritual discourses, pouring forth the wealth of a great creative mind, and the religious love and humanity of a deep and tender heart. Like the greatest minds of history, he stands humbly before God, and finds the most affluent nutriment for his genius in the things of God and Christ. With wisdom that rarely fails, with wit that cannot be restrained, with strong common sense and devout feeling, he pours forth treasures of his thought and own ministerial experience, which make these lectures a very rich repertory for the theological student and minister.

Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament.

By C. F. KEIL, D.D., and F. DELITZSCH, D.D.

The Prophecies and Lamentations of Jeremiah.

By C. F. KEIL, D.D. The first volume translated by DAVID PATRICK, M.A., B.D.; and the second volume translated by JAMES KENNEDY, B.D. T. and T. Clark.

These volumes constitute Vols. XL. and XLI. of the Fourth Series of the Foreign Theological Library, and considering how few valuable commentaries on this prophet are accessible to the English reader, they will be very acceptable to the student. The 'introduction' is rather meagre. The question of the relation of Jeremiah to the Pentateuch is not touched; but the genuineness of the Masoretic text and of its arrangement, is vindicated against the writer in Lange's 'Bibel-Werk.' Dr. Keil states and discusses throughout the views of Nögelbach, Hitzig, and Ewald. Of course the difficult question of the authorship of the fiftieth and fifty-first chapters is handled with earnestness. Ewald's objections—based on the impossibility of Jeremiah's foreseeing the conquest of Babylon by Elam, as well as on special phrases supposed to be inconsistent with Jeremiah's authorship—are met with powerful rejoinder. Keil shows that here Jeremiah was resting on the older prophecies of Isaiah, and makes great use of the admissions of Hitzig. The authorship of the Lamentations is attributed to Jeremiah; a new translation—which does not, however, reproduce Keil's attempt to preserve

the alphabetic acrosticism of the original—prefaces each chapter. We do not observe any references to the admirable commentaries of Dr. E. Henderson on the writings of this prophet.

The Revelation of John. Expounded by T. P. LANGE, D.D.; Translated from the German by EVELINA MOORE; Enlarged and Edited by E. R. CRAVEN, D.D.; together with a double Alphabetical Index to all the Ten Volumes of the New Testament by J. H. WOODS, A.M. T. and T. Clark.

A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures. By J. P. LANGE, D.D. Translated, Edited, and Enlarged by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D. Vol. XVI. of the Old Testament.—The Minor Prophets. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

As might have been expected, the final volume of the encyclopædic commentary—one devoted to the Apocalypse—is not the most valuable of the series. Amid the chaos of interpretations the various principles of exegesis and the discordant grammars and lexicons of apocalyptic symbolism applied to the closing Book of the Canon, it is almost presumptuous to choose a method or come to a conclusion. The *embarras de richesse* aggravates the difficulty, and the calm assurance of the learned author of this voluminous exposition rather detracts from the general confidence with which we have been accustomed to receive his views. Dr. Craven, in the body of the work, intersperses what are to us the unsatisfactory views which he entertains on the futurity of the kingdom of God, on the twofold advent of our Lord yet to take place, and on the literal nature of the first resurrection and other matters. The translation of this work of Dr. Lange appears to us far from perfect. There is a reckless coinage of English words, and a German construction of sentences, which, with the frequent occurrence of Greek terminations, will seriously perplex the English reader. Take, for instance, 'New Testamentalness,' 'unitous,' 'historicist,' 'demonico-bestial,' a list that might be indefinitely prolonged. Nothing can be more contrary to the genius of our language than to speak of 'the Chiliastic-morbid Jewish-Christian expectance of the future, in accordance with a condition of mind which looked for redemption more in the future Appearing of Christ, than in the principal base-lying salvation of His first Advent.' Eighty closely printed pages are devoted to 'Introduction,' but very few of them are occupied with the questions either of the *date* or *authorship* of the Apocalypse. The authorship is considered as no longer in dispute, and the late date is assumed to be settled by overwhelming evidence. The plan of the commentary is of course that which has been pursued throughout the 'Bibel-Werk.' Textual, exegetical, critical, homiletical, bibliographical notes follow every paragraph, and they are worthy of close attention. The American editor has added to this great array of opinions, those of Elliot, Alford, Barnes, Wordsworth, and others. The volume, therefore, becomes an encyclopædia of reference to apocalyptic and prophetic revelation;

it represents and grapples with the position of both præterists and futurists. Dr. Lange takes a view which has much to recommend it, if it were easy to free one's mind from the style in which it is here conveyed. We think the following sentence will express (if it can do so, to an English ear) the fundamental idea which pervades the volume. The construction of the Apocalypse reveals 'the idea of the absolute teleology of the Divine Government; the absolute and yet free sway of Divine Providence above a fluctuating liberty in the history of mankind, and over the demoniac powers of hell; those hellish powers with ever increasing boldness, induced by their apparent triumphs, are making constant advances (?) against the Divine rule, until in the end the complete unveiling and exhaustion of the Satanic kingdom results in the complete revelation of Heaven, and the perfect appearing of the kingdom of God, both kingdoms grappling together at last in personal concentrations. The idea of the heavenly assurance of victory finds its expression in the fact that a heaven-picture invariably precedes an earth-picture; a heavenly pre-celebration of the history of Christ is the invariable forerunner of the earthly crisis, of earthly strife and woe, the conflict of the Church militant.' The index to the ten volumes is a wonderful performance, and we render homage to the publishers, the learned editors, authors, translators in chief and in petto, who have combined to produce a series of works of such consummate value to the Biblical student.

A considerable portion of the volume of the Bible Commentary is not the work of the coadjutors of Dr. Lange, but has been effected by American scholars of repute. The general introduction to the Prophets is prepared by Dr. Charles Elliott, of Chicago. The same writer has, to a large extent, prepared the commentary on Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah. The prophecies of Hosea, Joel, and Amos, have been expounded by Dr. Schnoller; those of Obadiah, Micah, and others, by Dr. Kleinert, of Berlin; Haggai, by Mr. McCurdy, of Princeton; Zechariah, by Dr. Chambers, of New York; and Malachi, by Dr. Packard, of Alexandria, U.S. The volume necessarily varies in workmanship, and possesses less unity of design and character than that of many of its predecessors; but, from the scarcity of available and trustworthy comments on the Minor Prophets, it will not be the least valuable of the series. We are not much impressed by Dr. Elliott's 'general introduction,' and wonder that with such a grand theme before him the author did not attempt an historical sketch of the condition of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah during the period over which this literature extends. The dim allusions, the vehement antagonism between idolatry and Hebraism, the strange blending of the worship of Jehovah with that of surrounding nations, the sheets of light which gleam through the lurid darkness of the times, the effects of the deportation, exile, and return, might have been so brought together for the student of the Minor Prophets, as to have formed an invaluable

able key to them all. Dr. Elliott has given a history and summary of *predictive* prophecies from the words of Noah to those of Malachi, which is worthy of attention. We also owe him obligation for the admirable list of works explanatory of this portion of the Bible.

The integrity of Zechariah is argued very temperately and firmly by Dr. Chambers. Dr. Packard takes the most sensible view of the famous prophecy concerning the coming of the Elijah, as interpreted by our Lord of John the Baptist. The innumerable questions raised and topics mooted by this vast compendium of exegetical lore obviously forbid in this place extended criticism. We can but admire and gratefully accept this further instalment of a gigantic work of benefaction to the Christian minister and to the student of Biblical literature and theology.

Modern Doubt and Christian Belief. A Series of Apologetic Lectures addressed to Earnest Seekers after Truth. By THEODORE CHRISTLIEB, D.D., University Preacher and Professor of Theology at Bonn. Translated chiefly by Rev. H. U. WEITBRECHT, Ph.D., and Edited by Rev. T. L. KINGSBURY. T. and T. Clark.

The appearance of this volume is timely. Considerable expectations were excited by the promise of a treatment of the breach between Christianity and modern culture, by a competent, learned, evangelical divine; by one who occupied a position exceptionally advantageous for such a review as Professor Christlieb does. We are by no means disappointed at the result. The author has here a wide range. In the opening lecture he has fairly faced his difficulties, and has discussed with fine temper, tender sympathy, and intense earnestness, the question of the healing of the breach. He shows the deep unity between Christianity and culture in their inner essence, and in their practical outcome. He thinks that Germany is the region—since the contraries of thought are there most explicitly formulated—whence the reconciliation is to come, and that it must be effected by a right and honest setting forth of Christ as the Light of the world.

The second lecture treats the breach between reason and revelation; shows that revelation can be recognised as such, and that the highest act of reason is this recognition. Conscience itself is shown to need the lamp of life shining in the dark place. The next lecture is a rapid survey of the modern non-Biblical conceptions of God. Atheistic, Materialistic, Pantheistic hypotheses are submitted to dissection. Deism and Rationalism are brought under review—the elements of truth involved in these theories are duly recognised. We are surprised, however, that no notice is taken here of the Nihilism and so-called Positivism with which so many seem contented.

Great space is devoted to the Biblical conception of the Godhead and the Trinitarian conception of the Divine nature. The Biblical arguments are familiar. Dr. Christlieb has advanced collateral supports from many sources, and holds the Trinitarian idea to be the key to

the chief problems in philosophy. The nature and necessity of the miraculous are argued at length. He comments upon the apparent demand of Renan—that miracles should be performed at Paris before competent witnesses—thus:—‘Perhaps before the French Academy. . . . this body in former times rejected (1) the use of quinine; (2) vaccination; (3) lighting conductors; (4) the existence of meteorolites; (5) the steam engine.’ He justly takes CHRIST and the Church as the great miracles which make others inherently credible. The sixth lecture is devoted to modern anti-miraculous accounts of the life of Christ. Schenkel, Strauss, and Renan are submitted to patient criticism. A lecture is devoted to special difficulties raised by these and other authors to the record of the Resurrection. Here the author adduces the historical proof with cogency, and shows the collapse of the ‘Visionary hypothesis.’ The last lecture is an able *résumé* and criticism of Baur and his disciples, in their attempt to reconstruct the literature of the New Testament and the history of early Christianity. Throughout the work, the style is glowing and the spirit reverent and charitable, and brave conflict is waged for the truth and deepest realities of the Revelation of God in Christ.

The Hexaglot Bible. Comprising the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments in the Original Tongues, together with the Septuagint, the Syriac (of the Old Testament), the Vulgate, the Authorized English and German, and the Most Approved French Versions; arranged in Parallel Columns. Edited by the Rev. EDWARD RICHES DE LEVANTE, M.A., Ph.D., assisted by Competent Biblical Scholars. In Six Volumes. Dickinson and Higham.

Messrs. Dickinson and Higham have just completed this superb work, which is sufficiently described in the title page. Each version has been committed to a scholar specially qualified for editing it, and the whole has been produced in a style of printing which places the work at the head of the Biblical texts of this century. It is not only a sumptuous book for a library, but is also a book of comparative versions which will be of incalculable convenience and value to the Biblical philologist and exegete. It is a work which is a credit to English scholarship and typography. Anything like criticism of such a work is from the nature of it impossible. It can only be commended. It is the finest polyglot next to Walton.

Eastern Africa as a Field for Missionary Labour. Four Letters to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. By the Right Hon. Sir BARTLE FREERE. John Murray.

Africa: Geographical Exploration and Missionary Enterprise. By A. GRUAR FORBES. Sampson Low and Co.

Dr. Livingstone's heroic life and achievements have borne great fruit in African missions, and, consciously or unconsciously, will doubtless continue to do so for many years to come. He laboured, others enter into his labours. Sir Bartle Frere, as an intelligent and pious civilian,

is perhaps better qualified to realize some of the great results which he aimed at than a missionary. He is a statesman of broad views and sympathies; and in his letters to the archbishop, urging the strengthening of Episcopal missions at Zanzibar and the Eastern African coast, he estimates, in a statesmanlike way, the conditions and results of African missions. He has formed, however, a very low religious and moral estimate of the character of the population. They have, he thinks, 'absolutely no inheritance of knowledge, either in morals or creeds,' but they have 'ample power to acquire such knowledge when presented to them.' There is a good deal of Mohammedanism, which is carried wherever Arabs go; but Sir Bartle Frere does not think that either in India-Egypt, or Eastern Africa, it is an advancing religion in the same sense, or to the same degree, as Christianity. Special causes are assigned for the apparent revival of Mohammedanism, but it bears all the marks of a decaying religion, and has no chance of sustaining itself against Christianity. The author's remarks on this point are well worthy of consideration. He recommends an increase of missionary agency; and that the missionary should be a good deal more than a mere preacher—a civilized and Christian man, exercising a general influence over social development—a man such as Moffatt and Ellis, not to say Livingstone, were. A great many suggestions of a wise and practical kind are made, which we would earnestly commend to our Missionary Societies. The catholic spirit of the book is admirable. Sir Bartle is ready to recognise and commend all churches who do genuine Christian work.

Mr. Forbes, who has before been commended by us as an industrious and intelligent compiler of books of useful information, gives us a well arranged and complete summary of African travel; and enables us to estimate what each traveller has done in promoting the spread of Christianity. He endorses Livingstone's favourable judgment of the susceptibility to Christian instruction of the tribes of the interior; he bears a strong testimony to the immense benefits, direct and indirect, already conferred upon Africa by Christian missions of all churches; and, with Sir Bartle Frere, thinks that we have only to go up and possess the land. A rich harvest awaits Christian missions on the African continent.

The Delivery and Development of Doctrine.

Being the Cunningham Lectures for 1873.

By ROBERT RAINY, D.D. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

Dr. Rainy has done a service to orthodox reformed theology by taking up this question and discussing it in these lectures. There is no word more characteristic of our time than 'development,' and if theology is to be presented in a scientific aspect to a critical age like ours, it must submit to come more or less under the scientific formula of the period. The Roman Catholic theologians of the school of Möhler, Döllinger, and Hefele, have already, and in a very able manner, applied the idea of development in their critical exposition and de-

fence of their side of the creed of Christendom, and their ideas have found an admirable English exponent in Dr. John H. Newman. On the other hand, those who represent the extreme left in theology have eagerly adopted the formula, and, beginning with a history of religions, have endeavoured to prove that Christianity is the last outcome of the gradual growth of the religious bit of man's nature, and has secured its place in virtue of the law of the survival of the fittest. Between the two theories there is room for a statement of orthodox reformed theology, and this book comes to supply the gap.

We must confess to a little disappointment in it. It bears marks of great haste, it is somewhat ill-arranged, and it treats of two things confessedly distinct, as if one were not large enough to form the subject of an ordinary octavo. Still, with all these faults, the book is a powerful one, and the careful reader will find it full of the most suggestive paragraphs. Dr. Rainy treats of the delivery as well as of the development of doctrine, and he endeavours to bring clearly before the mind of his readers the fact that the element of history or time must enter largely into our conceptions of the Bible and of theology founded thereon. The delivery of doctrines takes time; and the elaboration of the doctrines thus delivered also takes time. Can the course in either case be traced and described? That is the problem of the book. In speaking of the delivery of doctrine, Dr. Rainy brings out clearly the fact that the great thing in the Bible is the description of God entering into history. The Bible is not so much a deliverance of doctrine as a record of this manifestation of God. New Testament truth even is not statical, but dynamical, and New Testament doctrines, when approached from the historical side, are simply the rule of spiritual forces and the rationale of spiritual events. The fourth lecture deals with the very interesting and somewhat difficult subject of the function of the mind with reference to doctrine. In this chapter the discussion upon the different relations of the individual and the Church is treated in a somewhat ambiguous manner; and although there is a grandeur in the protest against the force of the Church intercepting men on their way to the arrival at truth by their personal fellowship with the Spirit of God, yet we think that Dr. Rainy has scarcely done justice enough to the idea of the Church as the aggregate of the individual believers. In the fifth lecture, which treats of the development of doctrine, the author has naturally found himself hampered by want of space, but the chapter is full of most suggestive passages, which make the reader feel vexed that a writer who evidently could treat the subject in a powerful manner if he only gave himself time, should have hurried over it so hastily. The last lecture treats of creeds and their relations to a church and its office-bearers. The writer seems to suggest that in Presbyterian churches elders and deacons should not be asked, as they now are, to sign an exhaustive doctrinal formula, and evidently thinks that the Westminster Confession is too exhaustive for the Scotch clergy.

Joannis Coleti Enarratio in Epistolam S. Pauli ad Romanos. An Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, delivered as Lectures in the University of Oxford, about A.D. 1497, by JOHN COLET, M.A., afterwards Dean of St. Paul's.

Joannis Coleti Enarratio in primam Epistolam S. Pauli ad Corinthios. An Exposition of St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, by JOHN COLET, M.A. Now first published, with a Translation, Introduction, and Notes, by J. H. LUPTON, M.A., Sub-master of St. Paul's School. Two Vols. George Bell and Sons.

The first of these volumes might easily have been made more interesting than it is. To have the expository work of a large-hearted, erudite man like Colet, who passed away before the great test of the presence of the new life of the world had been put to him, affords a fine opportunity for studying the theological attitude of the pre-reformation divines of the Church of England. The introductory remarks are timely, though somewhat laboured; and as it seems to us unnecessarily abbreviated. The influence of Ficinus and Pico della Mirandola upon the thought of Colet may have been considerable, but it would have been interesting to have traced the progress of exegetical work from Aquinas to Wiclif and from Wiclif to Wessel and Laurentius Valla. The Commentary itself is very disappointing in this, that it passes over in the most cursory way the first eight chapters of the Epistle, and gives us small chance of judging the author's position on the great questions of sin, and righteousness, and faith. There are some delectable representations of the Divine love quoted from Ficinus, in the comment on the eighth chapter, which Mr. Lupton has translated somewhat freely, bringing in a line of Tennyson's 'Morte d'Arthur' rather daringly. '*Hic amor sublimis verus Dei est cultus et religio, qua hominum mentes cum Deo colligantur*,' is rendered thus, 'This exalted love. . . . is the true worship and religion whereby the minds of men may be bound with gold chains about the feet of God.'

Colet had a remarkable mode of getting away from the difficulties of the problem of predestination by devout realization of the goodness of God, and 'by ceasing from endless reasonings about a matter that far transcends all reason. The great stress of his expository work is occupied with homiletic and interesting practical meditations on the Christian duties which form the great theme of the twelfth and thirteenth chapters of the Epistle.

The translation is throughout eloquent and fervent, and the Latin text carefully edited from the hitherto unpublished MS. We thank Mr. Lupton for his labour of love.

The prefatory remarks which Mr. Lupton has prefixed to his edition and translation of Dean Colet's Exposition of the First Epistle to the Corinthians are full of interest. They constitute *une pièce justificative* for certain old-world ideas of the learned and somewhat eccentric author, which have long since been out-

grown. Thus the editor endeavours to explain the confusion which Colet permitted to reign in his mind between the principle of *fecundity* and that of *unity*, and the moral disorder that he attributed to *multiplicity* as the antithesis of unity. He shows how the abuses of the law courts and the ecclesiastical judicature in the reign of Henry VII. may account for the bitterness with which Colet attacks all appeal to human law for the settlement of disputes among Christians; and that he 'raised an unflinching protest against the legal abuses of his time, and denounced the venality of Church lawyers with a boldness that must satisfy even their severest censor.' Mr. Lupton very justly criticizes the strictures of Colet on 'marriage,' and the unfair use the Dean made of St. Paul's language, '*I would that all men were even as I myself*,' to glorify a state of celibacy. He does not sufficiently condemn Colet's one-sidedness in not seeing, from other epistles of Paul, that the apostle had a much higher ideal of the nuptial bond than that which he allowed to form the motive for marriage under certain circumstances, and our editor rather condones the extravagance of Colet on this subject by the laxity of the times and the severity of the ecclesiastical and monastic ideal to which the Dean was chivalrously anxious to recall the 'religious.' Few things are more melancholy than the hopelessness of Colet as to the grace bestowed in the constitution of a Christian household. The antagonism of the erudite Colet to the study of the heathen writers, is justified by the extreme unwisdom of the classical reading in vogue among the Humanists, and some very interesting exposition is supplied of the vague and erroneous astronomical references to be found in the commentary. There are many points on which it would be easy to enlarge, such as the doctrine of the Eucharist, where Colet clearly admitted that all believers are priests, and that the cup is offered to all.

Horæ Hellenicæ. Essays and Discussions on some important points of Greek Philology and Antiquity. By JOHN STUART BLACKIE, F.R.S.E., Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh, &c., &c. Macmillan and Co.

This volume provides attractive and varied food for discussion and criticism. It contains essays on the theology of Homer and Æschylus; the true character of the Sophists of the fifth century, B.C.; the knotty disputes on the agrarian laws of Lycurgus; the significance of Greek myths and modern efforts to explain them; the functions of '*onomatopœia*' in the formation of language, to say little of 'the place and power of accent in language;' the rights and claims of modern Greek literature to take its place among the educational appliances of the age, and the hopeless failure of most modern attempts to represent in English hexameters the spirit of the ancient classics. On every part of the field of view Professor Blackie meets some redoubtable antagonist, and he poises his lance for a conflict at every turn. Now it is Ihne, and then Welcker, and again

Gladstone. Now the general consensus of opinion, and then the elaborate arguments of some great authority; in one *brochure* he rushes full tilt upon Mr. Grote, and in another upon Professor Max Müller. He deals scornful blows at the 'coarse' habits of our English pronunciation of Greek, and with a superabundance of wit, as well as learning, advocates what may be called his own specialty, the utter independence of 'accent' and 'quantity,' the power we all possess still of giving a strong accent to a short vowel, and at the same time preserving the quantity of the long, unaccented syllable which follows it. The book may be said to be delightfully dogmatic. Our author often tells us that such and such passages in his ancient authorities have been quoted in opposite senses to demonstrate, it may be, the religious life of Æschylus, or the moral character of the great Sophists; and then he informs us that he has carefully read all that has been said on both sides, and proceeds, in a series of propositions, to set forth *the truth* on the matter. Not infrequently we are moved to excessive, if not inextinguishable, laughter by his sallies of wit and his brilliant and homely *repartee*; and we could wish it had been our good fortune to have had Greek philology and antiquity made so vastly amusing, when we were trudging up the sides and flanking the lowest buttresses of either Olympus or Parnassus. Sometimes Professor Blackie is the most conservative of scholars, holding to the unity of Homer, and the practical identity of the theology of the Iliad and the Odyssey. He assails, with the vehemence of a Crusader, the new-fangled philology which would explain Greek myths by Sanscrit etymologies. He defends the Platonic conception of the Sophists against Mr. Grote with an enthusiasm which almost carries him off his horse; and vindicates against the same great authority the existence and long continuance of the agrarian laws of Lycurgus; but he is content to stand almost alone in resisting a widely spread sentiment concerning the theological intention of Æschylus in his 'Prometheus Bound,' and he rhapsodizes over modern Greek poetry in a fashion scarcely justified by his admirably rendered quotations.

We have said enough to show that in a brief notice of a book of such extensive culture, wide range, and controversial intensity, we know not where to begin or end. We must content ourselves for the present with saying that the inductive treatment of the theology of Homer, in which Mr. Blackie reaches many of the conclusions of Nägelsbach, is profoundly instructive, and that his repudiation of the common opinion that Æschylus, in the Prometheus, was pouring scorn and hatred on the Zeus of popular faith, is worthy of deep consideration. If the lost tragedy of 'Prometheus Unbound' could be studied and submitted to the same kind of criticism as the existing play, much of the current speculation would probably vanish into thin air. What would the 'Agamemnon' be without the 'Orestes'? Could either be understood without the aid of the 'Eumenides'? Are we in a position to judge of the significance of this mighty but unfinished relic of antiquity?

The laborious paper on the modern Greek language amounts almost to a grammar of the tongue, so far as it is used either in the lyrical poetry or current literature of the Neo-Hellenes. We heartily thank Professor Blackie for his criticism of Mr. Grote's celebrated discussion of the character of the Sophists, and, indeed, more or less, for every paper in the volume. Every controversy is maintained with spirit, and the whole is worthy of the brilliant, if somewhat erratic genius of the author.

SERMONS.

Sermons. By the late Rev. ROBERT LEE, D.D. Edited from his manuscripts. (William Blackwood and Sons.) Dr. Lee's sermons are strong, with a hard intellectual strength—but they are utterly destitute of the strength of moral suasion and moving sympathy. In manner they are brusque and schoolmasterish, and in matter as hardly ethical as the Ten Commandments. An apostle of Scottish Broad Churchism, he ostentatiously reduces all religious teaching and life to intellectual and ethical forms—carefully eliminating all evangelical, mystical, and spiritual elements. He would probably have said that he did not know what they meant. He does not argue against them so much as he misses them; he has evaded them, we know not how—but somehow he has reduced regeneration to mere reform—righteousness to mere ethical goodness. The text 1 Cor. i. 30, from which he preaches four sermons, is resolved simply into this—'The purpose of Christianity is to make its disciples wise, righteous, holy, and free, and Christ by Divine appointment is made to us the teacher and author of these four great attainments. So that if we truly imbibe His instructions and follow His example we shall be made wise and righteous, holy and free.' This is all. Assuredly it is not all that Christ Himself and His apostles teach—it falls very far short of that salvation by Christ which almost all Christendom has rejoiced in, and which the standards of Dr. Lee's church so emphatically set forth. It is cold, hard morality, and nothing more; whereas the Christianity of Christ, whatever its claims to truth, is a great deal more.—*Hills that Bring Peace.* By the Rev. CHARLES D. BELL, M.A., Rector of Cheltenham. (Nisbet and Co.) A Series of Sermons on the Mountains of the Bible, each being connected with some distinctive idea or lesson—not always, however, the best that might be chosen. Thus while Moriah is the mountain of sacrifice, Calvary is the hill of scorn. Mr. Bell, moreover, tells us that there is no evidence that Calvary was a hill at all, that its locality is unknown; yet he thinks that the traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre is probably the true one. The sermons have not any distinguishing characteristics. They are good, in the sense of being evangelical, devout, and earnest; in no other sense is there anything to be said about them.—*Sermons.* By the Rev. HENRY NORMAN HUDSON. (Tribner and Co.) These are apparently the sermons of an Ameri-

can Episcopalian—generally orthodox, in the common evangelical sense of the term, and with a respectable degree of intelligence and vigour. He is not quite free from what has been not inaptly called 'Churchianity'—but it appears in a mild form. The sermons may be recommended as sensible, earnest, and edifying.—*Church and Home Lessons, from the Book of the Prophet Hosea.* By the Rev. ALFRED CLAYTON THISELTON. (Nisbet and Co.) Mr. Thiselton speaks of his sermons as a 'poor effort.' We reluctantly come to the conclusion that he is right. They are good in their humility and earnestness, but very poor as an 'effort.' Why should such sermons be published? Who reads them?—*The Words of Christ and other Sermons, preached at Christ Church, Gipsy Hill.* By the Rev. R. ALLEN, M.A., Vicar. (James Nisbet and Co.) A volume of ordinary evangelical sermons, neither better nor worse than tens of thousands which are preached every Sunday. They contain no heresy, and as little distinctive intelligence. The preacher is equally unconscious of modern difficulties and of their solution.—*The Solidity of True Religion and other Sermons, preached in London during the General Elections and Mission Week, February, 1874.* By C. J. VAUGHAN, D.D. (Henry S. King and Co.) We should feel that something was wanting in the list of published sermons in which one or more of Dr. Vaughan's little books did not appear. Their characteristics of intelligent piety and earnest religiousness make them always welcome. They cannot be read without that which is best in religious life being appealed to. These four sermons treat of 'Lay Help in London,' 'The Anxiety or Care of the Churches,' a somewhat fanciful sermon from Rev. xxi. 16, on the 'Solidity of true Religion,' and the 'Meaning of a Mission.'—*A Sermon on Priestly Absolution, preached before the University of Oxford in St. Mary's Church, on Sunday, Nov. 24, 1793.* By the Rev. HENRY DRIGBY BESTE, M.A. (Longmans and Co.) This is a curious volume. It is published by a son of the preacher of the sermon; and consists first, of autobiographical notes, showing who the preacher was, culled by the editor from the journals and correspondence of his father, and interesting, as throwing light upon the men and thoughts of his day; next, of the sermon, which certainly anticipates some of the most extravagant priestly claims of the modern Anglicans. To the sermon voluminous notes are appended, written by the preacher himself in 1829, thirty years after he had become a Roman Catholic, and, with the following section, discussing almost all the salient points of the controversy between Romanists and Protestants, with a good deal of acuteness, and some humour; next, of some account of the 'Renown and Reconciliation,' following such preaching, i.e., the clamour excited by the sermon in the English church, and the reconciliation of the preacher to the Church of Rome in 1798. Mr. Beste was a scholarly man, and his son has made good his claim to be the modern pioneer of sacramentarianism and of priestly claims in the Church of England.—*Christ and the Church.* A Sermon on the

Apostolic Commission (Matt. xxviii. 18-20.) By ADOLPH SAPHIR. (James Nisbet and Co.) Mr. Saphir discusses several of the great questions connected with the Church—the office of the preacher, baptism, the heathen, &c., with intelligence and fervour, but with a good deal of wordiness. His evangelical stand-point is unequivocal enough; but his diffuse style is unfavourable to decisiveness; and we sometimes feel as if important questions—the salvability of the heathen, for instance—which are not questions of mere idle curiosity, were, like Homeric heroes, snatched away in a cloud of words. Preaching need be no less practical for vigorous dealing with such questions. Men's minds and hearts are full of them. Mr. Saphir's sermons are urgent and practical; and if they do not weary hearers by their length, are calculated to edify them.—*Words of Faith and Cheer.* A Mission of Instruction and Suggestion. By the Rev. ARTHUR THOMPSON GURNEY, late of Paris. (Henry S. King and Co.) This is a volume of mission sermons by a special 'Missioner.' They were preached, as we infer from the dedication, at St. Peter's Church, Bayswater, during the mission in the beginning of this year. They are arranged as Words for Communicants, for Christian Thinkers, and for Special Classes. We have been agreeably surprised, in looking through these sermons; there is in them no tumid rhetoric, no artificial fervour, no empty appeals. So far as we can see, there is no special adaptation in them for a mission, or for any other distinctive services. They are normal preachings of the gospel—such as we should hope are heard every Sunday from hundreds of pulpits. Their distinctive excellency is their intellectual freedom and thorough practicalness. Mr. Gurney is abreast of the questions of the day, both respecting divine revelation and the practical religiousness of life; and he speaks of questions like The Fall, on the one hand, and of Public Amusements and Domestic Relationships, on the other, with a wise judgment and a fearless honesty, as well as with an intellectual strength and broad human catholicity, which command respect. His volume is far above the average of printed sermons, and deserves the perusal of thoughtful men.—*Sermons chiefly on the Life and Character of the Day.* By the Rev. ROBERT PAISLEY, Minister of St. Ninian's, Edinburgh. (William Blackwood and Sons.) Mr. Paisley's sermons are intended as a memorial of a long ministry. While making no pretensions to greatness they are characterized by a freshness, not to say an ingenuity of teaching and practical application, that distinguish them from ordinary conventional sermons—and that must have made them interesting to the congregation. They are practical rather than doctrinal—not one of the sermons deals formally with any fundamental Christian doctrine—the implications of one or two, e.g., Sermon XII., are that the preacher is decidedly anti-Calvinistic in his views—at any rate, that he insists, with special emphasis, on that side of truth which Calvinism characteristically neglects. His practical urgencies are faithful and cogent.

EDUCATIONAL.

Under the general title of 'English School Classics,' Messrs Rivingtons have published a cheap series of English works, viz.—Thomson's Seasons: Winter. Cowper's Task. Bacon's Essays. Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel. A Selection of Simple Poems, by W. E. Mullins. Wordsworth's Excursion; the Wanderer, &c. The series is to supply fourteenth-form text-books for English reading; one of the most hopeful features of advancing education. A brief memoir of the author selected is given, and copious critical and explanatory notes are appended. Each work is carefully edited by a competent scholar.—*The Civil Service Hand-Book of English Literature.* By H. A. DOBSON. (Lockwood and Co.) Mr. Dobson has compiled his little book for the use of candidates for examinations, public schools, and students generally. He has laid under contribution the larger works of Professor Morley and Craik, M. Taine, &c., and has aimed simply at such a conspectus of the History of English Literature as will suffice for the 'cram' of a student reading for examination. He divides English literature into eight periods, beginning with A.D. 600, and ending with modern (deceased) writers. Of course his paragraphs are little more than catalogues, with brief characterizations. Of the quality of the literature catalogued, even those who master it the most fully can know nothing. Still, tables of contents are useful, and Mr. Dobson's little work is to English literature what an index is to a book. Forty pages of illustrative extracts are given in an appendix, as also a brief chronological index of authors alphabetically arranged. If such books be valuable, it throws suspicion upon the worth of the examination for which they suffice.—*The Book of Genesis, for the use of Candidates for the Cambridge Local Examinations, with Analysis and Notes.* *The Book of Exodus, for the use of Candidates for the Cambridge Local Examinations, with Analysis and Notes.* By HENRY MORRIS. (Longmans and Co.) The Analysis precedes the text. The text is divided into convenient sections—notes of simple information, critical, geographical, &c., are appended. The chief help to the student is in the arrangement.—*Manuals of Religious Instruction for Pupil Teachers.* Edited by J. P. MORRIS, M.A. 'Old Testament, First and Second Year's Course.' By E. J. GREGORY, M.A. 'New Testament, First and Second Year's Course.' By C. T. WINTER. 'Book of Common Prayer, First and Second Year's Course.' By the EDITOR. These little manuals are a reproduction, summary, and exposition in modern speech and form of the Scripture History and of the Book of Common Prayer. The advantage to the pupil-teacher is that he is enabled to compress many chapters into a short lesson, and to propound it in fresh words.—Among the series of Educational Books for Primary Schools, which are competing for public favours, Messrs. Chambers' *National Reading Books* (6), Messrs. Strahan's *Public School Series* (7), both graded series for pupils of different classes, may be

mentioned with commendation. Only practical experience can award the palm. To us both seem excellent, save that occasional fine writing, and some gross blunders have caught our eye in turning over the pages of the latter, which seem something worse than oversights.—Messrs. Nelson have also published a series of School Books, under the title of *The Royal Readers*, of which the sixth only has come into our hands. It is a selection of reading lessons, with vocabulary, notes, questions, accentuations, punctuations, &c., admirable in its completeness and skill. A volume of the *School Series*, by the same publishers, is devoted to Poems by Sir Walter Scott—admirably edited, with notes, grammatical and expository, by W. S. Dalgleish, M.A.—Messrs. Chambers also publish a selection of *Short Stories*, intended to prepare for the test in composition prescribed for Standard VI. in the Scottish Educational Code. Also as part of their Educational Course, a compendious *History of Scotland*, by ROBERT ANDERSON, arranged in numbered paragraphs, and in larger and smaller type, the matter in smaller type being optional by the teacher.—Mr. Murray publishes, under the editorial care of Dr. WILLIAM SMITH, as part of Dr. William Smith's 'English Course,' a *Primary History of Great Britain*, for Elementary Schools—professedly free from political and sectarian bias—not an easy achievement, nor, perhaps, a desirable one. Also a *Primary English Grammar* for Elementary Schools, with exercises and questions from the very competent hand of Mr. THEOPHILUS HALL, adapted to the capacity and requirement of young children from seven to eight years of age—poor things. From the same publishers comes *The Child's First Latin Book*, including, we are glad to say, a systematic treatment of the new pronunciation. It is to be hoped that the next generation will know nothing of our present barbarous pronunciation of Latin. The praxis of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns seems simple and philosophical, and is creditable to the practical skill and science of Mr. Theophilus D. Hall, the author.—Mr. R. M. Millington, M.A., publishes the third edition (Longmans and Co.) of his *Selections for Latin Prose*, with critical questions intended for the various Army, and the senior Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations. The book deserves the favour it is winning; it is a great improvement upon the Arnold of our own college days.—Mr. J. Wright, M.A., has constructed a Greek Grammar for beginners (Macmillan and Co.), which he entitles an *Attic Primer*, inasmuch as he restricts himself to the Attic dialect in which boys begin their study of Greek. His method is that of Professor Curtius. Messrs. Macmillan add to their Clarendon Press series of English classics—*Couper's Task*, and other Poems, edited with 'Life and Notes' by HENRY THOMAS GRIFFITH, B.A., a series that promises to be worthy of the publishers. It is catholic in selection, and each work is to be edited by a competent scholar. From the same publishers we receive a little work on *Euclidian Geometry*, by FRANCIS CUTHBERTSON, of the

City of London School, which is a reclassification of Euclid—problems being separated from theorems—and some new and less cumbersome demonstrations supplied; the order of Euclid being retained for the convenience of examination. The work is an important one, and claims the attention of teachers, by whom alone its practical value can be determined. The same publishers have issued the *Academica of Cicero*. The text revised and explained by JAMES S. REED, M.A. (Lond.); no English scholar having edited it since 1735; while in Germany the last edition, with explanatory notes, is the poor edition of Goerenz, published in 1810. The text is founded on that of Halm, in the edition of 'Cicero's Philosophical Works,' published in 1861; but as the result of the editor's independent labours, it is, he affirms, much closer to the MSS. A long and able introduction is devoted to an exposition of the character and position of Cicero as a philosopher. Very extensive notes are appended to the text. An edition of the *Institutes of Justinian* comes from the Clarendon Press, edited as a recension of the *Institutes of Gaius*, by THOMAS ERSKINE HOLLAND, B.C.L.; the object being to show how far the *Institutes of Justinian* are a recension of the *Institutes of Gaius*. The editor concludes that the method of the two works is identical, and the proportion of text common to both considerable. Such portions of Gaius as were left standing, when his *Institutes* were revised by Tribonian, are printed in a darker type, and the section of Gaius is referred to in the margin.—*Home and Class Book of Arithmetical Questions*, by JOHN STEWART (Charles Bean), is arranged in three parts:—I. Examples under the several rules; II. Graduated Miscellaneous Exercises; III. Short Examination Papers.—*A Music Primer for Schools*. By REV. JOHN TROUTBECK, M.A., and REV. REGINALD F. DALE, M.A., Mus. Bac., is a very useful addition to the Clarendon Press Series, written at the suggestion of Sir F. A. Gore Ouseley, and revised by him. It is purely elementary, and is a simple and compendious introduction to the knowledge of music, which will be very useful to teachers in elementary schools.—Messrs. Macmillan add to their *Science Primers* a little work on elementary *Geology* from the very competent pen of Dr. ARCHIBALD GEIKIE.—At the request of various master of schools, Dr. JOHN T. WHITE adds to his series of Grammar School Texts—*The Gospel of Mark*, with a vocabulary (Longmans and Co.). The vocabulary enables the student to dispense with a lexicon, and extends to the inflexions of verbs. The text is the *Textus Receptus*.—*Symmetrical Education*; or, *the Importance of Just Proportion in Mind and Body*. By W. CAVE THOMAS. (Smith, Elder, and Co.) Mr. Thomas contends against the common practice of specially cultivating the faculty to which individual bias may give preference, and in favour of establishing and maintaining proportion or due balance of faculty. Defect of faculty or inclination would with him be a reason for the special cultivation of it. He thinks that the modifiability of human na-

ture renders rectification and symmetrical development possible. The true philosophy seems to be in the mean. It would, we think, be injurious to disregard special faculty, and equally so to solicit it to the neglect of defective faculties. True genius, he thinks, is a balanced thing; the greatest men are not one functioned men, but men of large general power. This, again, is only partially true; development of one pre-eminent faculty is surely better than the symmetrical adjustment of little ones; the book, however, is ingenious and suggestive.—*Forty-eight Lessons in German*. A Complete Course, comprehending—Exercises, Conversation, Practice, Composition, and Reader, with Vocabulary, &c. By JESUS SMIL. (Williams and Norgate.) A gradus series of progressive lessons, being exercises, written and conversational, on different grammatical forms—from genders to compound sentences—arranged so as to embody in practical application every step taken in advance. It is a very complete little manual.—*The Children's own German Book*. Containing amusing and instructive stories, with a selection of poems adapted to the use of very young people, and a complete 'English and German Vocabulary.' By A. L. MEISSNER, Ph.D., Professor of Modern Languages in the Queen's University, Ireland. (Sampson Low and Co.) Except the vocabulary at the end the stories have only a few foot-notes, giving the renderings of idiomatic phrases. The book, therefore, is simply one of easy lessons.—*Extracts from Livy*, with English Notes and a Map. By H. LEE-WARNER, M.A., Assistant-Master in Rugby School. Part I.—The Caudine Disaster. (Clarendon Press.) Mr. Lee-Warner has striven to make Livy intelligible and interesting; the first by some pertinent notes, the second by a sensible introduction. Every element of interest thrown into a school-book is an element of power.—*Parallel Extracts, arranged for Translation into English and Latin, with Notes on Idioms*. By J. E. NIXON, M.A., Classical Lecturer, King's College, London. Part I.—Historical and Epistolary. (Macmillan and Co.) Mr. Nixon proffers help in writing Latin prose. The parallel passages are between some Latin historian and some modern author writing on analogous themes. Some valuable Notes on Idioms, to which numerals in the text refer, greatly add to the value of these judiciously selected extracts.—*Public School Series*. The Beginner's First French Book. The Beginner's Second French Book. The Beginner's Third French Book. By HENRI VAN LAUN and VICTOR PLEIGNIER. The first French Reader. The Second French Reader. The Third French Reader. Same authors. (Strahan and Co.) These books are an admirable series of French elementary works. The former, treating of the rudiments and structure of the language; the latter, being selections of French stories and extracts, arranged in progressive order, corresponding with the three elementary works. The name of the accomplished translator of Taine's English Literature is a sufficient guarantee of excellence.—*Hosfield's New Pocket Editions*. New English-French Dictionary. By C. HOSSFELD and L. DANIEL. Price Nine-

pence. New French-English Dictionary. Same authors and price. The English-French Grammar, Interpreter, and Mercantile Correspondent. Price One Shilling. (Trübner and Co.) The marvel of these little books is their cheapness. They appear to be well done, and will be a great convenience to the multitudes who travel.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Texts and Thoughts for Christian Ministers, touching the Authority and Responsibility, the Duties and Privileges of their Office, as indicated in various aspects throughout Holy Scripture. By BISHOP HARDING. (Longmans, Green, and Co.) The texts of Scripture which refer in any way to the work of Christian ministers are here selected in the order of their occurrence, and under each a few expository or hortatory sentences are given. The plan and process are very simple, but the whole is a handbook for devotional use, which ministers will be very glad to possess.—*The Spirit and the Word of Christ, and their Permanent Lessons.* By G. VANCE SMITH, B.A. (Longmans, Green, and Co.) Intended as a brief and popular account of the ministerial work of Jesus Christ, more especially in its practical, moral, and religious aspects. Mr. Vance Smith is a Unitarian, and he not only construes the Scriptural records of Christ according to the humanistic principles of Unitarianism, but he has no difficulty in treating the sacred text itself, where intractable, with considerable freedom, e.g., he infers from alleged discrepancies in Matthew and Luke, concerning the parentage and birth of Jesus, that 'the accounts which they followed were most probably of late origin, and not founded upon the exact facts of the case.' 'The introductory chapters of Matthew have somewhat the appearance of being a separate document added on to the Gospel,' &c., &c. He says, too, that 'the miraculous birth, so conspicuously introduced at the beginning of Matthew and Luke, is never again referred to throughout the New Testament.' We had thought that, for instance, Gal. iv. 4, 1 Tim. iii. 16, Phil. ii. 7, Rom. i. 8, Heb. ii. 14, &c., were references to it. It is difficult to conceive of any other explanation of them. Since Dr. Pye-Smith's work the Biblical argument has been virtually abandoned by Unitarianism; where it has not been so, it has taken the form of a disintegrating criticism, as, for example, in Mr. J. J. Tayler's treatment of John's Gospel. Orthodox conclusions are inevitable if the integrity of the New Testament be admitted.—*A few Facts and Testimonies touching Ritualism.* By OXONIENSIS. (Longmans and Co.) The facts and testimonies here collected are intended to discredit and disprove Ritualism by proving that it is virtual Romanism, and that the aim of its advocates is to Romanize the Episcopal Establishment, and then to reunite the Anglican, Romish, and Greek Churches. These characteristics and aims are demonstrated and illustrated by a volume of quotations taken from all schools and parties, but as they are on all hands admitted, it seems a superfluous labor, save as it may be convenient for

reference.—*Unsectarian Family Prayers.* By the Rev. H. R. HAWEIS, M.A. (Henry S. King and Co.) The title of Mr. Haweis' book is humiliating—we would fain hope unnecessarily so—for it has not happened to us to meet with books of family prayer that any Christian might not use. If High Anglicanism produces such, and we can well imagine it, they have not come in our way. Mr. Haweis, however, goes so far that no element of prayer to Christ appears in his book. He simply uses the formula of approach to God through Christ, as anyone who does not recognize Christ as God would use it. Sectarianism is one thing, the negation of the divine object of worship is another.—*The Sacred Poetry of Early Religion: Two Lectures delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral.* By R. W. CHURCH, M.A., Dean of St. Paul's. (Macmillan and Co.) Dean Church's interesting lectures excited considerable interest at the time they were delivered. The Sacred Poetry of Religion is always an attractive and important subject of study, for hymns are more to the religious life than sermons. The first of the lectures is devoted to the Hymns of the Vedas; the second, to the Psalms. The two are brought into interesting comparison. But why did Dean Church stop with the Psalms? Surely Christian hymnology touches us so vitally that it demanded treatment at his hands. We have only praise to bestow upon what Dean Church has done; because he has done it so well he should, we think, do more. It is difficult indeed to understand how he could stop short.—*The Young Christian Armed; or, the Duty he owes to God.* A Manual of Scripture Evidence, Faith, and Practice, for Youth. By the Rev. CHARLES HOLE. (Longmans and Co.) This is one of the 'Practical Moral Lesson Books.' In the first part of it the author supplies a conspectus of the principal line of evidence which establishes the Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures, with a view to counteract the arguments of Modern Scepticism. In the second part he presents a summary of the principal theological teachings of the Scriptures. Mr. Hole is a Churchman, and cannot free himself from the Prayer Book teaching of the connection of Regeneration with Baptism. He stumbles through a series of assertions which we can hardly think will pass for argument, and which grievously hamper his own evangelical sentiments. The causative formulæ of the Baptismal service are hopelessly incongruous with the conditional regeneration that he seeks to establish. In no sense is Baptism, as such, 'Christ's appointed channel of the grace of regeneration'—it is simply a symbol of inward regeneration, and a sign of outward discipleship.—*Disputed Questions of Belief.* Being Lectures to Young Men, delivered at the English Presbyterian College, London, with a Preface by J. OSWALD DYKES, D.D. (Hodder and Stoughton.) A first series of lectures at the Presbyterian College, under the title of 'Present Difficulties in Theology,' was published last year, and found considerable favour with the public. The present lectures, by different persons and on different subjects, are of the same general character. Dr. Dykes thinks 'that we have already seen the tide of unbelief reach its high-water

mark for the present, and that it may even be on the ebb,' a judgment we are disposed to concur in. Strauss, Matthew Arnold, and Stuart Mill have opened men's eyes to the issue to which sceptical beliefs are tending; the danger is, lest an 'ugly rush' backwards to orthodoxy should succeed an easy decadence of faith. Rev. Adolph Saphir lectures on the Divinity of Christ. His argument is conducted on the line of moral necessity and congruity, his own conversion from Judaism being used in support of it. The Rev. R. Taylor discusses The Atonement; and finds the necessity for it not merely in God's governmental relation to man, but in His personal feeling towards sin. He connects the Atonement with the Father as well as with the magistrate, which is the ground upon which the disciples of Mr. Maurice will chiefly resist him. The Rev. W. Dinwiddie deals vigorously with Strauss and his theory; and Dr. Paterson very wisely with Theories of Evolution. The little volume contains much sound, strong, reverent thinking.—*Sacramental Confession*. (By the Rev. JOHN S. HOWSON, D.D., Dean of Chester. (W. Isbister and Co.) A very vigorous, wise, and timely protest against Sacramental or Auricular Confession, from the point of view of an evangelical Churchman. The argument is drawn from the Bible, Church History, and the standards of the Established Church. Dean Howson contends that the form of the general absolution, as also of the ordination service, is ministerial, not judicial. It may be so, but it must be admitted that in that case more dubious and unfortunate expressions could scarcely have been found. Those who care for the spiritual character of Christianity will do well to peruse this little book.—*Confession and Absolution as Taught in Holy Scripture, and as Practised in the Primitive Church*. By A LAYMAN. (W. Isbister and Co.) The Layman's book is inferior in scholarship and grip to Dean Howson's, but it maintains the same position, only its argument is not hampered by the Book of Common Prayer. The argument is almost exclusively Scriptural, the evidence of which, in favour of evangelical conclusions, is collected and adduced with acuteness, and a good deal of common sense.—*A New Companion to the Bible*. An Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures for Bible classes, &c., with maps. (Religious Tract Society.) All that can be said of this useful and well-compiled little work is, that it deals with the usual topics of an 'introduction,' gives information concerning the genuineness, authenticity, authority, design, and translation of the Bible as a whole; the language, geography, chronology, canon of each Testament, and the history and literature of each separate Scriptural book. Its standpoint is sufficiently indicated by its source. The writer has a fair acquaintance with modern Biblical criticism, and has furnished a very useful manual.—*Christian Missions to Wrong Places, among Wrong Races, and in Wrong Hands*. By A. C. GEEKIE, D.D., Bathurst, New South Wales. (Nisbet and Co.) Dr. Geekie is the 'candid friend' of missionary societies; and such use of his book as enemies of missions, like the writer in 'Fraser,' in Dec., 1872, may make, notwithstanding, it is quite as

well that their mistakes should be pointed out. No man, however, commends himself very much who finds everything to be wrong. It would be a miracle if the societies who send out and direct missions did not make mistakes, and from the very nature of the case, great and serious mistakes, and, in the absence of better men, weak noblemen and half-pay colonels are often necessary local managers; but, as with all evil, these evils are best cured by developing the correcting good. We quite agree with Dr. Geekie that the chief strength of missions should be directed to the great continents and centres of population, but Dr. Geekie knows very well that, as far as possible, this is done. The fields of early missions were not optional, and their abandonment would hardly be justified. We should have profited more by Dr. Geekie's admonitions had he been more sympathetic and less critical.—*Phases of Thought; being One Thousand Choice Extracts from the Works of C. H. Spurgeon*. Alphabetically Arranged, and with a Copious Index. (Passmore and Alabaster.) It is superfluous to say anything either of Mr. Spurgeon or his sayings. He says many good things which bear extracting, and this volume is a skilfully-made selection of such. Many others, however, suffer by being torn from their connection. They are illustrations, and, therefore, like windows standing on a village green.—*The Late Rev. John Duncan, LL.D.; in the Pulpit and at the Communion Table, with Biographical Supplement*. Edited by DAVID BROWN, D.D. (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.) Should not Dr. Duncan be now permitted to rest? Four volumes, all more or less biographical about a single man, are a little too much for both his fame and our patience, especially as in this volume Dr. Brown contributes nothing but the very thinnest of skim-milk—the very scantiest of gleanings to what has before been told about him. The only things in the book that we care about are the sermons and addresses, which are racy of the soil, and, at the same time, steeped in the fervour of a devout and loving soul. The letters, too, are pleasant, but hardly more. Part would have been better than the whole. The odd mixture in Dr. Duncan of daring speculation and theological conservatism is again brought out in the sermons, sometimes very singularly.—*The Mystery of Pain; a Book for the Sorrowful*. By JAMES HINTON. (Smith, Elder, and Co.) A cheap edition of a religious and tender little book, which has, however, the defect of only partially thinking, and is characteristic of the writer. Nothing can be more devout than his treatment of optional pain; the failure is in the treatment of that large proportion of human suffering which is involuntary.—*Divine Revelation and Pseudo-Science*. An Essay. By R. G. SUCKLING BROWNE, B.D. (Longmans, Green, and Co.) This essay is not without merit. The author possesses some erudition, and is not without scientific knowledge, but his tone is arrogant and offensive. He makes good many of his points, and is perfectly justified in his employment of sarcasm and ridicule. His pedantry, sectarianism, and party politics are, however, unfortunately too prominent, and thereby the

value of his book is damaged.—*The Pure Benevolence of Creation; Letters to a Friend in Perplexity.* By JASPER TRAYERS. (Longmans, Green, and Co.) The argument of this volume is unquestionably that which relieves the perplexities occasioned by many of the phenomena of the material and moral world. The idea that the ultimate happiness of the universe is the purpose of the beneficent Creator is not new, but in this series of letters it is expounded and enforced with clearness and considerable argumentative power.—*On the Early History of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit, with especial reference to the Controversies of the Fourth Century.* By H. B. SWETE, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Gonville and Caius College. (George Bell and Sons.) This is a thorough and scholarly examination of the causes to which the expansion of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit is to be attributed. Mr. Swete, possessing ample and accurate knowledge of the period embraced in his inquiry, has in a very satisfactory manner traced the circumstances under which the Deity of the Holy Spirit has been proclaimed and defended. The volume is a valuable contribution to the early theology of the subject.—*External Evidence of Christianity.* By ERNEST HOUSTON FORGETT. (Ballantyne and Co.) Mr. Forgett is no sciolist. His knowledge is ample, and his powers of wielding and expressing it considerable. He sweeps through the whole field of history, and, glancing at its manifold developments, makes all subservient to the important purpose of showing how humanity was prepared and educated for the reception of Christianity. The volume deserves a careful perusal.—*Natural Science, Religious Creeds, and Scripture Truth: What they teach concerning the Mystery of God.* By DANIEL REDD, Author of the 'Divine Footsteps in Human History,' &c. (Blackwood and Sons.) This is a volume of considerable power. The author is a strong thinker and a keen metaphysician. Some of his speculations are, however, rather misty and hard to be understood. This is especially the case in his attempt to illustrate the Divine essence and character. Nor are his views of evolution much more intelligible. Still, there is much in the volume that is valuable, and worthy of careful consideration.—*Religion no Fable; an Essay on the Adaptation of the Christian Religion to the Necessities of the Human Spirit.* By JOSEPH SHENSTON. (Hodder and Stoughton.) Mr. Shenston's book is a valuable one of its order. It is no attempt to add to the arguments of old apologists for the truth of Christianity; nor does it attempt to demonstrate the great facts which lie at its foundation. These he assumes, and appeals to the consciousness of the human spirit; and from the adaptation of the Gospel to the necessities of man contends for its divine origin. This mode of argument may not be accepted by materialists, and men who deem science the sole object of pursuit, but it is, nevertheless, most legitimate and efficient. Mr. Shenston's book is somewhat indiscriminate and passionate; it is scarcely exact enough for theological science. There are materialists and materialists. It is a fervid and not unjustifiable protest against those who flippantly touch sacred

things.—*A Humble Companion to the Pilgrim's Progress; being a Series of Discourses on that Great Allegory.* By the Rev. SAMUEL BURN. (Hodder and Stoughton.) This is no unworthy companion of the Great Allegory. Its expositions and illustrations are simple, lucid, and natural. Intelligent readers of the Pilgrim's Progress will readily admit their excellence, and profit by their perusal.—*Christian Toleration; an Essay.* By the Hon. ALBERT S. G. CANNING. (Kirby and Endean.) This essay is creditable alike to the spirit and knowledge of its author. He is familiar with the most distinguished writers who have either directly or indirectly treated of 'Toleration,' and is himself fully imbued with its spirit. He admirably exposes the mischievous effects of intolerance, and, although now greatly modified and subdued, admits that it is not yet extinct.—*Modern Criticism; or, the New Theology, the Battle of the Critics.* (Trübner and Co.) The writer of this small volume doubtless means well, and is earnest in the advocacy of his views, but his ideas of Scripture interpretation are such as will not be likely to have much influence on the 'New Theology, or the Battle of the Critics.'—'Points.' Suggestive Passages, &c., from the Writings of T. DE WITT TALMAGE, D.D. (Hodder and Stoughton.) Perhaps Dr. Talmage appears to more advantage in selections such as these than in complete sermons. The sense of the artificial and fantastic is lessened, and the feeling of penetrating-cleverness is augmented. Some of these paragraphs are hardly worth reprinting; others again are terse and telling, although we have failed to light upon one that will bear quoting. Sometimes the homeliness passes into coarseness, and the freedom into extravagance; but Dr. Talmage is an earnest and godly preacher, and always aims at the hearts of his hearers.—*Church Thought and Church Work.* Edited by the Rev. CHARLES ANDERSON, M.A. (Henry S. King and Co.) Encouraged by the success of 'Words and Works in a London Parish,' Mr. Anderson has published this volume of a similar character; only he has added to his list of contributors, and to the size of the volume. In addition to papers bearing more directly on Church life and work, such as 'Alms-giving,' 'Choral Service,' 'Ministrations to the Poor,' 'Sermons,' 'Lay Influence,' 'Visiting the Sick,' 'School Teaching,' 'The Education of the Clergy,' 'Ritual Sisterhoods,' and 'Confirmations,' by the editor; 'Missions,' by Rev. Brooke Lambert; 'Sacrifice,' by Rev. Harry Jones; 'Liturgical Reform,' by Rev. J. M. Capes; 'Dogma,' by Rev. J. A. Jacob; 'Common Worship,' by Rev. C. Shakspeare, we have papers on 'Illusion,' 'Christianity and Business,' 'Christianity and Charity,' by Mr. Lambert; 'Time and Change,' by Professor Cheetham; 'Creation' and 'Sanctification,' by M. Llewellyn Davies; and a tale, 'Ernest Wentworth,' by the editor, running through the volume, setting forth the influences and aims of the Church in the present day. It is an interesting and attractive way of setting forth the manifold claims and forms of Church and Christian life, which is done with much ability and fine feeling.



